

THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service

25
cents



VOL. III NO. 8

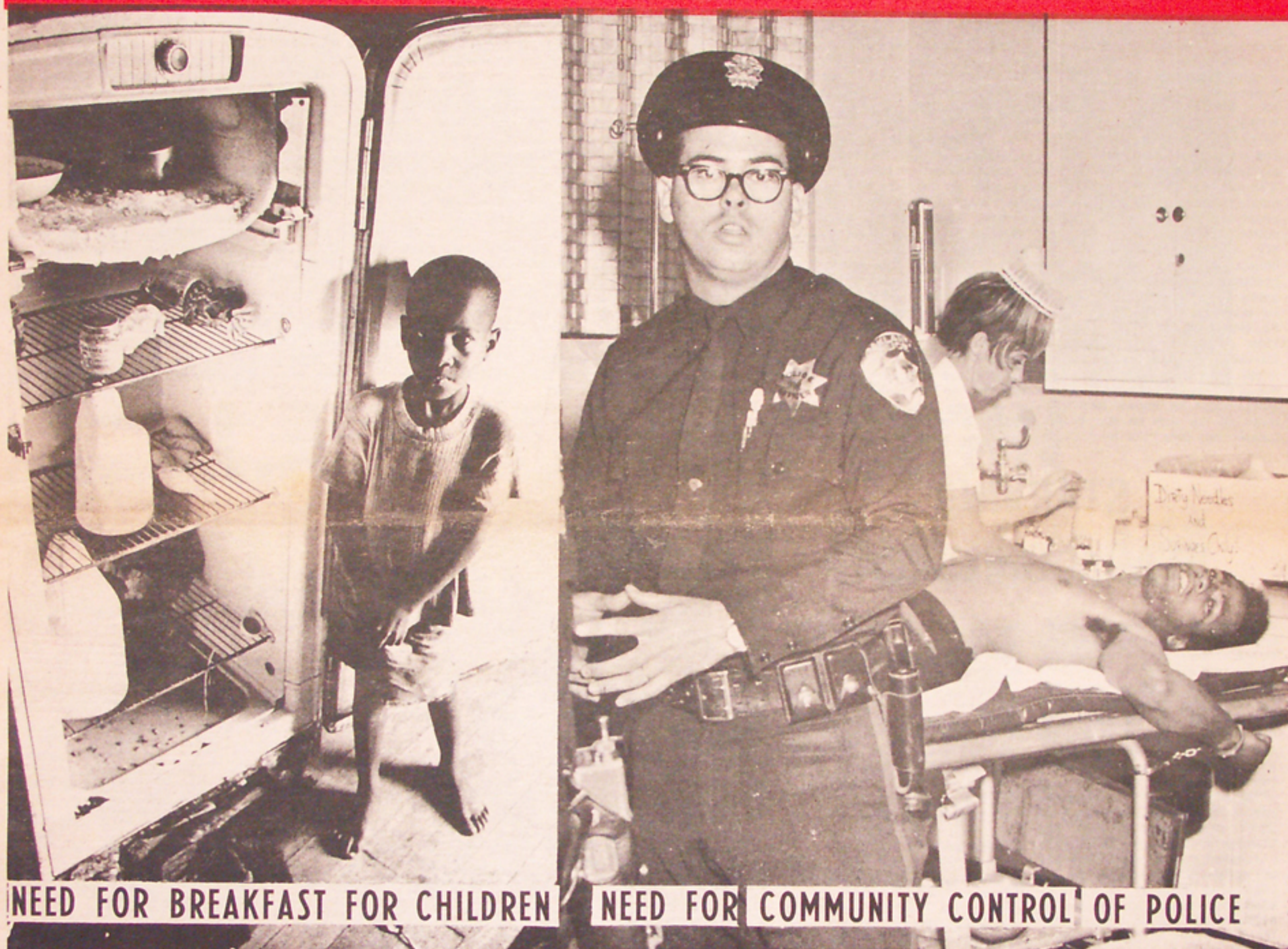
SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1969

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

CAPITALISM PLUS RACISM



NEED FOR BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

NEED FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE



FASCIST/CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS

HUNGER. The government has published study after study on poverty in the U.S.A., the richest country in the world. They have spent millions of dollars describing phenomena, but we feel the hunger pangs or we live in fear of the day when the money will run out every day of our lives. We know that in objective reality, people are going hungry. But there is one question that the government reports don't answer and that is WHY, IN THIS GREAT BIG RICH COUNTRY, ARE TENS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE GOING HUNGRY EVERY DAY? - They can't answer that question because to do so would spell out their own doom. Because the reason people are starving in this country is fascism. The avaricious capitalist, the fascist dog policeman and the fascist politician are all in the same racket: Robbing the people by maintaining this system.

EXPLOITATION. WE DO ALL THE WORK, THEY GET ALL THE BREAD. We work in their factories and we work on their farms. The capitalist sells the value we create with our own labor (whether we're making automobiles or picking grapes, packaging soap or picking cotton). He sells the product for \$10 and he pays us \$2 for the hour's work we put in on that product. Every minute, every hour, every day, the capitalist robs us. He takes the \$8 and gives us the \$2. Now he thinks he's slick: his kids go to private schools in Europe; our kids go hungry; he eats steak, we eat beans and grits. He doesn't care if we get mad and quit 'cause he knows that millions of us are on the street, lookin' for jobs. But he ain't as

slick as he thinks, because the working people, the poor and oppressed people (this includes unemployed workers) can't buy back everything we produce when it's sold for \$10 and we only have \$2. So, the avaricious capitalist can't sell all his goods. In order to keep the market price up, he starts burnin' bread and throwin' the wheat into the sea while we are going hungry.

THE PEOPLE REBEL. But black people, and for that matter all poor and oppressed people in this country and around the world are getting hip to the man's game. We're getting hip to fascism, the regime of exploitation, oppression, and imperialism. We're getting hip to what capitalism is all about. And the people, with the leadership of their vanguard party are going to put an end to an insane system that has the masses who produce the wealth starving while the avaricious capitalist is dumping food into the ocean to keep his prices up. We have learned that all that talk about American "Democracy" and "Freedom" is a lot of abstract bullshit 'cause as long as the very few live off the sweat of the very many, and as long as our communities are occupied by the fascist pig forces, as long as the state apparatus serves the privileged few instead of serving the people; as long as these conditions continue to exist; as long as the people let them continue to exist, we are no more than SLAVES TO FASCISM: THE POWER OF FINANCE CAPITAL. But we are getting wise to the system and we aren't gonna be slaves any more. Bunchy said: "for a slave of natural death who dies can't blance out to two dead

files I'd rather be without the shame a bullet lodged within my brain if I were not to reach our goal let bleeding cancer torment my soul."

We will die fighting before we submit to the fascism (capitalism and racism) that we have been subjected to for the last 400 years. WHY FASCIST TACTICS AGAINST THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY?

The Black Panther is dedicated to the goal of putting an end to the super exploitation and oppression of black people in this country as a people. And we are internationalists because our fight will not end until all the peoples of the world are free, until fascism has been smashed. Since the people are the real heroes and the real makers of history, we know that in the end we will be victorious because we are on the side of the people. But we must understand the words of Chairman Mao "There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap. It must not be imagined that one fine morning all the reactionaries will go down of their own accord. There are still many difficulties ahead which we must not overlook. By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory." When we recognize the danger of Fascism we recognize that only a united people, led by an organized, disciplined, and politically educated vanguard party can overcome the forces of reaction in this country.

Now, the ruling class has one way of keeping themselves in power: 'butcher-like repression'.

"Priest like deception, or keeping the people fooled by lying to them; this is only successful to the extent that the masses of the people are ignorant and therefore, passive. But the Black Panther Party is not falling for Tricky Dick's tricks and lies. We're not falling for "Black Capitalism" and "cultural Nationalism". And we are not going to let the oppressed people of the world be divided over petty things such as racism, because we know that we have a common oppressor and we know that we have to stand together to defeat fascism.

The Black Panther Party is a righteous threat to the avaricious businessmen and their whole apparatus (fascist dog policemen and fascist politicians) because we recognize and understand revolutionary struggle, and at the same time we know that revolutionary struggle is only successful with the support of the people. Therefore we see our prime tasks as serving the people (breakfast), educating the people (China's papers, liberation schools) and arming the people, for armed self defense. And never forgetting that we are like "oxen to be ridden by the people".

We know that the ruling class definitely cannot cope with a politically educated and armed people. With the successes of the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary working class groups and with the emergence of revolutionary alliances, we would be fools to think that the imperialist fascist class is about to sit back and let us take over. NO! They are going to make a desperate attempt to crush the revolutionary movement. They cannot

hold us down any longer with their hypocritical "priest-like deception", because we have gotten wise to their lies. So now they must resort to "butcher like repression". Every week we read in our paper about more incidents of pig terrorism against our party. We read about the New York 21, the Connecticut 8. We read about Los Angeles, Chicago, Denver and Cleveland. Panthers are being jailed, vamped on, killed. We must understand that they are now resorting to terrorist and fascist tactics because we have righteously threatened their security, and every day that the Party continues to function, we get stronger and they get weaker. This is why they want to wipe us out by any means necessary.

In the end, we know we will win. We also know that there will be twists and turns all along the way. Although our struggle is an arduous one, we are the people and the future is ours. There will be setbacks along the way, and we must not underestimate the enemy because he can inflict heavy casualties upon us. We must realistically recognize problems and difficulties so that we can righteously deal with them and not be caught unaware. We recognize the rising tide of fascist acts of terror being used against our Party, and we call upon all the people to join us in our effort to create a United Front Against Fascism. "By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory".

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

STARVING BLACK CHILDREN

Two pigs are honored in the sadistic glory when they vamped on the Panther Bus, and arrested the driver.

The fact that food substance for the Breakfast for school children was on the bus did not hinder their towing in the bus. Eggs, milk, and bacon was confiscated, the milk was left out all night while the bus was in their hoofs.

The pigs justified their action by saying the Panther Bus was registered improperly. The fact remained the Panthers had recently purchased the bus and there was not sufficient time to have the Bus registered properly. This was an example of the racist, superiority attitude that the pigs have. This incident did not hurt the Panthers. Our greatest hurt was the people affected. Our greatest concerns are for the people. The pigs are not satisfied with their obnoxious,

harassment of the people in the black community they must take food out of the mouths of our children.

When the bus was returned to the Party, the milk was soured and the eggs were rotten. Rejoice Pig! You were victorious in stifling only 200 black children's breakfast. The breakfast given to the children was juice, toast and jam, and a vitamin pill. The young black children will remember your actions years after the Black Panthers involved in the incident are gone.

"It is good if we are attacked by the enemy since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves..." Chairman Mao. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

THREE STUDENTS SUSPENDED FOR ATTENDING FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

To eat or not to eat that is the question facing three young black students suspended from school in Kansas City. They had just eaten a full and much needed breakfast at one of the Community Breakfast for School Children centers, and arrived at school 15 minutes late, dig it? There professional indoctrinators told them to go to the head tom's office where they were suspended. Even after an explanation, the teachers refused to consider a lighter form of punishment. Just "Get out". You know damn well some other form of punishment could have been taken. Suspension must be the only word in the faculty vocabulary. It is not enough that our young people are forced to listen to the crap they put down, they wind up being refused basic education which may slip through.

After we had notified the Tom teachers that we did not dig the crap

that had gone down. The petty-bourgeois principle, like Wallace running to a lynching came down to the church draped in her tomism to "kindly inform the Party" that her office was filled with young people who were up to and as much as two hours late.

She lied, she looked dead in our faces and lied. We know damn well we are out of the church by (after cleaning the church) 9:00.

These children along with all others who are late or just don't go to school cannot realite to the crap that "Bitchy Baby Hill" and her boot licking band of lackies put down. They can only receive what the school transmits; an all day babysitter won't get it, dig it?

Suspending these three beautiful sisters was only a symptom of their miseducation and bull-crap attitudes. Since this incident the num-

ber of black brothers and sisters eating at that center decreased for two days. However we are opening a new center at Wayne Minor, Monday, Mrs. Justine Bohan and a beautiful Black Mother will be running that center with other beautiful people from the community. They hope to serve at least 50 students on the first day.

Aunt Jamina Hill and her band of lackies cannot and will not stop the revolutionary program in our black community.

"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY". Huey P. Newton ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

Sister Andre Weatherby Communication Secretary Kansas City Chapter



STILL HUNGRY IN AMERICA



L.A. PANTHERS BEGIN FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Tuesday, April 29th marked the beginning of the Los Angeles - Southern California Chapter Free Breakfast for Children Program. We've named our program in honor of John Huggins, Deputy Minister of Information - Southern Chapter, who was assassinated on January 17, 1969, at U.C.L.A. - The John Huggins Hot Breakfast for Children Program.

Several weeks before we started the program, we sent letters to approximately 250 to 300 retail and wholesale stores in the community, requesting commodities for the program. The response from these letters was nil. (Once the program was under way, however, we did receive a visit from an official of the Los Angeles County Human Relations Board. He suggested that he was merely checking the breakfast program out in terms of legitimacy; that is, whether we were feeding kids because they were

hungry, or because we wanted to "indoctrinate" them with Panther ideology.)

We, nevertheless, did finally, on April 29th, start our first free breakfast program in Los Angeles at the University 7th Day Adventist Church (Budlong & Santa Barbara Avenues). All the night before members from all L.A. sections thoroughly cleaned the kitchen and dining facilities of the church. The first day about 20 children appeared and were well satisfied with the breakfast. We now serve over 50 breakfasts a day. This of course, just a pilot program, and we eventually will set up 8 to 10 more programs in L.A. and feed over 1,000 children.

Because of its size and extremely conservative political attitudes, Los Angeles has been a difficult area in which to organize for free breakfast programs. We have also had difficulty in getting

facilities in L.A. No church seemed to want to grant use of its facilities for free breakfast programs. The first minister to do so, however, was Reverend Lorenzo Payte, Associate Pastor of the University 7th Day Adventist Church. He had to literally fight for our right to use his church's facilities. Now the entire church says it supports our program 100%. (However, it is interesting to note that Rev. Payte has just received notice from the church that he will be transferred to a suburban L.A. area, namely, Glendale.)

To expand our program further, the membership here in L.A. visited several churches on Mother's Day, in hopes of speaking to church congregations regarding use of their facilities. Not one of the churches responded favorably. Nevertheless, the following day, the Chairman of our Breakfast Committee, Gwen Goodloe, and

several others attended the Los Angeles Conference of Baptist Ministers. Here the Panthers presented to this large body of ministers an outline of the John Huggins Hot Breakfast for Children Program. After some deliberation, the Los Angeles Conference of Baptist Ministers voted unanimously in favor of the Free Breakfast Program and gave us their endorsement and commendation. This will make it somewhat easier for us to obtain facilities, and we will be opening more breakfast programs as soon as food supplies and finances permit.

We also moved to get the full support of the community by polling various housing projects. Polls from projects like Park Village and The Pueblos show that the community is enthusiastic about the Free Breakfast Program. The people are eagerly awaiting the start of breakfast programs in their

areas. Everyone seems to want to know why their area wasn't first.

And finally...The children we feed now are beautiful and really relate to the breakfast and to the Party. They want to know all about Huey, Eldridge, Bunchy, and John and the Party and its programs. They wear our buttons and ask about the paper daily. The energy and enthusiasm they show after breakfast when we occasionally drive them to school makes us appreciate "that if it wasn't for Huey, there wouldn't be Free Breakfast for Children."

THE YOUTH WE ARE FEEDING WILL SURELY FEED THE REVOLUTION.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Southern California Chapter Black Panther Party

BOYCOTT SAFEWAY STORES

The Black Panther Party calls on the community to boycott Safeway stores in the East Bay. Why? They will not donate to the Free Breakfast for School Children Program.

This avaricious (greedy exploiting) businessman who owns the Safeway stores must come forth and donate to the Breakfast for School Children. We the people shop there, making the businessman fat and rich, at this time in each store over \$50,000 weekly. We the people must demand that each Safeway store donate, in food items of \$100.00 every week or cash. Not to feed hungry children is low and rotten. This is how the Breakfast for Children survives, by a few donations from the people, but primarily businessmen in the community. The Breakfast will survive because people's power

will make the avaricious businessman donate or will run the exploiters out of business. We just won't shop any more, until they concede to donate.

Boycott demonstrations of Safeway markets will start Friday morning at the 27th and West St. Store in West Oakland.

"Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every policy must conform to the people's interests". Mao

So let's feed the children. The Black Panther Party's Breakfast for Children Program is feeding over 10,000 children in the nation. 100,000 or more by the end of this year must be fed. The power of the people to boycott can make this a reality. That reality to the children is that full stomach every morning before school.

BOYCOTT SAFEWAY STORES

Safeway stores whose top lieutenant is also in the drivers seat of Oakland's political machinery; one fascist Hooper, is loosing anywhere from 15 to 20,000 dollars per day as a result of the Black Panther Party's boycotts. It is very insane for these avaricious fools to refuse to contribute \$100 per week to the free Breakfast for Children Program while they are loosing so much per day.

The boycott was intentionally launched at Safeway's 27th and West Streets store in Oakland. In two days, which happened to be Friday and Saturday this store had to close 45 minutes to one hour earlier. The people of the community relate to the free Breakfast program, because it serves them. And they will not support anyone who does not support them.



THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS TAKEN FROM A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS FILED BY ATTORNIES ON BEHALF OF THE NEW YORK PANTHER 21

E. LEE BERRY (25 years old) is nowhere mentioned in the indictment. It is neither alleged that he agreed with anyone to do anything nor that he committed any overt acts. He has been a resident of New York for approximately 15 years and has been living with his wife at 169 Jamaica Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. for the past six months. His wife gave birth to his first child on March 25, 1969. He has never been arrested or convicted of any crime. He entered the United States Army on July 20, 1964, and received an honorable discharge therefrom on April 20, 1966, after serving 7-1/2 months in Vietnam. He is 70% permanently disabled, due to service-connected epilepsy, and receives a Veterans' Disability Pension of approximately \$400 a month. He is unable to maintain a job because of his generally poor health and the frequency and severity of his epileptic attacks, as is stated in his V.A. pension. Since his discharge from the Armed Services, he has done photographic work and, since the Fall of 1968, has been an actor in the Oppressed People's Theater of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. Berry suffered several severe epileptic seizures in the last weeks of March, 1969, and was admitted to the Veterans Administration Hospital at 24 Street and First Avenue, New York, N.Y., while suffering a seizure. He awoke the next morning covered with blood. He continued receiving intensive treatment and medication in the hospital, although he suffered more mild seizures thereafter.

The announcement of the indictment and the aforesaid arrests was made by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan in an unprecedented press conference at 11:00 A.M. on April 2, 1969, which said announcement was given exceptionally wide and extensive coverage by all news media. For example, the story appeared on Page 1 of the New York Times for April 3, 1969, (Exhibit "B"), was headlined on Page 1 of the New York Daily News and featured as the key story of the day on Page 3 thereof (Exhibit "C"). The New York Post also ran an extensive story on Page 2 of its afternoon editions (Exhibit "D"). All radio and television stations in the metropolitan area featured the story for a considerable time after Mr. Hogan's press conference, which, among others, was attended by representatives of WCBS-TV, WNBC-TV, WNEW-TV, WABC-TV, WOR-TV and WPIX-TV.

When petitioners' attorneys learned of their arrests, they attempted to see their clients who were then being held at Mr. Hogan's office. They were refused permission to do so (Counsel requested only two minutes with their clients.), in violation of *Escobedo v. State of Illinois*, 378 U.S. 478, and related cases decided by the United States Supreme Court. When the 12 arrested petitioners were subsequently arraigned later that day in Part XXX (All said petitioners pleaded not guilty, as did petitioners Epps and Berry at their subsequent arraignments.), Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of New York, a similar request by said counsel was refused by Justice Charles Marks who presided thereat.

Petitioners are being deprived of their right to interview witnesses for their defense; they have been deprived of the right to see counsel together and to have contact with each other. They have not been given access to newspapers to interview witnesses for their defense; they have been deprived of the right to see counsel together and to have contact with each other. They have not been given access to newspapers to discuss with counsel the truth or falsity of allegations made continually therein.

Visitors to all the prisoners have been harassed intermittently and racial slurs have been leveled at white wives of black prisoners, namely Mrs. Powell and Mrs. Collier.

The following day, the News, in a leading article, related the fire-bombing of a Negro church in Jamaica, Queens. The story indicated that "Police speculated that the incident was the work of black militants at odds with the nonviolent views of the church's pastor, the Rev. Donald Ming, described as a moderate." Ming was quoted as stating that the bombing "might have been the work of the Black Panthers, possibly" The name "Panthers" appeared throughout the article in a manner deliberately calculated to create the impression that they were, in some mysterious fashion, responsible for the incident at the church. To add to the hardly subliminal attack, the paper carried a cartoon on its editorial page showing a caricature of Premiere Fidel Castro with a black panther draped over his shoulders and bearing the legend, TRUE LOVE.

Following the dismissal of the aforesaid writs of habeas corpus, additional petitions were again filed with the Supreme Court. These writs were brought on for a hearing before Justice John M. Murtagh in Part XXXVII, who has been specially selected by the People to try this case. The District Attorney of New York County has, for many years, exercised full control of the scheduling of criminal cases, even to the extent of selecting particular justices for the trial of certain ones. It is well known that Justice Murtagh is one of the present incumbent justices especially favored by the District Attorney.

On May 22, 1969, eight Black Panthers were taken into custody in New Haven, Connecticut and charged with the brutal torture-murder of one Alex Rachley. In releasing the news of the said arrests, Police Chief James F. Ahern said "There was a 'direct link' between the killing and the recent arrests in New York of 21 Black Panthers who were charged with conspiring to bomb several large department stores." This was widely reported in metropolitan newspapers, as can be seen from Exhibit "N" attached hereto.

It is obvious from the above that it is utterly impossible for petitioners to have a fair trial in this State. Their most fundamental rights have been trampled upon by both the prosecutor, the judiciary and the press, and there is no alternative, if equal justice under

Continued on next page

Continued from last page

WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS

law has any meaning at all, but for this Court to grant the relief requested herein. Otherwise, these petitioners are doomed to a legal lynching without parallel in recent times.

Although petitioners have not exhausted their state remedies, there is, in the language of 28 U.S.C. 2254 "either an absence of available state corrective process or the existence of circumstances rendering such process ineffective to protect the rights of the prisoner." Any dispassionate review of the facts presented herein must justify the fact that their rights have been so utterly destroyed that there is no "state corrective process" or that "such process (is) ineffective" to protect their rights.

Just as one example of the deprivation of the rights of petitioners, the People have, upon information and belief, notified all bail bondsmen in New York County not to write bonds for any petitioner without the approval of the District Attorney. In fact, one bondsman informed counsel that, before writing any such bonds, he had to have prior approval of the People. A more flagrant use of the power of preventive detention can hardly be imagined. Coupled with the wholly exorbitant bails herein, it makes release virtually impossible.

No previous application for the relief requested herein has been made to this or any other court except as indicated above.

The reason that this matter is brought on by order to show cause, rather than by the normal motion process, is that petitioners are all unlawfully incarcerated with their trial currently scheduled for June 10, 1969.

THE RIGHT OF SELF DEFENSE

In this day and age black men and women representing the oppressed people of this racist American society have to suffer the ridiculous charge of being called "conspirators" in a plot against the fascist establishment of North America. This charge is very interesting because it sets the stage for the free people of the world to see how "law and order" in an imperialistic, capitalistic, fascist society is maintained. A society which refuses to give black people and other oppressed people of this country the right to determine their destinies. A society that calls itself "Democratic" when in fact it is nothing but a hypocritical bunch of ignorant people who go about the rest of the world raping them economically, racially and politically. This same society that killed between 50 to 80 million blacks during the slavery period of the 1600's to 1800's. This society, this same absurd society that almost literally killed off the native people of this land, called America, by trickery, starvation, corruption, vice disease and economic exploitation, has the nerve to claim that it is the victim of a "conspiracy". This same society (America) who has exploited Latin America and South America in such a disgusting way as to have kept these poor people in such a state that they have economic problems which are, in some cases, comparable to the level of 1,000 years ago. And when a country of this area, namely Cuba frees itself from this corruption, degradation,

and shame, it is instantly labeled a "trouble maker" for mankind. Why? Because it fights against the germ called imperialism.

In Vietnam we have a people fighting to solve its internal political problem, but it cannot because of the interference of North America. Who supports and still supports a government not representative of the people's wishes. They are willing to support a government of corruption and stagnation. Yes America, the country which has the nerve to call black people, the Black Panther Party, and oppressed people conspirators because we chose to defend ourselves against daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly exploitation and degradation by this doomed society, a society doomed by every freedom loving country in the world.

Now the question arises, can we expect any better treatment from a society as this? A society that has said yes we can, and still on the other hand maintains exploitation in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Harlem, Watts, Detroit, and wherever they find it convenient. The answer must be - NO! Now one does not defend himself against a gun by praying to some unseen force. One does not rid his community of corruption, dope, numbers, and pigs by just wishing it away. He instead works in an aggressive, constructive, and manly way to correct these conditions. One moves in a manner that the people will understand and respect. Panthers realize that the

only way to correct an illness is to first isolate the illness, then provide a remedy. Now in the form of providing this remedy for the community we will run into the structure who wishes to aggravate the condition.

An example, it is no mistake that narcotics are rampant in Harlem, South Bronx, Brooklyn and all over New York. The fascist structure allows it to be that way. But we the Panthers will correct this situation for our people because our people respect the Black Panther Party and wishes it well. For this we are called conspirators. If a slave is satisfied with his condition he is a responsible person. But if a slave acts against his conditions he is called a conspirator by the slave masters. That's the name of the game. In fact this North American fascist government considers all oppressed people throughout the world who desire liberation and freedom and thus decide to determine their own destiny as conspirators. Since that is the case then all oppressed people of this world are conspirators against slavery, imperialism, and any other form of exploitation. All oppressed people in this society are conspirators against a society that is bent on destroying all the beautiful and loving things of life, freedom and knowledge. To this end we dedicate our lives, for what is life without these values.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
Brother Roogie

F.B.I.

HARASSMENT IN PEEKSKILL

About 11:00 a.m. an F.B.I. pig came on my job (I work at a candle place in Buchannan, N.Y.) He saw my boss and asked if August Lawrence Newkirk worked here. He said yes, I will go and get him for you. He called me to see this certain person. I approached the man he showed me the F.B.I. badge and card. I said what is this, he pulled out the federal warrant and put it in my hand. I asked him what is this and what are you doing here. He replied show up at this place which was on the warrant I then asked the pig what was this warrant about. I then asked if this was an Internal Revenue Charge. He then said to me that he could not give out any information. I then said to him what kind of game is this you issue something that you do not know. He then walked out after my boss asked me what was going on. I did not know what to make of this. I got off from work at 5:00. I then went to the library to look and see what the charge was. The Peekskill Library did not have the information I wanted. I then went to the Internal Revenue because it is the federal pig system; they did not know what the charge was. I went to officer's staff meeting and showed the Defense Captain the warrant. We went through serious conversation and then called several lawyers. The answer came the next day, Wednesday, April 30, Bashir Aghasi (Peekskill's Defense Captain) then related the charge to me. The charge was "anarchy" - (trying to overthrow the U.S. PIG government.) I said what, how ridiculous. But the pigs will do anything. I then made arrangements to see the Panther lawyer and made arrangements to handle the U.S. pig department.

Sahani Malik
Peekskill, New York Branch
Black Panther Party

BLACK PIG INSTRUMENTAL IN FRAME-UP OF N.Y. 21

PIG GENE ROBINS



One of the primary instruments used by the fascist pigs of New York in their efforts to destroy the Black Panther Party is a nigger pig by the name of Gene Robins, who by his actions has proven to be nothing but another agent for the fascist power structure of America. This pig is one of three that was arrested with the New York 21, who was released. He has disappeared like another pig by the name of Ralph Wyatt has disappeared. The only brother cut loose by the pigs that has stuck with the Party is Zayd.

The contradictions which bring the Party to believe that Robins is a pig, are very sharp indeed. First of all his political education is together but his ideals were always inconsistent. Robins would always commit acts contrary to Party rules and a danger to Party members, while in the presence of Party members. Robins was supposed to be a full time worker for the people, yet he some how afforded a \$180 per month apartment. Fascist pig Robins was so cold-blooded that he allowed his masters to make him desecrate the funeral of a honored revolutionary, by worming his way into the funeral of John J. Huggins. John was murdered by Robins' kind.

The Black Panther Party wastes no time in educating the people as to who their enemies are, so that they may prepare themselves to better combat American Fascism.

N. Y. 21-LETTERS FROM JAIL

DHARUBA



AFENI SHAKUR A. DHARUBA

AFENI

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

In every struggle of liberation, in the history of the world, certain particulars remain the same. We can always be certain that reactionaries will react to the masses demands with acts of suppression. And most important, reactionaries and all other paper tigers will underestimate the amazing creative strength of the people. Hogan and his hogs are surely no exception. In their devious minds they have devised (what they consider) a "foolproof" plan for crushing the people's Party. What they did not know and could not know was that the people would mobilize behind their suppression.

They failed to consider the fact that 90% of New York City's prison population is Black and Puerto Rican. If I am incarcerated for the rest of my life, someone from this prison is going home. I am sure that the U.S. concentration camps will do their best to contain us, but I am not so sure that we will allow ourselves to be carted away again. Four hundred years ago we were unfamiliar with

his ways. Today we are all too aware of his blind justice. We knew the sting of oppression, exploitation and degradation.

For this reason, I feel no bitterness on being kidnapped. My people have heard the call of liberation. They will not ignore it today. In 1969 they will not watch another black person's plea of self determination go unheeded. We have had our martyrs. I do not wish to be one. I only want my people to know and understand exactly why I am here. Why I am being held for a ransom of \$100,000. Why Hogan will not allow a bondsman to accept our cases. Why a judge refuses to give us constitutional rights. Then, when my people understand, and only then will I be at peace. The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology. In revolution you either win or die. If we cannot win then death will be my tormentor. But the people will win for theirs is a just cause.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD
SOLIDARITY IN THE STRUGGLE
Afeni O. Shakur

KATARA

On April 2, the reactionary forces of oppression made a further attempt to dampen the spirit of the people by kidnapping myself and my fellow comrades from our homes and the people we have sworn to defend. With guns drawn and foaming at the mouth the pigs after breaking every constitutional right they supposedly go by, abducted us and held us for \$100,000 ransom. This was a mistake, for instead of killing us they sought to keep us quiet by putting us in prison. Until now, I had thought the main arm of the fascist pigs oppression was reserved for the Vanguard but being here in the belly of the dogs force labor camp I have heard and been told stories of the lock up of Hog Judges and Boor D A's, of the beatings and frame ups of poor people whose only crime is just that. My fellow revolutionaries, I know you are worried about our safety and well-being, but this is of little importance with the consciousness level of the people growing every day, with each case of injustice not being looked at as a separate bust but as a master plan for the elimination of Black people.

You have a lot of work ahead of you. If you are Black, man then you must be a revolutionary black man; if you are a worker, then you must be a revolutionary worker. Then as inmates, we must be revolted rival captives. It is

up to you and to us to tell these brothers why they are in here. From our findings, quite a few of the brothers look up to you as leaders, which you are, for you are the Vanguard of the People's Struggle. It is up to you to tell the people why they are being oppressed and help them find a way to lift the yoke of oppression from their neck. If we do our job here in this small prison and you in a larger prison of fascist, racist America then the people should have their freedom. But if we fail them, it will be up to our children to carry on the struggle until all oppressed people are free, the Black people in particular and poor people in general; then the poor in America in particular and the poor of the world in general. Before I close I would like to thank you for your letters which only added to our revolutionary spirits and to our longing to be with the people and with you my brothers and sisters. All I can ask for now is that you carry on the struggle and free the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD
PEOPLE POWER FOREVER
Alex McKeiver (Katara)
Rikers Island Branch
Black Panther Party

POWER TO THE PEOPLE:

No less a personage than Frederick Douglass stated quite some time ago that: "If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want the rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a physical one, or it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

Brother Douglass appraisal of our people's hang up with "Petition for redress" of our exploitation at the hands of the Racist Pigs was, and still is very accurate. He went on to state: "Experience proves that those are oftenest abused who can be abused with greatest impunity. Men are whipped oftenest who are whipped easiest."

This maxim still holds today. As Black People continue to address themselves to Big Business for better "job opportunity", they refuse to realize, that in order to gain full employment for our people, we must take from the Racist Capitalist in our community the means of Production, and place it in the hands of the People in our community, and that the government has an obligation to the people to subsidize these community owned businesses, until the people can develop effective stability of their economy. Because as long as the profit motive exists in big business, the capitalist will take out of the Black Community more than he puts in, and the exploitation will just be more intense. The Black Capitalist will exploit the masses instead of the White Capitalist. The face of our exploiter would just change colors. To guard against this, we must put the means of production in the hands of the people in forms of communes, and co-operatives where the people decide what's to be done with the resources in their community.

Some Black People have found

comfort in their exploitation. Believing that what they have come to them because of hard work and self-determination. But what of the millions upon millions of Poverty stricken Blacks? Who like most oppressed people lack even the basic tools of self-determination? Who like the majority of this world's inhabitants are the products of worldwide exploitation, and Neocolonialism. Americans are rich because the majority of the world is poor. Black people within the confines of Racist Babylon, lack economic, political and social power because of a system founded on their slavery, and supported and justified by Racism and all its institutions; the courts, the schools, big business of the ruling class, etc. Ghettoes exist because they are profitable. In a country where Profit Motive reigns supreme, there can be no other reason. Now that these ghettoes are becoming liabilities, the Racists seek to defuse the time bomb that has been ticking away in their backyard, by pouring money and programs into our Black community. Surely the Racist avaricious businessmen and politicians do not believe they can buy more time? Time to do what? The clock has signaled their hour of doom, but still they believe that their money can solve most of the problems. Like true capitalists, they think that because niggers have never had anything, all this money, will divide them, and put them back to sleep for another four hundred years, and by then they will have programmed us onto another level of exploitation.

Towards this end the Black Capitalists, and Bootlicking Politicians, and Traitors are invaluable. They claim Black pride, and Black self-determination, but they work hand in glove with and through the very system of our exploitation. Claiming it's the only way! They fear withdrawal and refuse to draw a clear demarcation line between themselves and the enemy of our people. They fear armed struggle, because if the people attained an iota of true power and determination, they would lose what drop-

pings the capitalist racists have given them. These punks are desperate, and rightly so. Because the masses of oppressed and downtrodden people will deal with them, even more harshly than we will deal with his master. There can be no compromise, no granting of funds for being good niggers. There can be no solution for Black People other than revolution. We do not want this, but it has been proven time and time again, that like Frederick Douglass stated over a hundred years ago: "Power concedes nothing without demand", and oppressed people the world over have stated their demands for over a half a century, and now they are moving to exert the consequence -- Revolution! Utter and total change. Therefore it becomes obvious that Blacks can no longer identify with the oppressive racist capitalist system of world exploitation. Nor can we allow ourselves to be used to oppress other people, who like us seek to determine their own destiny. This nation born of violence, sustained by violence, will also perish of violence. Those of our people who seek another alternative, claiming "we cannot win with violence", should analyze the world situation, and keep in mind, that Revolution will succeed when the people refuse to continue in the old way, and the power structure cannot function in the old way. The so called unsolvable urban crisis confronting this country is one aspect. The economy, that is striving to supply guns to its army to wage wars abroad, and repression at home, is in a state of crisis, with no end to the war in sight, and no end to inflation. On top of this the people are sick of higher taxes, just to get in return less Public services, and higher prices of goods, and it goes on and on. Surely it must end somewhere. Where? Either in a Police state, which will bring on Revolution, or in a redistribution of the wealth. Either will bring about revolution, both are linked, both must come before the people of this country for them to decide which its going to be.

Dharuba

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

ALI-BEY

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE,

This letter is directed mainly to the cadre. All brothers and sisters in the cadre must be courageous. You must not fall short of your duties and devotions to the needs of the oppressed people. The people have no one to turn to for correct leadership, but the brothers and sisters in the cadre. You the cadre are the people's guide. Once they (people) are guided in the right direction by the cadre, then the leaders among the people will take over from there, but before we can guide the people the cadre must have the correct ideology and political education in order to lead the people in a Revolutionary manner.

Being that the consciousness of the people are moving to another level now, you must also - move to another level, but never a level far out in front of the people. You must stay at the same level the people are on until they understand and then the cadre and the people can move to a higher level of consciousness - to point out the contradictions to the rest of the oppressed people. I know the man is vamping on the people, this is a good sign, not a bad sign. It shows that the people are grasping the truth. Of course there is going to be bloodshed, or some of us will have to pay the price with our life, but it is necessary. You also remember that you can not have a bloodless revolution.

At this point in the struggle, you the cadre, and other members must tighten your unity, tighter and tighter. Without tight unity you

will have a weak strength. You must also, function to your fullest peak without rest most of the time, if you have to give up your job to function fully, then do so. You are Revolutionary Freedom Fighters. With the unity strength in the cadre, you will have a better understanding of one another. You will help each other to iron out his or her differences. You must criticize each other on positive things and not behind each others back. Criticism is good, not bad, if you use the correct criticism, it brings better understanding of one another. You have to tighten up your relationship with one another if it means going with each other, that is a way to bring you closer together, an understanding of love and unity. If you have to have relationships it must be within the Party. If you do not understand why, its to tighten the unity and love among you. If you go astray it will make you weak, and you will be defeated. You must study hard, and always watch the man, because he's watching you. I received the two beautiful revolutionary letters from the sisters and they really lifted my spirits to a higher level, than I had before.

With love for my people
Ali-Bey Hassan

P.S. I have written two letters to Brother Zayd, one for the cadre and the other concerning an inmate concerning his case, so it could be put in the Black Panther newspaper. Maybe it was stopped in here.

POWER TO THE VANGUARD



C. SQUIRE

FREE THE
N.Y. 21

PROFILES OF THE NEW YORK 21

1 - Lumumba Abdul Shakur - the father of 3 children and former supervisor and community worker of the Elsmere Tenants Council, who has spent many hours night and day serving his people in the Bronx and Harlem Communities, has been ridiculously accused of planning to bomb the very people who he has helped to organize for such justices as worker rights, better housing laws and adequate income wages.

2 - Richard Moore, better known as Anaye Dharuba, age 24, loyal husband, and brilliant lecturer of both high school and college students alike, is also indicted in Hogan's ridiculous scheme, of lies, as a participant to commit crimes against the very people he sought to teach. He was very active in working with Project Rescue to solve the dope problem created by the pigs.

3 - William King better known as Kwando Kinshasa age 30, father of one child and civil servant for the transit authority, a philosopher in community control he actively worked to organize workers around the burning issues of the Lincoln and Harlem disputes. Lincoln Hospital is now run by the people.

4 - Mike Tabor better known as Cetewayo age 22, and father to be. Was very instrumental in opening

September school strike. He was also very active in the support of the workers in the very controversial issues of the Lincoln and Harlem Hospitals.

10 - Eddie Joseph better known as Jamal Baltimore age 17, and high school student, is also being victimized by the racist power structure. Jamal has done a great deal of community work for which the people of Harlem and the Bronx are very grateful.

11 - Thomas Berry also known as Mshina age 25. Like all of the other brothers and sisters was very functional in community work. Thomas did a great deal of work on the Elsmere Tenants Council and formulated a great deal of plans for combating the crucial tricks of the UFT last September.

12 - Lonnie Epps - age 17, and student of the Long Island City High School was very helpful in instituting new school programs and better hospital conditions. It seemed apparently clear, upon seeing the Brother Lonnie in court, that New York's finest had beat him up.

13 - Clark Squire age 32, has been victimized by the power structure twice since the beginning of 1969. The charges against the brother were so absurd that even the pig

18 - Lee Ropper age 22 was very active in organizing the workers of both Lincoln and Harlem Hospitals against the racist pig power structure that wanted to close down "the people's hospital". He worked very earnestly with the children in the school crisis, trying to keep them organized and better educated.

19. Walter Johnson age 28, active worker of the people. He was very earnest in his endeavors to form better conditions for the welfare recipients, and better housing conditions.

20 - Larry Mack, age 25. Community work, who was very essential in organizing various community groups in Jamaica, New York and other locales in Queens. He also was very important in organizing the Queens Branch of the Black Panther Party.

Not only did the pigs accuse the 21 with this absurd conspiracy but also harassed and brutalized the following Black Freedom Fighters:

1 - Rosemary Byrd age 21 diligent worker for the community during the hospital and school crisis. The pigs were so anxious to destroy the freedom fighters that they arrested and harassed the sister for having a knife in her house; while she was sound asleep in bed.

2 - Delores Patterson wife and mother of 4 children. Very active in Welfare rights and was a candidate for the Clients advisory board. The pigs dragged the sister from her bed and left her door open with her children left there crying by themselves.

3 - Rosalind Bennett 6 months pregnant. The sister was physically harassed and received no medical attention from the pigs. They kicked in her door and handcuffed her from behind and used other beastial treatment on this 6 months pregnant sister. This is typical pig treatment of Black people.

4 - Sharon Williams age 22 avid worker of the community free breakfast program for children:

We can see from these various cases that the pig power structure has no respect for human dignity. We can also see that the Panthers have been working towards freeing their people and for working for this liberation the pigs will brutalize, harass and murder them.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE



up many of the schools in Harlem during the UFT strike. This diligent servant of the people has sought constantly for better housing conditions and the rights of the poor.

5 - Dr. Curtis Powell age 32, bio-chemist at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, who is known for his diligent work in aiding the poor, who are often turned away at the hospital.

6 - Robert S. Collier age 32, and candidate for Man, Borough Pres. advisory Planning Committee was currently serving as the director of the Tompkins Square Community Center. Collier was very very instrumental in Black and Puerto Rican relationships and improvements on the lower East Side. He is the father of two children.

7 - Afeni Shakur age 22 and wife of Lumumba Shakur is very instrumental in attempting to begin a community Breakfast Program for children that cannot receive any breakfast at home before they go to school.

8 - Ali Bey Hasson, the father of 4 children. Effective organizer who focused his attention on the problems facing the Bronx Community in last years, welfare rights demonstration.

9 - Alex McKiever better known as Catarra age 17, and high school student was very active in aiding the workers and students during the

judge had to drop the initial charges against him. After having to let the brother go the pigs conspired to frame him on another charge of murder. These charges too are very ridiculous.

14 - Richard Harris age 31 after having the brother Harris already incarcerated for the trumped charge of conspiring to rob a bank, the power structure now accuses him of conspiracy to commit mass genocide during the Easter Holidays. This is ridiculous as the brother has been in jail for 3 months.

15 - Donald Weems 23. The people's poet and playwright has been incarcerated by the pig power structure for approximately 3 months and much like the brother Richard Harris is being accused of the same ridiculous charge.

16 - Nathaniel Bruns age 24. Father of one child, was very instrumental in organizing the Black Panther Party in New York City. He was very active in all crisis that affected the Black Colony in any way. This brother who was so instrumental in helping his people has had to go in exile to flee the monstrous and frequent police attacks and oppression of both himself and his family.

17 - Joan Bird age 19 and student of Bronx Community College who was brutalized and tortured by "New York's finest (pinks)" earlier this year. She has again been indicted for conspiracy to commit genocide against the people she was so diligently working to aid. she was so diligently working to aid.



FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

FREE THE N.Y. 21 BAIL MONEY NEEDED

SEND TO
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 1224
BROOKLYN 11202
NEW YORK

HARLEM BRANCH PURGES

TO: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
VIA: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
STATE HEADQUARTERS
FROM: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
HARLEM BRANCH
DATE: June 4, 1969
RE: Expulsion from membership
of the Black Panther Party - Harlem Branch

The following people are hereby expelled from membership from the Black Panther Party as follows below:
Gregory Fergus - Not relating to office or discipline during working suspension.
Gregory Straythorne - Not relating to office or discipline during working suspension.
Carl Woods/Akinsheye - Not relating to office or discipline during working suspension.

POLITICAL PRISONER FRED HAMPTON

The May 26th conviction and two-five year sentencing of Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, for supposedly "robbing" \$71 from an ice cream truck in Maywood, Illinois during July, 1968 has once again outraged revolutionary Black Organizations across the country. Fred Hampton is another victim of this racist court system which is controlled by the political and business power complex. These forces are determined to mitigate and repress the angry and articulate voice of a 20-year-old Black revolutionary hero who was organizing the Black community around its basic needs.

Fred Hampton organized the 'Breakfast for Children Program' in Chicago which has fed daily over 3,000 hungry Black children on a citywide basis.

The Black Panther Party of Chicago had begun to meet the basic needs of Black people through this revolutionary program. This

type of program offered a devastating threat to the Daley's political machine and his Black lackeys who front for him in the city's wards.

While the political Establishment has continually ignored the increasing starving Black population in Chicago because it preferred to pour money into industrial development programs for the city's elite business class, Fred Hampton organized to feed Chicago's hungry Black children.

And this served to unleash the wrath of the city's power complex, Fred was convicted and refused to appeal bond not because he robbed an ice cream truck, for numerous whites have been set free repeatedly after committing atrocities against the Black community.

But the primary reason for his conviction was that Fred had begun to make crystal clear through revolutionary programs for the Black community the contradictions within this racist, capitalist, business elite complex which

starves poor children and pours money into anti-ballistic missile programs and space projects.

The Black Liberation Alliance stands hand in hand with the Black Panther Party in support of its programs and its articulate spokesmen who have been systematically slaughtered or jailed by the power structure.

FRED HAMPTON MUST BE FREE, OR THE BLACK COMMUNITY WILL FREE HIM AND ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO FIGHT RACISM AND CAPITALISM IN THIS COUNTRY!

Black Liberation Alliance
75 East 35th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60616
Robert L. Lucas
National Chairman
For Information: (312) 842-0198 or 842-9321



PEOPLE'S TRIAL FOR FRED HAMPTON

Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, Fred Hampton was tried by a jury of his peers in Maywood during a people's trial at the Village Hall, May 24 and 25. The Saturday and Sunday sessions were complete with judge, jury, attorneys, wit-

nesses and, of course, Fred Hampton himself. At least 150 spectators were on hand at each of the sessions that lasted about 2 hours each.

Following the selection of 12 jury members opening statements were made by the "state" and by

Fred Hampton acting as his own defense attorney.

The first person called by the prosecution was John Robert Jones, played by William Derringer, Jr. As in the establishment trial of Fred Hampton, the prosecutor attempted to establish the al-

leged fact that a robbery had occurred on July 10, 1968, in Maywood. Mr. Jones at the time was driving a Good Humor ice cream truck and the alleged robbery resulted in the loss of 710 cold and tasty ice cream bars with a wholesale value of \$71.

Jones testified that Fred Hampton held him down by the neck with one hand while other blacks proceeded to take the ice cream. Jones' testimony was to the effect that he finally forced Hampton off by putting his foot on Hampton's chest and pushing.

Charles Duffy, playing the part of Patrolman Duff ("pig duff") of the Maywood Police Department, testified and contradicted what the "victim" had stated happened. Pig Duff stated they went past approximately 40 teenagers on the playground near where the truck was parked and observed all persons in the area were eating ice cream, and picked out Fred Hampton as the leader and assailant of Jones.

Fred Hampton acting as his own attorney, proceeded to point out differences in the testimony when he cross examined pig Duff. Hampton wanted to know why if in fact there had been a foot print on his shirt the police didn't confiscate the shirt and preserve the foot print.

Hampton also wanted to know why, with all those people eating ice cream on the playground, only he was arrested.

Defense witnesses called by the

accused were Mrs. Florence Black, Secretary to the summer program of "Operation Headstart" at the school where the incident occurred; Murphy Wade, in charge of recreation inside the school building; and Gene Moore, an acquaintance of Fred Hampton's who rode with him just prior to the time of the alleged theft. Moore was still in Fred's Volkswagen at the time the police dragged Fred off to jail. All witnesses testified they did not see Fred commit the alleged crime. (All the witnesses above testified in the establishment trial as well.)

One discrepancy in the testimony of Jones and pig Duff was established by Mrs. Black and relates to the ages of the children on the playground who were between 8 and 13 not 15 to 19 as they had testified.

Fred summed up his case stating the aims of ending political repression and the freeing of all people from the capitalist tyranny. The case was then turned over to the jury, which deliberated and found Chairman Fred not guilty.

The proceedings were proclaimed a victory for the people by Fred, and by Maywood's newly elected 5th district village trustee, Tom Streiter. Streiter then asked for donations to the Political Prisoners Fund and over \$230 was collected. Donations continue to be accepted for this fund by Bob Walker, 1518 St. Charles Road, Maywood; Tom Streiter, 1600 S. 14th Ave., Maywood; or at the Panther Headquarters, 2350 W. Madison, Chicago.



FRED ACTS AS HIS OWN ATTORNEY AT TRIAL.

INTIMIDATION: AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

Brothers and sisters the pig departments across the land are at the counter-revolutionary stage, wherein they are trying to intimidate the businesses in the community and force them into making false accusations against the members of the Panther Party.

At the present time, one of our beautiful brothers, Tommy Robinson, our Deputy Minister of Labor, is confined against his will in the slop-house that the white-power structure calls a jail. The alleged charges are extortion and two counts of robbery. Can you relate to that?

The full course of this crap hasn't even run the distance of the halfway mark. There are so many loop-holes in their trick bag that it makes me feel like vomiting in the mouths of every pigs momma.

The allegations came about while brother Tommy was out in the community serving his people by requesting donations for the Breakfast for School Children Program.

The context of his requests for donations was misconstrued and turned around to the advantage of the pigs, so that it would seem that he was demanding money from the businesses involved.

The true statement made by the brother was, "If the businesses involved, the avaricious businessmen and capitalists did not contribute back into the community by supporting the Breakfast Program, we would blow it to the people or expose them to the community over our P.A. system (Public Address system)."

These simple, muddle-headed pigs jumped at the chance to make something out of this, by intimidating those simple minded moron capitalists and forcing them into believing that our brother said he was going to blow his store up and out of the community.

Any individual in his right mind (if that is the correct analogy) could discern the difference and determine for himself that no Panther

would make such a statement. But of course, we cannot classify a bunch of dried nut, slobbering mouth pigs as having any intelligence. So, we take that into consideration when we deal with the matter.

The pigs are still oinking to the people. But the people will deal with this act against its own, and they will retaliate and rise up against these racist freaks.

These gestapo tactics will not work on the people who are now educating themselves and are living in this racist decadent society and can see these madmen going berserk.

Seeing these things for myself, I can reach only one conclusion, America has gone mad; it is on the verge of self-destruction. America is once more guilty of repression against a voice that is out of harmony with her bulls--t.

The only crime Tommy Robinson is guilty of, is being Deputy Minister of Labor for the Black Pan-

ther Party, having a dedicated love for his people and deep concern for the welfare of our black children and all oppressed children.

To sum the matter up, this brother was not guilty by no means what so ever.

If he is to be tried at all, let the people have the true evidence concerning his action.

The facts are, that he was a servant of the people; his hopes and desires are dedication to the ideology that these racist, imperialist goons must be stopped from oppressing the people. His beliefs are correlated with all liberation forces that believe we must unite and conquer these mad dog cowards.

Presently, with the illustrious talent of Mr. Austin Shute, our articulate legal advisor, we are working whole heartedly to see that this brother will again work for his people and continue to serve them with an undying love and dedication.

We, the Black Panther Party, will see that justice prevails, because the people will not condone such actions against one of its brothers. The people will not help the system continue to exploit, to fake reality, honesty, and so-called justice.

The oppressed masses here and all over the world will no longer let such acts as the conspiracy against our brother and others happen.

We, the people, can see the racist dogs and their reactionary fools are on the verge of extinction. In these times we will not be deluded, we will keep on fighting and winning; until all monsters of all kinds are destroyed!

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE HUEY!**

Billie R. Robinson
Deputy Minister of Information
Kansas City Chapter

PANTHERS DENOUNCE SENTENCE OF FRED HAMPTON



(PHOTO BY GEORGE OF THE JUNGLE)

The pig power structure and lackeys, in another attempt to thwart the Black Panther Party, have sentenced Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton to two to five years in prison.

We of the Black Panther Party, and other revolutionary organizations realize that Chairman Fred was sentenced because Sissy Jones who supposedly upholds the law, was pressured by Dodohead Daley and his gang of merry mutts into locking up a man whose only crime, in pigs eyes, was to try to liberate all oppressed people. This is only another act of repression on the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Organization, the Black Disciples, and the Young Patriots, merely another attempt to try to make people think we are against them--that we are animals and gangs. But pigs don't understand the people know who their friends are and unite with them to fight their enemies, because peo-

ple see these organizations helping them, not hurting them. If anybody is a gang, it is Pig Daley and his lawless servants of the law. The pigs have tried to destroy these revolutionary organizations by putting out phony murder charges, arresting the members merely to harass them, beating them up, and committing them to jail on trumped up charges.

We say to Pig Daley, Pig Hanrahan, Pig Conlisk and the others, we're going to put you up against the same wall you tried to put us up against and have the people try your crimes of murder, brutality, and torture.

In the past month, pigs have murdered four known brothers and have not been arrested. They were not arrested because the fat fanatics they serve and protect think that the murderers of innocent, oppressed people deserve time off for "good behaviour". If the pigs will not root out these butchers

among themselves, the people will. The people will root out these over-killers and make sure that Manuel Ramos is not forgotten and that Pig Lamb is caught; that Charles Cox, James Johnson, Pig Bickney will get none of the masses of oppressed people to believe that these revolutionary organizations are gangs; and that all other brothers who have been murdered by these blood hungry cannibals are not forgotten. For the people have closed the books of lawlessness and have drawn their line between legality and illegality. They have drawn their line and said, "no more".--No more brothers will be taken from us without cause, no more brothers robbed of their lives because some maniac wants to practice his sadistic tendencies on them.

Fred was convicted in almost the same manner that Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton was convicted. Chairman Fred was con-

victed not of the robbing of an ice cream truck, but for helping initiate a free breakfast for school children, a free health clinic, and for believing that all oppressed people--be they black, brown, red, white or polka dot--should have the power to determine their own destiny. Fred was convicted and denied appeal bond on his political belief alone.

Why was Chairman Fred denied appeal bond when Pig Nuccio can kill a black brother and walk the streets free; when four brothers can be murdered in the past month and not one pig was arrested, when Jerome Huey can be killed in Cicero by four racists and not one be jailed, when the same lackey, Sissy Jones, who sentenced a man to 2 - 5 years for a \$71 ice cream robbery, let a hit and run murderer of a 15-year-old boy off? Why? Because we tried to use legalities in a system of illegalities. People have drawn the line and now say

that whenever anyone - armed or unarmed - uniformed or out of uniform, representative of law or representative of lawlessness - steps out of the realm of legality and into the realm of illegality, no matter who he is, if his approach is illegal, the response will be to halt illegal acts.

Sissy Jones committed illegal acts when he locked Fred Hampton up. People will move to halt this illegal act. Fred is gone, gone from the streets where his heart and the people are, but not for long. For the people's love for Fred Hampton is great, and they will join with the vanguard of the people's revolution in exhausting all legal means, appealing to the highest courts, and raising all necessary funds to get Fred back on the streets. The people know that you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail a revolution. The pigs will find out they will no longer be able to do either.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN INDIANA CHAPTER ARRESTED ON ASSAULT AND BATTERY CHARGE

The Deputy Chairman of the Indiana Chapter (Fred Crawford) was arrested on a frame up charge of assault and battery. Stemming from an altercation between him (Fred Crawford) and an employee of the Parking Meter Division (Meter Maid). The incident resulted from an argument with the Meter Maid who had been told numerous times that the meter was broken. Brother Crawford attempted to remove the ticket from the windshield of his car, when he was struck by the Meter Maid,

arrived on the scene to fix the meter, but at this writing it is still broken.

Black pigs went to the Deputy Chairman's house and kicked in his door. The occupants of the house (Brother Crawford's wife and children) were told to come out or be arrested. At this time a warrant for arrest was issued. This time Black pigs from the Special Investigations Department accompanied by numerous slave masters knocked on the door of Panther Headquarters, when asked what

the brother's and sister's lives in the building, so he walked out and denied the pigs the opportunity of a shoot out. An incident to provoke him was in progress when Panthers moved in close and demanded that he not be man-handled. The pigs began slobbering at the mouth but they refrained from their attempts to provoke us, outside the building. All revolutionaries know that the Vanguard wins when the enemy is destroyed and the Vanguard does not lose a man, so to be reactionary instead



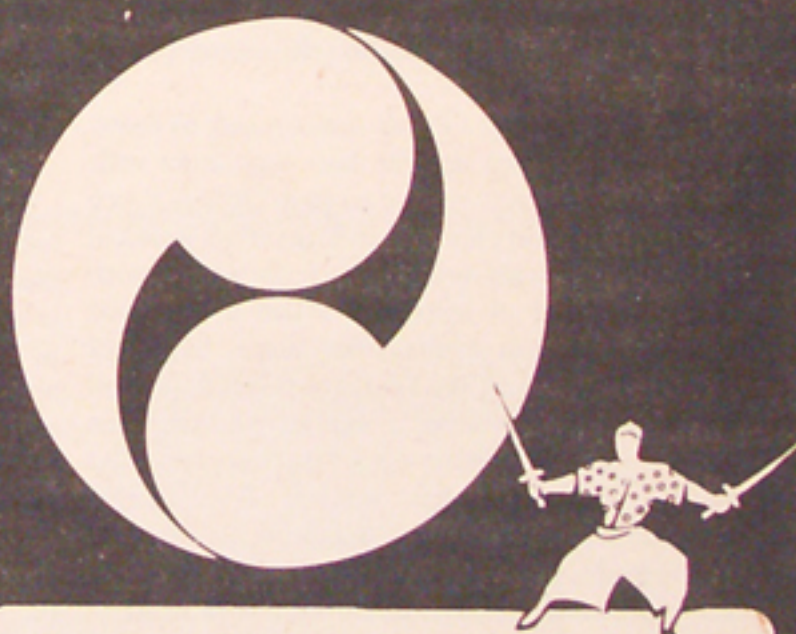
Not being a reactionary but none the less being a man he struck back. The racist fool (Meter Maid) immediately called the freakish forces of the pig department, who quickly moved in attack position in front of Panther Headquarters. After sitting around trying to make up their minds what to do, six squads from the hog pen decided to leave. The meter department

they wanted, they told us they had a warrant for the arrest of Fred Crawford. Lawrence Roberts, the Deputy Minister of Finance looked at the warrant, I conferred with the Deputy Chairman. We wanted to execute Executive Mandate No. 3 and stand our ground, but Fred Crawford denied the request stating the charge was not enough to warrant a shoot out endangering

of a revolutionary is defeat.

Pictures shown are the Deputy Chairman discussing a point with the Deputy Minister of Information, before, the arrest, and being led to the car after the arrest. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE Donald Campbell Deputy Minister of Information Indiana Chapter

Limited Exclusive West Coast Engagement!
FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES!



ONE OF THE YEARS TOP 10

—San Francisco Chronicle

SUSPENSE ALL THE WAY

—New York Post

FINEST MOVIE SPECTACLE
I'VE EVER SEEN

—Nation

A MUST—AN EXQUISITE
WORK OF ART

—Judith Crist

A JAPANESE "GONE WITH
THE WIND"

—Examiner

CHUSHINGURA

TOSHIRO MIFUNE • Eastmancolor

• presented in its entirety—3 1/2 hours •

Gateway

215 JACKSON OFF BATTERY
SAN FRANCISCO ph. 421-3353

SHOW TIMES

Sun. thru Fri. — 8:00P.M.
Saturday 8:30

Cinema

SHATTUCK & HASTE
BERKELEY ph. 848-2038

SHOW TIMES

Sun. thru Fri. — 8:00P.M.
Saturday 8:30

CONT. FROM LAST ISSUE

THE CIA AS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

Incorporated in 1960 as International Features Service, a press agency bringing the thoughts of Hubert Humphrey to the people of the Third World, Peace With Freedom went nonprofit and reorganized in 1962 under the direction of Murray Baron, vice president of New York's Liberal Party. To insure a credible operation, Baron brought in NAACP head Roy Wilkins, who in turn convinced the United Auto Workers' Walter Reuther to come aboard. The CIA, of course came up with the cash to help bring the combined forces of American civil rights and liberalism to Africa. PWF's income for 1963 consisted of \$27,826 from the International Development Foundation, a conduit, and \$130,799.78 from the dummy Price Fund. A mere \$765.75 accrued from "other sources." Funding in the following years was the same story, all CIA sources—though the total had more than doubled by 1966.

By 1965, the original press agency operation had grown by leaps and bounds; it maintained 24 representatives around the world and published in 22 languages. Among the most popular writers, along with Humphrey, were Tom Mboya and Roy Wilkins.

Mboya had not been forgotten in the shift to PWF. The new organization contributed \$40,000 to the KFL for publication of its weekly newspaper, *Mfanyi Kasi* (Worker Solidarity), in English and Swahili. But this support now figured in a far broader context than it had in the past. PWF created and financed a whole string of East African organizations including the East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, the East African Publishing House (now reorganized as Afro-Press), the Jomo Kenyatta Educational Institute, the Kenneth Kuanda Foundation and the Milton Obote Foundation in Uganda.

It was an entire prefabricated cultural and intellectual infrastructure, reaching from the elite academic setting to the mass media of radio and pamphleteering. It aimed, in the favored phrase, at "nation building," shaping a social infrastructure, an elite and an ideological base. In Kenya, Peace With Freedom's operation was practically all-encompassing. The principal exception was the Lumumba Institute, opened on December 13, 1964 (Independence Day). Although Kenyatta himself was the nominal patron, real control lay in the hands of Vice President Odinga and the left, whose cadres it trained.

In the following year, Kenya was encouraged to move against Odinga, cementing the deal he had negotiated with Attwood. The Constitution was revised to strip Odinga's vice presidential office of its power; his post in Kenyatta's political party was eliminated, his trade union base (competitive with the KFL) reorganized out of existence. When he resigned the vice presidency in protest, Odinga was successfully shut out of effective campaigning in the subsequent election. And the Lumumba Institute was dissolved by executive decree when its students objected to the government's formulation of "African Socialism." While the left was being destroyed, PWF's cultural-political complex was operating to keep the nation on an even keel, providing stable mechanisms for what could be misinterpreted as constructive dissent and in effect defining the limits of legitimate social and political debate. One man working with PWF in Kenya, Heinz Berger, described the significance of his program to us, saying its "existence means there is no gap which some other country or ideology could fill."

When Ambassador Attwood departed from Kenya in 1966, he expressed satisfaction with what had been accomplished there: "White fears of blacks in power in Kenya had proved to be unfounded; a white Kenyan was still minister of agriculture and 1700 Englishmen still worked in various branches of the Kenyan government. . . . Odinga and the demagogues were out of office. The men moving up . . . were unemotional, hardworking and practical minded. When they talked about Kenya's agricultural revolution they sounded like Walt Rostow; they spoke of available credit, fair prices, technical assistance and the cash purchase of tools and consumer goods." U.S. exports had grown from \$13.5 million in 1963 to \$31.6 million three years later when Attwood left. It was quite a record for Attwood. But then, as he himself has modestly observed: "...an Ambassador who treats his CIA chief as an integral member of his Country Team will generally find him a useful and cooperative associate. I know I did."

There have been setbacks since, however—four of PWF's top men were refused entry in February 1968 by pro-British Home Minister Daniel Moi who alleged they were connected with the CIA, after which PWF's New York office shut down and the organization disappeared. And the problem of Kenyatta's successor may prove dangerous since discontent is widespread and growing and the economy is in trouble. But these difficulties notwithstanding, Attwood's enthusiastic recounting of how "Black Power in Kenya" had avoided

demagogues and had ceased to be something to be feared is impressive. It could almost serve as an expression of the current devout and determined wish for just such a development of Black Power in the United States. Certainly the lessons of Africa have not been lost on those who have consecrated their wishes with coins in the fountain of black capitalism and cultural nationalism. But the carry-over to the present case goes beyond mere tactical experience taken to heart by the manipulators of black destiny. The CIA may no longer be the vanguard agency, but the momentum in the ideology that was set in motion continues strong, and there is continuity in the very personnel. People who provided the racial cover are still proving remarkably serviceable in that same role today.

[VI. IN THE SHADOW OF MALCOLM X]

BECAUSE HE IS SO DECIDEDLY "RESPONSIBLE" a black leader, Roy Wilkins' involvement with such CIA operations as AMSAC and Peace With Freedom may not seem an absolute incongruity. His public orientation toward established power has never marked him as a revolutionary *enragé*. He did, for example, call the nation's civil rights leaders together in 1964 to forge a consensus for a moratorium on demonstrations, so as not to embarrass Johnson and thereby aid Goldwater. The case of James



ROY WILKINS

Farmer, however (who alone, except for John Lewis of SNCC, rejected Wilkins' proposal), is quite different. He and CORE, which he headed from 1961 to 1966, have come down on the militant side of the "Movement," from being in the forefront of the Freedom Rides—which Farmer led and for which he was jailed—to the adoption of the slogan "Black Power" long before it became a way to public acceptance. The most disruptive civil rights "direct action" campaigns in northern cities were sponsored by CORE, with Farmer's leadership and support. Nevertheless, even at the height of these years of activist militancy, Farmer could be found serving as an effective, if unwitting, instrument of CIA operations.

Farmer's most significant service was done in the course of two CIA-sponsored trips to Africa, the first of which took place in 1958. Farmer had already passed into the Agency's orbit from '50 to '54, when he served as national secretary of the youth affiliate of the nominally socialist and fiercely (if not exclusively) anticommunist League for Industrial Democracy (LID). The Student League (SLID) was an associate member of the CIA-financed International Union of Socialist Youth. (SLID was not considered sufficiently socialist for full membership.) SLID itself received funds to maintain its international contacts from the Agency's prime conduit on the student front, the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs. Here Farmer picked up the orientation and the contacts which made it inevitable that the CIA would cross his path again.

After leaving SLID, Farmer went to work for the New York based State, County and Municipal Employees Union, gaining the post of international representative. Farmer caught the attention of the union's ex-president, Arnold Zander, who was himself deeply and knowledgeably involved in the CIA's international labor program. Zander selected Farmer for the African tour; he was to represent their own public employees union on a five-member delegation of the Public Services International, which as part of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was earlier seen to be a mainstay of CIA operations in Kenya and Africa generally during this period. The 15-nation PSI tour was part of the overall "clean union" program being conducted by the Agency in Africa.

PSI President Zimmernuss, in reporting what had been learned from this journey, said that PSI guidance for African unions was sorely needed. "Their work is still in the kindergarten stage," he observed. He noted that the picture was brightest where white rule continued, particularly in the Belgian Congo: "There at least a trade union is able to work." The greatest danger uncovered was the communists who preyed on the Africans' simple innocence. "The African knows nothing of the communists," he explained. "They treat him as an equal." Fortunately this subversion was being countered by organizers of the Catholic union movement who, he reported, employed such imaginative tactics as getting Africans to join their union's May Day parade by offering them "trousers, shirts and other presents, that they could get no other way." Far more advanced forms of using the white

man's gifts to preserve African unionists from the indignities of the communists have already been described with reference to PSI work in Kenya.

The PSI report on the trip refers to Farmer as a "colored trade unionist—a fact which naturally proved of considerable advantage to the delegation in its approach to the Africans." This is a somewhat dry description of the outpouring of good faith lavished on Farmer and thereby indirectly on the organizations and politics he had gone there to represent. Farmer himself describes it this way: "...all over Africa black men made me feel as if they were my family. When I left Nigeria, on that first visit, Nigerian trade-unionists gathered at the airport to see me off, and they threw their arms around me and kissed me." By all means, then, the "fact . . . proved of considerable advantage. . . ."

Farmer returned to the U.S. in December 1958. Not long afterwards, Roy Wilkins invited him to join the NAACP staff. In 1961, he returned to CORE as national director, leading the Freedom Rides that year (two years later he was nearly lynched by state troopers in Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana).

By 1962, when AMSAC created a subsidiary called the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa (ANLC), James Farmer's was an indispensable name on the definitive roster, which included A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young Jr., Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King Jr. Farmer described



WHITNEY YOUNG, JR.

the purpose of the group: "As Americans of African descent, we felt we should take the lead in interpreting for America what was happening in Africa and also in explaining to Africans what was happening in America. We felt too that our opinions should weigh in the formation of American foreign policy regarding Africa."

In particular need of interpretation at that time was the spectacle of dogs, cattle prods, clubs and bullwhips used against black Americans by officers of the law. The American way of life was becoming increasingly hard to sell, and AMSAC's offspring (ANLC's one-man staff and chief traveling representative, Ted Brown, was from AMSAC and worked out of AMSAC offices) could be of enormous benefit to the government. Who could better reaffirm American legitimacy than the spokesmen of its victims? The very authority of black suffering could be turned to a national advantage.

Ultimately, ANLC did not achieve the great overall impact which had been anticipated by the CIA, which was paying the bills through AMSAC. The results were assessed recently by a secret meeting of a Council on Foreign Relations study group on U.S. African policy. There was no disappointment in the politics of the protagonists (though today SNCC would probably not be invited). Rather, as one discussant, Ulric Haynes Jr., a prominent black business consultant and former African affairs advisor to President Johnson, observed, "The move had been premature. . . . American Negroes at that time did not consciously identify with their African heritage. An effort of this kind would be more effective today than it was then."

EVEN SO, ANLC WAS ABLE to prove its usefulness. Its biggest job came in 1964, when American credibility in Africa had plunged disastrously in light of the Kennedy assassination, the presence of a Southerner in the White House, and the wake of the "humanitarian mission" to the Congo. On top of everything else, Malcolm X had chosen that moment to make his two triumphant tours of Africa.

Ambassador Attwood described the embarrassment of Malcolm's visit: "On Kenya television he identified himself as the leader of 22 million American Negroes and painted an exaggerated picture of their plight. After he left, I alerted other posts of his arrival, suggesting they enlighten their African friends in advance."

His caution was well founded. One African newspaper editorialized: "An extremely important fact is that Malcolm X is the first Afro-American leader of national standing to make an independent trip to Africa since Dr. DuBois came to Ghana. . . . Let's make sure we don't give it less thought than the State Department is doubtless giving it right now."

Another African paper predicted: "Malcolm X is one of our most significant and militant leaders. We are in battle. Efforts will be made to malign and discredit him. . . . And sure enough, while Malcolm was still in Africa a grant was being funneled through AMSAC to send—in the company of AMSAC's James Baker—a representative of ANLC on an extended African tour covering all the countries that Malcolm himself had visited. James Farmer was selected."

Farmer contends that he did not know the CIA was behind the trip, and that in any case it was not meant to counter Malcolm's tour. He recalls that on the day his trip was

CONT. ON NEXT PAGE.

CONT. FROM LAST PAGE.

formally announced, New York radio stations disclosed that he was going abroad to answer Malcolm X. "Of course, that wasn't my intent at all," says Farmer now. "Malcolm called me up after those announcements appeared, and I of course denied them. He came over and spent an evening with me before I left, briefing me on his trip and suggesting people for me to look for. He left amicably and in fact it was on this trip—while I was in Ghana—that someone told me of Malcolm's impending assassination. That's why, if you remember, I was one of the few people who called for a federal inquiry and suggested that the CIA was involved in his murder."

Whatever personal intentions paved Farmer's path to Africa, the CIA got its money's worth out of it: Farmer was given red-carpet treatment. With enviable mobility he was able to meet with the heads of state of all but one of the countries he visited, meeting also with representatives of the Southern African liberation movements and—according to an AMSAC report—"he also talked to the U.S. ambassadors to the countries he visited and to other members of U.S. embassies there."

Writing after his return in AMSAC's CIA-financed journal, African Forum, Farmer was preoccupied with Malcolm's influence in Africa. "President Johnson," reported Farmer, "for all his inestimable good will—and I think he has it—has not been well-projected in Africa. In addition, Malcolm X contributed to the generally unfavorable African opinion of Johnson by characterizing him in speeches and conversations with Africans as a 'Southern racist.'" Elsewhere he notes that the response to his own defense of Johnson was "cautious."

"Malcolm made a considerable impact on African university campuses, but I felt this was largely superficial," Farmer wrote. The CORE leader told African audiences that what Malcolm had really been promoting was a form of apartheid. Farmer's African safari was, according to Jet Magazine, the Negro weekly, "a trial run for the post of assistant secretary of State for African Affairs." Much to his credit, he was critical of several aspects of the United States' Africa policy and didn't get the job.

In the case of the Congo he even went so far as to reveal and assail the fact that U.S. military planes were providing logistical support for the white mercenary army. On the other hand, Farmer could be counted on to eschew extreme alternatives to that policy. He recalls, "When I was in East Africa, many of the younger East Africans told me we [the U.S.] should get out of the Congo altogether. I told them I thought this nonsense. No major power would withdraw from so important a place as the Congo. It is both implausible and undesirable..." Farmer's view was that Tshombe and the rebels were both "unacceptable," and that "the hope for the Congo lies in a third force: perhaps it is lying dormant among the brilliant university students—the politicians, administrators and professional classes of tomorrow"—a hope that CIA agent Harris shared when he set up his Congo school to provide just such leadership training.

One does not send a man like Farmer to Africa expecting him to be a sycophantic apologist for the excesses of American overseas adventures. Nor does one give him a cabinet post and expect him to turn his back on the variety of domestic

militancy he helped pioneer. His record of criticism makes his basic sympathy for the reasonable exercise of American power all the more compelling. America has plenty of diplomats to make uncritical defenses of policy. But they do not have the same access to prestige that Farmer, with his militant credentials, enjoys.

[VII. GOOD AND BAD BLACK POWER]

IN ACCEPTING A POSITION AS THE RANKING black in the new Nixon Administration, James Farmer noted that he could choose between standing outside and criticizing or getting "on the inside" to help determine the course of events. Farmer was not alone in feeling that the new President was ready to come to terms with Black Power on pragmatic, if not ideological, grounds. The current leadership of CORE, along with other militants, had discovered that the agencies of government and of private financial power were eager to get in on the ground floor and underwrite the stock of Black Power. As CORE's Roy Innis said of Nixon's presidency, "Somehow our agendas intersect."

Of course, Black Power, like African nationalism, could be conceived and directed in a number of ways, some of them not at all threatening to the status quo. And the current administration has already seen its job as winnowing away the Good Black Power from the Bad. Such an approach to America's racial crisis has been in the offing for some time. The media have joined in promoting it to the white public. Time magazine announced over a year and a half ago: "What has clearly developed... is a Black Power movement on a more respectable base... The most intelligent spokesmen for the new attitude think of it in terms of Black Consciousness—or more completely, of Black Pride."

This interpretation of the black revolution—sanctioning and encouraging those aspects which are the least revolutionary—is, of course, a reminder of the international strategy the CIA developed around AMSAC, the subsidies it gave to select leaders in Africa, and its sponsorship of Tom Mboya's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. And again, as in those cases, the current emphasis is on a variety of Black Power which is a psycho-cultural redemption, not one that offers to reevaluate the social and economic power of its new backers. Common ground is staked out and emphasized between white capitalism and black militance, but it is always safely within the boundaries of the status quo. And those who say that the status quo is simply not plastic enough to contain all the contradictions of racism in America are isolated as Bad Black Powerites. Just as in Africa those following the Frantz Fanons were pushed beyond the pale of respectability and those following the Mboyas rewarded, so today those militant blacks who accept black capitalism are heavily subsidized while those who support social revolution are hunted down.

As U.S. News & World Report has noted, "Black capitalism" is turning out to be a form of 'Black Power' with wide appeal to members of both races," one which "is gaining backers—and financial assistance—among white businessmen, bankers and industrialists." Ralph T. McElvenny, president of American Natural Gas Company, gave a concise summary of the thoughts of many corporate leaders when he said last February: "The Negro must have a stake in the economy that

gives him more to lose than to gain by rioting and insurrection." This statement parallels one made by Thomas H. Burrell, an activist in Philadelphia's burgeoning black capitalist movement: "If people in the neighborhood own a share of the business, when someone with a Molotov cocktail approaches the place, windows will fly open and residents will say, 'Don't you dare burn my dollar's worth.'" Reverend Leon Sullivan, organizer of the Philadelphia-based Opportunities Industrialization Center, a black corporation complex operating in 70 U.S. cities, as well as Puerto Rico, Senegal, Nigeria and Kenya, adds, "I will never be satisfied until every black adult in America owns a piece of this country individually or mutually, even if it is no more than two square feet of earth or a share of stock."

Not everyone associated with black capitalism, of course, would express his vision in just this way. Many would differ sharply, but the white power brokers who are funding and encouraging black capitalism will embrace militant rhetoric so long as they have the potentially explosive situation itself under control. After all, the most Marxist of all interpretations of black capitalism comes from the official rhetoric of Richard Nixon: "With the ownership of the means of production goes power, prestige, security, the right to decide and to choose."

Sometimes the brokerage of power is merely ludicrous, as when the Labor Department set up a project in Washington, D.C. to hire 1000 ghetto youths to clean the streets and called it "Pride, Inc." Sometimes it is more candid, as when Ralph Taylor, assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development in charge of the model cities program, said, "I'm not against black participation, but it must be tied in to the larger, white system."

Those who hold power in the society retain control, though they may grant support to dissidents when it suits their immediate purposes. And the lesson of the CIA's African operations is that those in power know precisely why their support is rendered, even if the recipients know neither the reason nor the source.

Black Power has come a long way since 1966. But the question now is whether the journey has been up or downhill, whether or not the slogan has made any significant impression upon the system which gave rise to it. James Farmer, his peculiar career capped by the strange irony of being the black man most intimately involved with the official administration of Good Black Power, once put his finger on a problem which has since only intensified. "The evil of slavery..." he wrote in *Freedom—When?*, "is in the way it permitted white men to handle Negroes—their bodies, their actions, their opportunities, their very minds and thoughts. To the depths of their souls Negroes feel handled, dealt with, ordered about, manipulated—by white men. I cannot overemphasize the tenacity and intensity of this feeling among Negroes and I believe any fair-minded person pondering the history of the Negro's enforced posture in a world of white power would concede the justice of this feeling."

CHAIRMAN BOBBY AT HOUSTON U.

By JIM STRONG

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party Central Committee, appeared Thursday afternoon in UH Liberal Arts Auditorium No. 2 and told a standing room audience, "Our key enemy is the demagogic politician, the avaricious businessman and the pig police forces that occupy the black community."

"And today's pig," Seale continued, "if the people go on and rise up, is going to be tomorrow's bacon."

"Black people are talking about political organization, about self defense," Seale said.

"Those who attack people are aggressors and wrong. They must be stopped by the people," the Panther Party spokesman said.

"It is a class struggle, not a race struggle. We are not racists, we are not black racists. We don't dig black capitalism either... black capitalism promotes black racism," Seale emphasized.

Seale urged that people be judged by what they do, not by what color their skin might be. According to Seale, that was what made the program of imprisoned Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton so successful.

"Huey P. Newton showed the people by example... he didn't go down the block jiving about sociological theory," Seale said.

"The Man lied because Huey P. Newton had it together," Seale



continued, referring to the establishment.

Seale gave the example of a free lunch program for school children as an example of actions with real relevance. He also emphasized that it was time for solidarity to free the people from oppression.

"Don't give me this stuff about every Negro being a potential black man," Seale exhorted. "Every black man must be a revolutionary."

Seale spoke of the oppression of black leaders such as Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and the 21 New York Panthers who were recently indicted on charges of conspiracy to set off bombs in several New York department stores.

"The Man has to be crazy to think we'd put a bomb in a store where our own people are," Seale said.

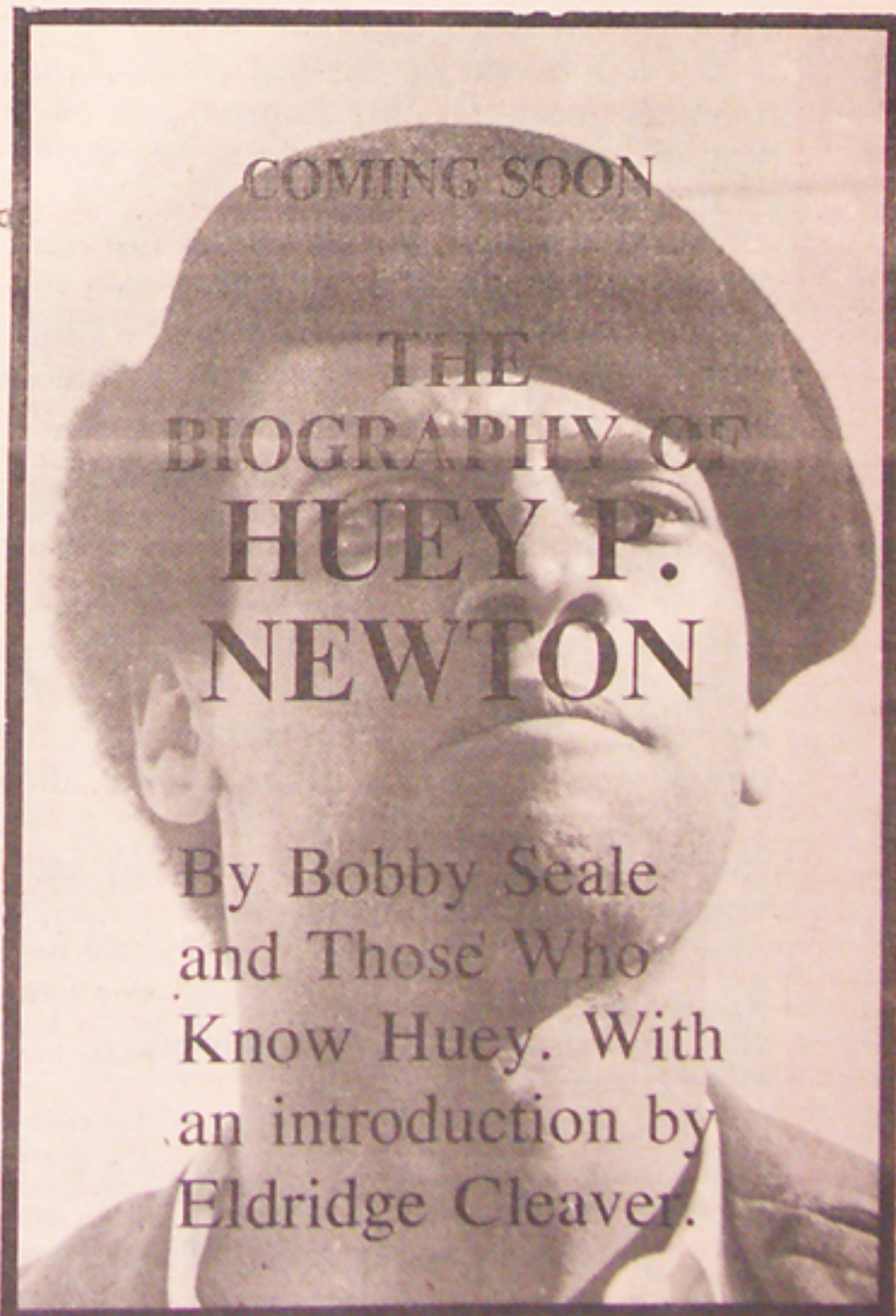
Seale also spoke of a "comic book mentality" that had brainwashed American society.

"Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck never did try to make love to Minnie Mouse or Daisy, and they've been in those comic books for 40 years," Seale said.

Seale cited the adoption of the 10-point Black Panther Party program by a group of American Indians, a Latin American organization on the West Coast and a Chinese youth group in San Francisco as part of the movement toward solidarity.

Seale cited the arrest and conviction of Lee Otis Johnson, Houston leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, for possession of a marijuana cigarette as a case of establishment oppression. Johnson received a 30-year jail sentence for the offense.

"Power to the people, thank you, people," Seale concluded. Immediately after his speech, Seale was escorted from the auditorium by a bodyguard of people who left by a side door.



What objections can the opponents of the united front have and how do they voice their objections?

Some say: "To the Communists the slogan of the united front is merely a maneuver." But if it is a maneuver, we reply, why don't you expose the "Communist maneuver" by your honest participation in a united front? We declare frankly: "We want unity of action by the working class, so that the proletariat may grow strong in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, in order that while defending today its current interests against attacking capital, against fascism, the proletariat may be in a position tomorrow to create the preliminary conditions for its final emancipation."

"The Communists attack us," say others. But listen, we have repeatedly declared: We shall not attack anyone, neither persons nor organizations nor parties that stand for the united front of the working class against the class enemy. But at the same time it is our duty, in the interests of the proletariat and its cause, to criticize those persons, those organizations, those parties which impede unity of action by the workers.

"We cannot form a united front with the Communists, since they have a different program," says a third group. But you yourselves say that your program differs from the program of the bourgeois parties, and yet this did not and does not prevent you from entering into coalitions with these parties.

"The bourgeois-democratic parties are better allies against fascism than the Communists," say the opponents of the united front and the advocates of coalition with the bourgeoisie. But what does Germany's experience teach? Did not the Social-Democrats form a block with those "better" allies? And what were the results?

"If we establish a united front with the Communists, the petty bourgeoisie will take fright at the 'Red danger' and will desert to the fascists," we hear it said quite frequently. But does the united front represent a threat to the peasants, the petty traders, the artisans, the toiling intellectuals, No, the united front is a threat to the big bourgeoisie, the financial magnates, the Junkers and other exploiters, whose regime brings complete ruin to all these strata.

"Social-Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists," say some of the Social-Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal for the time being.

"Let the Communists recognize democracy, let them come out in its defense, then we shall be ready for a united front." To this we reply: "We are adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the toilers, the most consistent democracy in the world. But in the capitalist countries we defend and shall continue to defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties which are being attacked by fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate.

"But the tiny Communist Parties do not contribute anything by participating in the united front brought about by the Labor Party," say, for instance, the Labor leaders of Great Britain. Recall how the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders said the same things with

THE CHIEF ARGUMENTS OF THE OPPONENTS OF THE UNITED FRONT



AMERICA'S GREATEST HEALTH PROBLEM FASCIST PIG BRUTALITY

reference to the small Austrian Communist Party. And what have events shown? It was not the Austrian Social-Democratic Party headed by Otto Bauer and Karl Renner that proved right but the tiny Austrian Communist Party which at the right moment signaled the fascist danger in Austria and called upon the workers to struggle. For the whole experience of the labor movement has shown that the Communists with all their relative insignificance in numbers are the motive power of the militant activity of the proletariat. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that the Communist Parties of Austria or Great Britain are not only the tens of thousands of workers who are supporters of the Party, but are parts of the world Communist movement, are sections of the Communist International, the leading party of which is the party of a proletariat which has already achieved victory and rules over one-sixth part of the globe.

"But the united front did not prevent fascism from being victorious in the Saar," is another objection advanced by the opponents of the united front. Strange is the logic of these gentlemen! First they leave no stone unturned to ensure the victory of fascism and then they rejoice with malicious glee because the united front which they entered into only at the last moment did not lead to the victory of the workers.

"If we were to form a united front with the Communists, we should have to withdraw from the coalition, and reactionary and fascist parties would enter the government," say the Social-Democratic leaders holding cabinet posts in various countries. Very well, Was not the German Social-Democratic Party in a coalition government? It was. Was not the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in office? It was. Were not the Spanish Socialists in the same government as the bourgeoisie? They were, too. Did the participation of the Social-Democratic Parties in the bourgeois coalition governments in these countries prevent fascism from attacking the proletariat? It did not. Consequently it is as clear as daylight that participation of Social-Democratic ministers in bourgeois government is not a barrier to fascism.

"The Communists act like dictators, they want to prescribe and dictate everything to us." No. We prescribe nothing and dictate nothing. We only make proposals concerning which we are convinced that if realized they will meet the interests of the toiling people. This is not only the right but the duty of all those acting in the name of the workers. You are afraid of the "dictatorship" of the Communists? Let us jointly discuss them and choose, together with all the workers, those proposals which are most useful to the cause of the working class.

Thus all these arguments against the united front will not bear the slightest criticism. They are rather the flimsy excuses of the reactionary leaders of Social Democracy, who prefer their united front with the bourgeoisie to the united front of the proletariat.

No. These excuses will not hold water. The international proletariat has known all the bitterness of tribulation caused by the split in the working class, and becomes more and more convinced that the united front, that the proletariat's unity of action on a national and international scale are both necessary and perfectly possible.

PIGS MAKING LAST DITCH STAND: MOVE TO FASCISM

The fascist pigs of the power structure are striking out wildly and overtly as all reactionaries do when they are on the verge of destruction. The reactions of these pigs range from charging Black Panthers with everything from conspiracy to murder. The pigs have even committed murder in order to frame and jail Panthers. They began their intensive effort to wipe out the Black Panther Party by arresting 21 members of the New York Chapter. They charged the National Chairman of the Black Panther Party with inciting the riot at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Their latest effort has been to murder a brother and arrest eight Panthers from the Connecticut chapter for murder and conspiracy to commit murder. The fascist FBI forced their way into the Chicago headquarters of the Black Panther Party under the pretext of wanting to capture George Sams. George Sams was not there. They busted eight Panthers anyway, illegally took equipment and files that they had no right to and they stole \$3,000 in cash. Just two days prior to these fascist acts, two members of the Black Panther Party were arrested on charges of unlawful flight to avoid persecution. Assistant Pig U.S. Attorney Gordon Abbot said that Landon Robert Williams and Rory Hithe had been charged in Connecticut with kidnapping, murder and "binding". With such serious charges lodged against them, why were they not under arrest in Connecticut? The press made no mention of a jail break. It is quite obvious that J. Edgar Hoover and the American Fascist regime is stepping up its efforts to kill off the Vanguard.

Reports of fascist moves are coming in continuously. The Detroit Chapter of the Black Panther Party was vamped on and members were arrested. The Indianapolis Chapter was vamped on and members arrested because the Panthers were out in the streets during a rebellion telling the people to go home and get off the streets. Members of the New Jersey, Oregon and California Chapters have been under constant attack from the fascist regime. Only weeks ago the Des Moines Chapter of the Black Panther Party had its headquarters bombed and homes destroyed. When the members of the Des Moines Chapter sponsored a rally to raise funds for their Breakfast for Children Program, the Fascist pigs of Des Moines moved on it and disrupted it.

Various organizations who have alliances with the Black Panther Party are getting vamped on by the American fascists. Groups such as SDS, The Young Lords, anti-war groups, student groups and just plain people who are opposed to some of America's fascist policies are being beaten, gassed, arrested and killed for merely being in opposition to the status quo. Huey P. Newton is in the concentration camp, convicted by a Kangaroo Court composed of fascists. Bobby Hutton is dead, murdered in cold blood by fascist swine of the Oakland Police Department.

Eldridge Cleaver is in exile because the fascist California regime was going to force him back into prison and the politically unconscious masses of the people weren't matured enough to act against the fascist system in defense of Eldridge.

In San Francisco, the mayor has established a special force within the Police Department, which they call the Tac (Tactical) Squad. This squad is the exact replica of 1939's Gestapo teams. They have taken the lead in murdering a 19 year old black youth, Alvert Linthcome. They have been the special guardian of the law at San Francisco State College, beating and jailing college students. American Fascists have employed special "Black Nigger" forces to do their bidding, such as Ron Karenga's US group who murdered Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, John Huggins and John Savage. One needs not mention the hundreds of people who have been murdered while trying to gain some freedom within the framework of American tradition.

RORY HITHE, LEFT AND LANDON ROBERT WILLIAMS
BUSTED IN DENVER



FASCIST PIGS SET \$200,000 BAIL

Abroad, American Fascism is rampant. The Vietnamese people are being subjected to the most brutal oppression that the world has ever seen. The American economy is supported by the material used to murder Vietnamese people. America glories in the products that she produces to kill people with. All of America's war products are not sent abroad, the colleges and universities of America are proving grounds and testing sites for new weapons to be used by the fascist police forces across the country against the discontented masses of people.

The masses of the people don't want to believe that America is a fascist state. We, the Black Panther Party know that it is. If they choose to sleep and day dream, so be it. We relate to what can be summed up in an old familiar phrase "If America is going to play Germans, we are not going to play Jews, period."

Fascism is the power of finance capital which is manifested in FBI's, CIA's, Fascist Pigs, machine guns, rifles, shotguns, helicopters, gas and bombs.
Big Man

FASCISM

Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic (racist) and most imperialist elements of finance capital. It does not stand above both classes - the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, nor is it super-class government, nor government of the petty-bourgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. FINANCE CAPITAL manifests itself not only as banks, trusts, and monopolies, but also as the human property of FINANCE CAPITAL - the avaricious businessman, the demagogic politician, and the racist pig cop. FASCISM is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class, and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia.

**CAPITALISM PLUS RACISM
EQUALS FACISM**

REBELLION IN ANGOLA

PORTUGUESE TYRANNY HAS LASTED 500 YEARS

BY ALICE ROBERT AND DON BARNETT

February 4th is a very significant date for the people and history of Angola. Over eight years ago on that day an armed struggle was initiated by the *Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola* (MPLA) which marked the beginning-of-the-end for the oldest and most rapacious colonial regime on the African continent. For Angolans, 500 years of Portuguese tyranny has meant the enslavement and export of over 9 million souls, a brutal system of forced labor from which few escape, the theft of vast areas for foreign concessions and a settler population now numbering over 400,000, acute infant mortality (60%), a virtual lack of medical care, an illiteracy rate of 98%, political servitude, and the break-up of traditional social and cultural patterns.

MPLA's first manifesto, issued in December 1956, summed up the impact of Portuguese rule as follows: "The objective of Portuguese exploitation and imperialist oppression of the people of Angola has been, is, and will remain, to obtain the highest possible profit . . . The entire colonial administrative apparatus is in the hands of the colonial state . . . and is disorganized. The cultural values of Angola are crushed and annihilated. Our history is distorted our slandered . . . We are humiliated as individuals and as a people . . . The way of life they have been forcing us to follow is therefore contrary to the supreme interests of the people of Angola, contrary to our subsistence, to our liberty, contrary to our rapid and full economic progress, to our happiness, our bread, land, peace and culture for all . . . Portuguese colonialism will not be defeated without a revolutionary struggle! Thus there is only one way for the people of Angola to free themselves — that of the revolutionary struggle."

On the 4th of February, 1961, after several years of clandestine preparation, the initial blow was struck. A series of attacks was launched in Luanda, capital of Angola, aimed primarily at freeing political prisoners being held in the town's police stations and prison. The fighting soon spread to the north where simultaneous attacks were launched by the rebels in the rural districts of Congo, Cuanza Norte, and Malange.

Although massive Portuguese repression followed these early rebel successes, a guerrilla zone was firmly established in northern Angola, less than 100 miles from Luanda. By mid-1964, despite numerous setbacks, the MPLA had opened a second front in the Cabinda district, an oil-rich enclave to the north bordering Congo-Brazzaville. Then, in May 1966, a major break-through occurred when a third front was opened in the eastern district of Moxico. Now, three years later, MPLA guerrillas have pushed 350 miles deep into Angola from the east and are fighting along a 600-mile front. Two new fronts have recently been opened in Lunda district to the north and Huila in the southwest, and guerrilla units are operating in Bie near the center of the country.

The strategy of MPLA is to force a dispersal of Portugal's 80,000 troops while, at the same time, mobilizing as much of the population as possible. Fighting is at present going on in nine of Angola's 15 districts and MPLA political organizers are at work in all the major cities and plantation areas. Over a third of Angola's half-million square miles has been semi-liberated.

In these semi-liberated regions MPLA, together with the people, have set up rudimentary organs of popular power. Programs are being carried forward to reorganize and expand the Popular Militias, increase food production, broaden the educational program in the villages, build guerrilla Centers for Revolutionary Instruction (CIR), enlarge the activities of the Medical Assistance Services (SAM), and establish Peoples' Stores to handle the distribution of scarce commodities. In addition, civil registration centers, services responsible for preparing primary school texts and programs of national culture, and a newspaper have already been established.

MPLA and the African Relief Services Committee
Waves of national liberation, such as that occurring in Angola, are part of the world revolution against colonialism and imperialism. Portugal is not alone in its economic exploitation of Angola. The



MPLA Commander Spartacus Monimanbu

United States, Britain, France, Belgium, West Germany, Japan and South Africa have increasing stakes in the vast mineral, fuel and agricultural wealth of this Portuguese colony. The U.S.-owned Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, for example, with a concession area of over 10,000 square miles, expects to pump 150,000 barrels of oil a day out of Angola by 1970 (making that country one of the world's largest producers), and is also engaged in mining phosphates and potassium. Belgium controls Petrangol, the other large petroleum company in Angola; the British Diamang company exploits diamond and owns the Benguela Railway; France and Germany exploit the rich iron deposits; Japan the copper deposits; the U.S. and France the manganese deposits; and so on.

It is understandable then that Portugal receives considerable military support from her NATO allies. The United States, as well as France, Italy, Germany, and Britain, provide Portugal with modern military equipment such as helicopters, bombers, fighter planes, napalm grenades, automatic rifles, and transport vehicles. Last year, the counter-insurgency headquarters of NATO were shifted to Lisbon.

While all this is to be expected, given the nature of imperialism, a fact usually overlooked is the potential assistance which might be given to liberation movements, such as the MPLA, by those of us in the metropolitan centers who stand opposed to continued colonial and imperialist exploitation. We in Canada and the United States, for example, have great resources and facilities at our disposal which are badly needed by the MPLA and other national liberation movements of southern Africa. Unfortunately, to this point, far too little practical assistance has been provided to such liberation movements by those of us in North America and Europe who are both capable and, in theory, desirous of giving such support.

The African Relief Services Committee was established with the aims of filling this gap between need and fulfillment, on the part of liberation movements in southern Africa, and resolving the contradiction among ourselves between theory and practice in this regard. Though still a very young organization, the African Relief Services Committee has already sent valuable supplies of clothing and technical equipment to MPLA and the people in the semi-liberated areas of Angola. At present, we have over 25 members at SFU and a branch of ARSC is well-underway at UBC. In the United States an

embryo branch has been established in the Bay Area of California and individual members are attempting to set up other branches in Seattle, Eugene, Los Angeles and Pennsylvania.

Prior to the founding of ARSC in Vancouver in January 1969, Roy Harvey, Jacques Roy and Don Barnett had the opportunity to visit Angola and observe the revolutionary struggle at first hand. They were invited to attend MPLA's first Eastern Regional Conference in the Moxico district in August 1968.

Roy Harvey, a photographer, worked on a documentary film and covered the Conference for the *Guardian*. Jacques Roy, an electronics engineer, worked for several months with MPLA technical cadre, helping them assemble radio equipment. Don Barnett walked 200 miles into the countryside with an MPLA unit, remaining for almost a month at the Zone "C" base camp, Hanoi II, in order to tape guerrilla life-histories for a book on the Angola Revolution. In the future, ARSC intends to send additional technical personnel into the semi-liberated regions of Angola to lend their skills and energies to the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation.

The general membership of the African Relief Services Committee, which meets once a month, is divided into three subcommittees concerned, respectively, with civilian aid and promotion, technical assistance, and revolutionary support research. Every member of ARSC is expected to be active on one of these subcommittees, as it is here that most of the real work is done.

The technical subcommittee has been concerned, among other things, with building water distillers for field clinics, assembling transistor radios and designing and manufacturing plastic tents. The research subcommittee monitors various periodicals for MPLA use, prepares fact sheets, pamphlets and articles to inform the public about the Angolan struggle, and looks forward in the near future to researching projects deemed important by MPLA. The civilian aid subcommittee is engaged in raising such needed supplies as clothes, medicines, garden-crop seeds and small tools, food concentrates, primary school supplies, salt, and soap. It also organizes fund-raising activities such as the series of revolutionary films to be shown by ARSC in early July.

Those who would like further information can contact Don Barnett at 291-4299 (office — AQ 5052).

BROTHER MURDERED IN JAIL BY FASCIST PIGS

Early Sunday morning of May 25, Mr. John Earl Cushingberry was murdered in the Champaign County Jail.

While the official story from the offices of the Champaign, Illinois Coroner, Charles Heath, have attributed the death of Mr. Cushingberry, a 31 year old Black man to cirrhosis of the liver, many other unanswered questions have made these findings look utterly ridiculous.

Stories from some of the persons locked up in jail with Mr. Cushingberry, and later substantiated to a high degree of accuracy county sheriff, have provided sufficient evidence to warrant crim-



inal actions against Champaign County Jail personnel.

Prisoners' stories describe a severe beating given Mr. Cushingberry, though this was not substantiated by the autopsy report by Sheriff's Deputies Gary Grey, John Brown and John Mumm, some of Rus Chaney's hoogie goons who

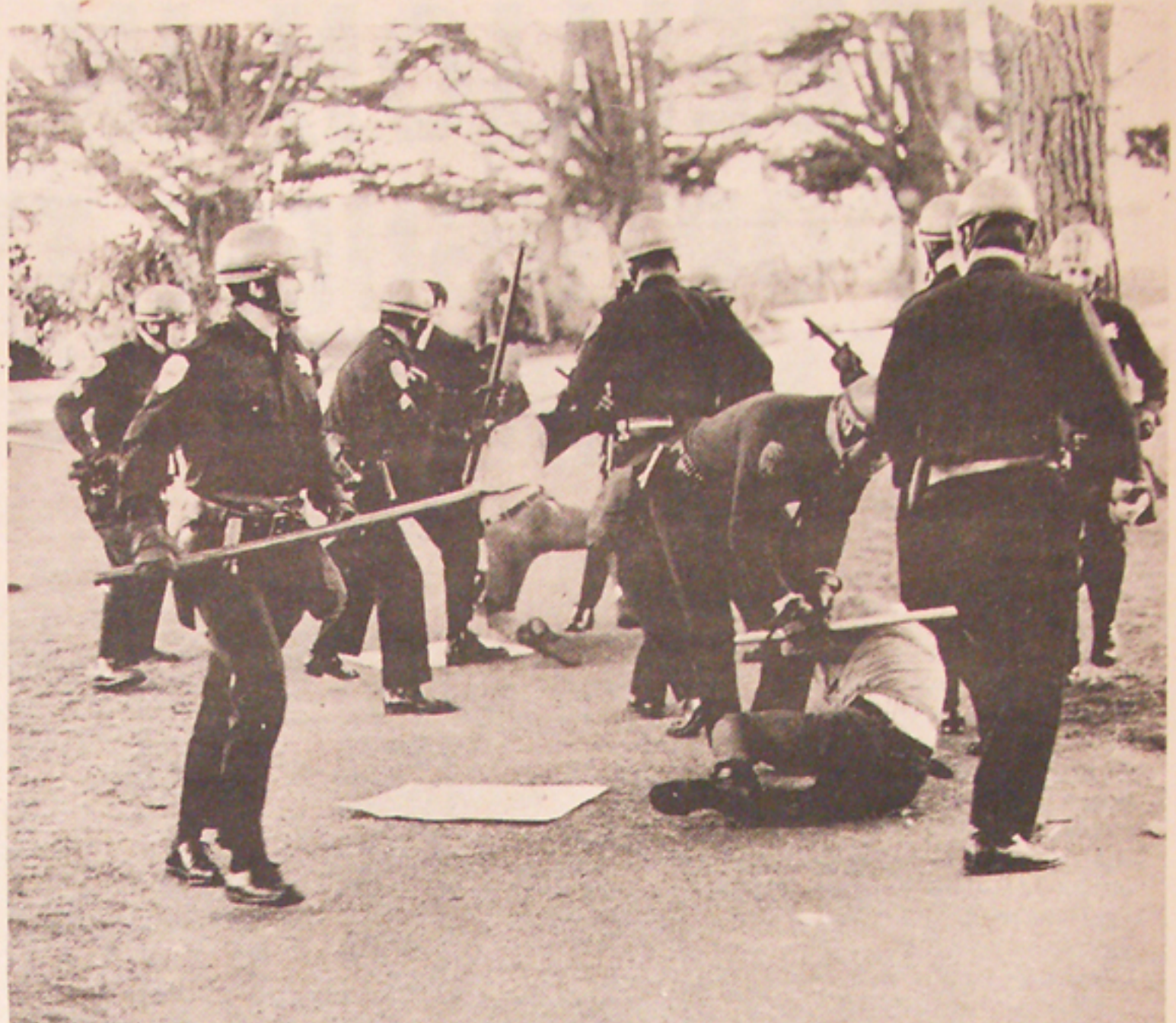
have a past history of Black abuse.

The county coroner's haste to have the body embalmed, which was done by a Black undertaker contrary to expressed wishes of Black spokesmen and Mr. Cushingberry's family for an inquest, the conflicting reports coming out of the sheriff's and coroner's offices; the callous conduct of the county medical officer in presenting his post-mortem findings, though a later autopsy performed by a Black doctor could not refute those findings; the failure of county medical officer, Dr. Lloyd Kaiser, who treated Mr. Cushingberry at the jail, to provide even rudimentary, responsible medical care; and the general air of indifference and unconcern has made clear to Blacks the true criminal nature of Mr. Cushingberry's death.

The persons implicit in the murder of Mr. Cushingberry should include not only those hoogie deputies who perpetrated the crime itself but the sheriff, the coroner, and those agents of these county officials who have made it possible for this murder to be called "death from natural causes".

We see the real possibilities of white murderers Grey, Brown and Mumm again being set free because they only killed a nigger.

Our responsibility to John Earl Cushingberry is to see that his death is not in vain. That the police state pay for this heinous crime against a Black man, John Cushingberry's murder must not be shoved under the rug. We must show to the world this continued brutalization and murder of Black people. John Cushingberry's murders, all of his murderers, must not rest. They must pay.



WITHOUT COMMUNITY CONTROL, FASCIST PIGS WILL CONTINUE TO RUN AMUCK

AMERICANISM

To the people of the community, the fascist pigs of the power structure are intensifying their repression of the Black Panther Party and the people as a whole. And this is the way sick America relates to government for the people, and by the people. Here is a partial list of the growing and ever increasing attacks upon the Black Panther Party. On June 4, 1969, our Chicago chapter was attacked by the fascist F.B.I. pigs, plus the local pigs of the power structure.

Seven members of the Black Panther Party were arrested and charged with harboring some invisible fugitive the fascist pigs came upon \$3,000 that was to be used for the defense of Fred Hampton.

The pigs couldn't catch the ghost so they confiscated the money. On June 7, 1969, our Indianapolis chapter of the Black Panther Party was attacked

by the fascist pigs of Indiana, while performing a service to the community by offering our office for refuge from the attacks of the pigs. A total of 15 brothers were arrested and charged with various charges. On or about May 22, 1969 there was an attack on the Oregon branch of the Black Panther Party by the F.B.I. and the local pig department of Eugene, Oregon. There they arrested two Party members, one for refusing to register for the draft, the other for various trumped up charges. This is a clear indication that finance capital is running amuck in America in the form of fascism.

On May 21, 1969, Central Headquarters, in New Haven, Conn. was invaded. Eight Panthers were arrested, and charged with the crime that the pigs committed, in order to justify their fascist attack on the Black Panther Party.

Remember Brother Malcolm



born May 19, 1925 - Assassinated Feb. 21, 1965

PETITION STATEMENT FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

SUMMARY OF POLICE CONTROL AMENDMENT THAT MUST BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA TO END FASCISM

This amendment to a City charter would give control of the police to community elected neighborhood councils so that those whom the police should serve will be able to set police policy and standards of conduct.

The amendment provides for community control of the police by establishing police departments for the major communities of any city; the Black community, the predominately White area, the Mexican American Communities, etc., etc. The departments would be separate and autonomous. They can by mutual agreement use common facilities. Each Department will be administered by full time police commissions. (Not single police chiefs.) The Commissioners are selected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council composed of fifteen members from that community elected by those who live there. Each department shall have five Community Council divisions within it. (Or number of departments ratioed to population.)

The Councils shall have the power to discipline officers for breaches of Department policy or violations of law. (Against the people). They may direct their police Commissioner to make changes in department wide police policy by majority vote of the said department commissioners. The Council can recall the Commissioner appointed by it at any time it finds that he is no longer responsive to the community. The community can recall the council members when they are not responsive to it.

All police officers must live in the department they work in, and will be hired accordingly.

STUDENTS STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM



photos by Alexander, Biezariz Copeland, Davidson, Hoffman, Kathryn, McClure and Raisler.

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

YAWF Denounces Storm-trooper raid on SDS.

The following statement was released for Youth Against War and Fascism at 3 P.M. May 12, by National Chairman, Key Martin:

Youth Against War and Fascism strongly denounces the police raid and arrest late Sunday night of 5 national SDS leaders. The attack, in which police and Fire Department officials broke into the SDS office in Chicago, marks a new phase in a national attempt to harass and intimidate the Students for a Democratic Society.

It is of vital concern to all anti-war and progressive groups to defend SDS against this increasingly open repression.

Significantly, the Chicago raid took place the same day that SDS spokesman, Mike Klonsky, stated in a national television interview on "Face the Nation", that his organization was aware that Federal authorities were preparing a series of indictments against SDS.

SDS is the first white group to be targeted for such a police-state raid, because it has prompted an increasingly effective opposition among rebellious young people, particularly on college campuses, against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and against racism at home. But the Federal crackdown can be expected to reach out against all other anti-imperialist and anti-racist groups if this test succeeds.

YAWF calls on all progressive organizations to protest this escalation of Washington's repressive program and to expose these storm-trooper tactics as the real nature of Nixon's 'law-and-order' regime.

UNIVERSITIES BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

Peking, May 24 (Hsinhua)--The struggle of students in some Latin American countries against fascist suppression by the reactionary authorities and against the decadent educational system is continuing to surge forward. It has won the warm support of the working class.

The recent killing of a number of students by the reactionary pro-U.S. government in Argentina has evoked great indignation among the students and labouring people of the country. In defiance of suppression by the reactionary authorities, University and middle school students in the capital Buenos Aires and many other cities continued to hold demonstrations on May 22. In La Plata City, the demonstrating students shouted: "Ongania, assassin!" They distributed leaflets and erected street barricades to resist police suppression. In Cordoba City, students of two private schools announced the occupation of the school buildings. In Mendoza City, 2,000 University students held a demonstration to demand the resignation of the Minister of the Interior for his direct responsibility in the killing of students. In Rosario City, several hundred students continued to demonstrate on May 22. Many trade union organizations in Rosario and Santa Fe declared a 24-hour general strike on May 23 to protest against the government atrocity and to support the just struggle of the students.

Students in various parts of Venezuela continued to hold demonstrations against persecution

in the past few days. In defiance of the police suppression, 1,000 students in Maricao took to the streets on May 22. They erected barricades and fought back at the reactionary police with stones. The demonstrators attacked the "home of Americas" which houses many offices attached to the U.S. embassy. Student struggle also broke out in the cities of Cabimas, Merida, San Antonio and Guanare. 1,000 students in Valencia recently stage a march on the capital, Caracas, to protest against the reactionary authorities' suppression of the students.

In Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, several groups of students took to the streets on May 21, to hold demonstrations in support of the Argentine students' struggle against persecution. The demonstrators shouted "Ongania, assassin!", and other slogans to protest against the killing of students by the reactionary Ongania government. The demonstrators also expressed support for the just struggle of the striking meat-packing workers in Uruguay.

More than 8,000 university and middle school students in Concepcion, Chile, began a strike for an indefinite period on May 22. They demanded government acquittal of 19 workers of the "Saba" factory who had been unjustifiably charged with incendiarism and protested against the arrest of demonstrating students. On May 20, thousands of workers and students held a demonstration and fought for several hours with the police sent to suppress them. In Santiago, the Chilean capital, groups of workers

and students held successive demonstrations. They shouted slogans calling for unity between the workers and students and demanded the acquittal of the 19 arrested workers.

In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, several hundred students of the Federal University went on strike for an indefinite period to protest against the reactionary educational system and the unjustifiable dismissal of more than 60 professors by the pro-U.S. dictatorship.

In Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras, students of the vocational technical institute, following their strike on May 19, held a street demonstration on May 21 in strong protest against the killing of a student by the reactionary police during the "visit" of Rockefeller, "Special envoy" of the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, Nixon. The students demanded that the assassin be severely punished.

In Guayaquil, biggest city in Ecuador, students and striking workers occupied the building of the University of Guayaquil in protest against the reactionary educational system. The students and workers held a demonstration to protest against the reactionary measures of the government and demanded the resignation of the Minister of the Interior and the President of the University of Guayaquil. The demonstrators shouted: "down with U.S. imperialism!" and "Universities belong to the people!" They attacked the U.S. Consulate with stones and incendiary bottles.

FASCIST TROOPS WAGE WAR ON CAMPUS

Peking, May 24 (Hsinhua)--Afro-American students of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University fought gun battles with hundreds of fascist troops and police on the University campus for two days running on May 22 and 23, according to Washington reports. The black students displayed an indomitable spirit in face of reactionary violence.

In their struggle against the decadent capitalist educational system, the black students occupied one lecture buildings and two dormitories on May 22. The reactionary U.S. ruling circles dispatched large numbers of police to encircle and fire on the occupied buildings, killing one black student in this action. The enraged students returned fire, shooting from windows of the three buildings. Their crossfire wounded five fascist policemen, and forced the entire police force to beat a

retreat.

On May 23, the reactionary U.S. ruling circles again launched a furious attack on the black students with four armoured cars and 500 fully-armed national guardsmen supported by aircraft. The aircraft dropped gas bombs on the students. The undaunted black students fought back heroically, and engaged the guardsmen in a room to room gun fight after the latter had broken into a building. The students gave the attackers their due punishment.

The black students of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University were fearless before a powerful enemy force supported by aircraft and armoured cars and valiantly counter-attacked the fascist beasts. Their indomitable fighting spirit will surely inspire more progressive students to rise in struggle.

THE LONG ARM OF FASCISM

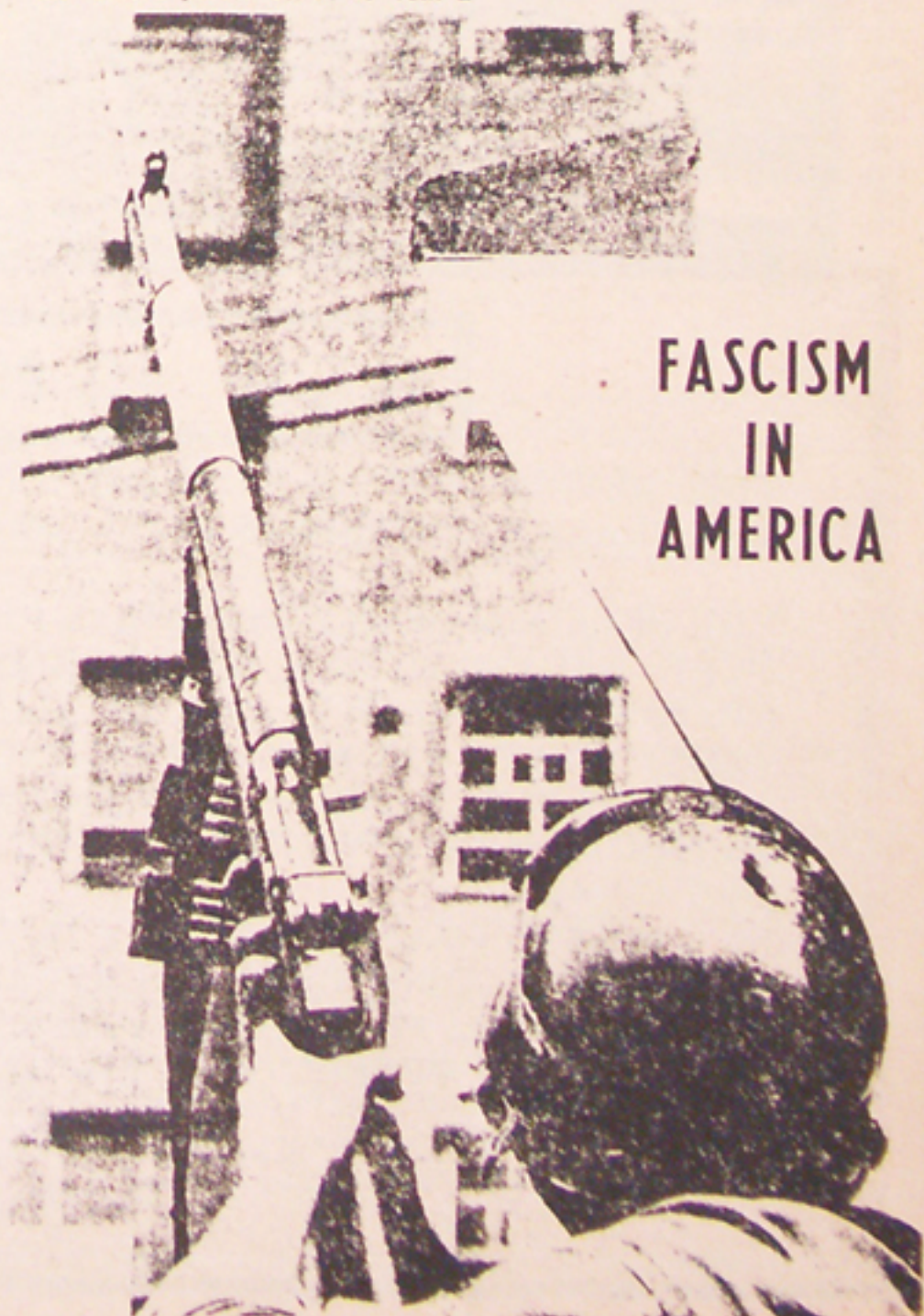
TO: Residents of the Black Community
From: Ministry of Information of Washington State Chapter, Black Panther Party
Subj: Shooting of Ricky Hardy
Date: June 4, 1969

At about 4:15 or 4:30 pm, Tuesday June 3rd, Ricky Hardy a Black youth, was shot in the head and in the back by an animalistic tool of the power structure, commonly known in the black community as

the dogmatic, fascist, racist, pig. The incident evolved from an attack on another brother, by the pigs who maced and beat him to and in the pig car. When Ricky tried to help Brother Prescott out, the filthy pig shot Rick in the head grazing him and sending him to the ground screaming in pain. It was then the pig stood above the brother and viciously shot him in the back. He was then handcuffed and dragged across the street to be arrested.

This is another example of the "long arm" of the pig power structure and its wanton passion of murder and brutality against the people. This act of aggression and brutality is not uncommon and the residents of the Black Community of Seattle, Washington take heed to these facts and rise up against these dogmatic, fascist pigs who would oppress and brutalize us daily...

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



FASCISM IN AMERICA

NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE

FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

JULY 18, 19, 20, and 21 st.



FASCISM THE POWER OF FINANCE CAPITAL ITSELF

THIS REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IS CALLED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE FREEDOM OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR ALL PROLETARIAN TYPE ORGANIZATIONS, THE FREEDOM AND POLITICAL WORK OF ALL STUDENTS, FARMER PEASANTS, WORKERS, AND THE LUMPEN MUST BE DEVELOPED INTO A NATIONAL FORCE; A FRONT WHICH HAS A COMMON REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PROGRAM WHICH ANSWERS THE BASIC DESIRES AND NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE IN FASCIST, CAPITALISTIC, RACIST AMERICA. PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WILL BE COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE TO END FASCISM.

IN OAKLAND CALIFORNIA, JULY 18, 19, 20 & 21st REPRESENTATIVES FROM AROUND THE COUNTIES OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE, SOME 5,000 OR MORE REPRESENTATIVES WILL DEVELOP A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM. HEADQUARTERS BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICE, 3106 SHATTUCK AVE., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, 845-0103 OR 845-0104.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

RAMPANT FASCISM IN AMERICA

It is obvious even to those who usually prefer to be uncommitted that fascism is on the loose; unleashed by finance capital and all that it implies; here in the "land of the free; home of the brave."

What has been happening in Berkeley, what is happening all over the country where people are being attacked, imprisoned and murdered; this is just a warning, just a hint of what Fascism does and is about. Are we going to allow ourselves to be led to the slaughterhouse as the Jews did in Germany? Are we to close our eyes and pretend that Fascism is going to "go away", that it's just a bad dream, and that as long as we keep our eyes closed, Fascism doesn't exist? Or are we instead, black, white, yellow, brown and red people going to unite -- dedicated to the same purpose -- to wipe out Fascism. Until we do, no man can draw a safe breath in this country. After Germany, after World War II, the peoples of the world vowed that what happened there would never happen again. Well, here it is, happening again. By not presenting a United Front, we are allowing Fascism to exist, and to permit is to aid and abet--to support the existence of Fascism. Fascism exists because of finance capital, because of this country which is governed by the whims of finance capital; the people are sheep who are being led to the slaughterhouse to fatten the bellies of those who control through the system of finance capitalism. Anarchy is not fighting Fascism; we must present a United Front against Fascism; revisionism such as getting rid of Storm Trooper pig Reagan and putting another Gestapo man in his place who takes his orders from the same finance capital fascists is not getting rid of Fascism.

Fascism means concentration camps, mass extermination and continuing oppression of the people. Even those who cannot relate to the term "Revolution" as such, must relate to the oppression of Fascism; they must not however be against revolutionaries who are also opposed to Fascism. Fascism is the pig who killed James Rector, an "innocent, law-abiding citizen"; Fascism is the stick on the head of a young girl; the boot on the back of someone's young son. Fascism is pigs busting into a man's home, armed to the teeth, with no warrant and no cause. Fascism is the National Guard dispersed throughout Berkeley; despite the fact that the people of Berkeley did not want their "protection" and asked for their removal. Fascism kills black or white, man, woman or child indiscriminately with little regard for their political beliefs.

Chairman Mao says "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves". James Rector didn't draw any line and he was killed. For those of us who draw the "line of demarcation", we must put into practice the goals--the reasons we had for drawing the line--we must prepare to defend these aims and ourselves against the American Gestapo. For those who have never drawn a line, who have never believed that the enemy of the people existed and now have suddenly just realized the existence of the enemy; remember we are ALL oppressed by Fascism. "To break the bonds of Fascism, we must develop a UNITED FRONT". Let us not then allow another Nazi Germany to flourish; let us unite and stamp out the scourge of Fascism.

Carole H.

REGISTRATION FORM: FOR REPRESENTATIVES OR INDIVIDUALS FOR THE COMING SUMMER IN OAKLAND OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

OFFICIAL REGISTRATION FORM

B.P.P. AND I.L.S.

READ THOROUGHLY

REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA

OAKLAND, CALIF. JULY 18TH, 19TH, 20TH, 21ST
FRI. SAT. SUN. MON.

+ DONATION REGISTRATION FEES TO ATTEND CONFERENCE

- ☐ ADVANCE
REGISTRATION POSTMARK MIDNIGHT SAT. JULY 12TH \$4.00 DOLLARS
- ☐ REGISTRATION FEE AFTER 12 A.M., SAT., JULY 12TH \$6.00 DOLLARS

+ UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTIFIED OF CHANGE

- ☐ CHECK IN CENTER IS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3106 SHATTUCK AVENUE, BERKELEY, CALIF. 94705 PH. (415) 845 0103, 845 0104
- ☐ CHECK IN TIME STARTS JULY 17TH, THURSDAY, 9:00 A.M. THROUGH FRIDAY,
5:00 P.M. CONFERENCE STARTS FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 18TH AT 7:00 P.M.
SHARP.
- ☐ WE SUGGEST TO ALL PEOPLE, REPRESENTATIVES AND PARTIES
OF ORGANIZATIONS TO TRY AND ARRIVE EARLY AS POSSIBLE, STARTING
THURSDAY MORNING JULY 17TH 9:00 A.M. SO ALL PEOPLE CAN BE PROPERLY
ASSISTED IN GETTING HOUSING, AND OTHER NECESSARY INFORMATION THAT
MANY THOUSANDS WILL NEED TO KNOW FOR THE DURATION OF THE CONFERENCE.

RETAIN THIS SECTION

REMEMBER REGISTRATION NO.
CUT HERE RETAIN THIS PART

CUT ALONG HERE → MAIL THIS SECTION OF REGISTRATION
WITH \$4.00 DOLLAR MONEY ORDER TO B.P.P.
U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE HEDQS, 3106 SHATTUCK AVE
BERKELEY, CALIF., 94705

PLEASE CHECK
ALL RELEVANT
SQUARES

- ☐ ENCLOSED IS REGISTRATION DONATION FEE PLUS A DONATION \$
- ☐ I AM COMING TO THE CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA.
- HOUSING → ☐ I WILL NOT NEED HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS.
☐ I WILL NEED HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS.
- ☐ OTHER MEMBERS OF MY ORGANIZATION WILL ALSO ATTEND. HOW MANY?
- ☐ ENCLOSED IS MY ADVANCE \$4.00 DOLLAR REGISTRATION DONATION FEE.
- ☐ I ENCLOSE \$ TO HELP WITH THE COST OF THE CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.
- ☐ PLEASE SEND REGISTRATION BLANKS, FOR OTHER PEOPLE IN MY ORGANIZATION, SEND PUBLICITY MATERIALS ETC, SO THAT I MAY AID THE CONFERENCE BY DUPLICATING AND DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS, POSTERS, BUMPER STICKERS ETC.

NAME		CONFERENCE REGISTRATION NO.		ZIP CODE.
STREET ADDRESS		CITY		STATE
HOME PHONE	ORGANIZATION	NON ORGANIZATION		
PHONE	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE	
MAIL THIS REG. FORM WITH REG. DONATION FEE OF \$4.00 (PLEASE SEND MONEY ORDER)		TO B.P.P. U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE HEDQS. 3106 SHATTUCK AVE. BERKELEY, CALIF. 94705		

MEDICINE AND FASCISM

Many of our brothers and sisters have read many articles on how fascism has continuously vamped on the black oppressed people of the world. Here is another one of the ways it is showing its hand.

There is a disease of the blood called sickle cell anemia. One out of every ten black persons has some form of sickle cell anemia, and this is about the number, or a few more, that know about it. Knowledge and treatment of sickle cell disease has been kept a secret from the masses of black people for many, many years. It dates way back in history, when black people had built up an immunity to malaria, while the whites continued to be affected by it. People possessing the sickle cell in their blood streams have a natural immunity against many forms of virus germs, which all boils down to the way the northern blacks are still suffering today from an incurable disease called sickle cell anemia.

The only reason some study finally came about was that more black people were beginning to become sick with the same symptoms

too often and black people who were being affected by it most, began to wonder, "All of this pain I'm suffering can't be in my mind all the time". The doctors had been telling us for too long that it was "our imagination" or they diagnosed it as something else. The pig power structure has found a way to put artificial hearts into people to keep them living a little longer. Thousands, millions, billions of dollars are spent on trying to see, what's on the moon. With all the so-called master minds this system has, why can't they seem to deal with this black man's disease? fascism!

But the Black Panther Party has moved on cooling out the many health problems of the black communities. They are implementing a free health clinic so that all oppressed people can have their health problems taken care of and get correct treatment, free of charge. This is just another way in which the Black Panther Party is putting into practice the theories of Chairman Mao, "Wherever our comrades go, they must build good relations with the masses, be con-

cerned for them and help them overcome their difficulties. We must unite with the masses. The more of the masses we unite with, the better." We must serve the wants and needs of the people. The racist capitalist pigs have refused to deal with the medical problems of the black and oppressed masses in the mother country. Therefore, it is an absolute necessity for the Black Panther Party to put the free health clinic into effect as soon as possible, so more study can be put into finding a cure for sickle cell anemia. Good health makes strong revolutionaries, and this is what the Fascist American government does not want.

The victims of sickle cell anemia must have a cure for this body wrecking pain they have to suffer. Start checking up on it today and see just how long black people have been suffering from this so-called incurable disease.

You may be a victim of sickle cell anemia yourself.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

LETTER TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Prline, Mountain
Vietnam

May 9, 1969

Honorable Huey P. Newton:

As I finished writing you the first letter the commanding officer of this site (both Captains) and X.O. gave me hell because I haven't had any sleep in two days but that was just a cover up because the real reason was that I was reading the Feb. 17th edition of the Black Panther. Now, I ask you is this fair to the Black people of Vietnam. So you can see the need for us to be strong but its impossible without you. Because we belong to you and your Party. All moves from this time on will have to come from the Black Panther Party because I haven't received the latest edition of the Black Panther Newspaper. The army tries to stop all

papers from reaching us.

And now they feel that if they stop me, then the rest will stop from operating but I assure you they won't. Word has just reached me that they'll try to find my name in the Panther Paper so they can charge me with being a militant and a racist. So I'm asking you not to use my name, because it will hurt the people's struggle. But if its of importance to the Party to use it then go ahead. P. S. The reason for the loss of sleep is that my wife has suffered back trouble and most of the people wouldn't help me so I and the Party had to make contact ourselves. My place is home so I can take care of my family and fight for the right of the Negro people. Thank you for your time and consideration.

THE PEOPLE'S PARK MARCH

May 30th, Memorial Day, the city of Berkeley saw the most gigantic gathering of people ever recorded in its history. Thousands upon thousands treaded the streets wearing everything from flowers to flower pots. There were bands playing cheerful music and the air was full of that sweet smell that's so well known. From this festive atmosphere one could not imagine that two days before, the pigs of the power structure had murdered a man in cold blood, that chemical warfare had been leveled upon the people and the community and that hundreds of people had been wounded and jailed.

According to the oppressor country radicals, the march was supposed to be a memorial for James Rector, the man shot down by the fascist pigs. There was also talk of taking the park over from the pigs. In reality what happened was the same thing that happened to the 1963 March On Washington. There was fraternization with the hired killers of the fascist ruling class. In place of guns these people had

flowers. In place of one gun, the pigs had three. Those prior two days of battling with the pigs is as clear an indication of a fascist state as can be demonstrated. Anyone who would refuse to pick up the gun after being subjected to the gassing, shooting and beating that these people were must be masochists. They are the kind of people who have sat around and watched the wanton brutality and murder of Black People.

Among the ranks of these aids to fascism are those who call themselves revolutionaries and spout the Marxist-Leninist line; well, practice is the criterion for the truth. History is made through deeds, not words. The Black Panther Party is the revolutionary vanguard in America and it has attained that position through struggle and bloodshed. So anyone who wants to join the ranks of revolutionaries had better straighten up their hand, become part of the solution and not any part of the problem.

Dynamite



MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Please Clip and Mail to:

HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND

P. O. BOX 318
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

Name _____

address _____ city _____

I Pledge \$ _____

Enclosed You Will Find \$ _____

CO-OP BOOKS
710 Stewart St.
Seattle, Wn. 98101
Marxist Working Class
literature

The Communist Manifesto...40¢
The Big Box Swindle & How
to Stop it .35¢
Revolutionary Warfare
Lance Branch 1.50
To Be Free
Herbert Aptheker 2.25
Lenin Col. Works
3 Vol. 9.95

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

SPONSORS

(partial listing)

WRITERS

Bertrand Russell
James Baldwin
Murray Kempton
Allen Ginsberg
Herbert Gold
Kay Boyle
Oscar Lewis
Terry Southern
Norman Mailer
LeRoi Jones
Lawrence Ferlinghetti
Andrew Kopkind
Dwight MacDonald
Donald Duncan
Barbara Garson
Maxwell Geismar
John Gerassi
John Gunther
Paul Jacobs
Jessica Mitford
Richard Gilman
Julius Lester
Robert Crichton
D.W. Dupee
Edgar Friedenberg
Marcus Raskin
W.H. Ferry
Jack Newfield
Nat Hentoff
Susan Sontag
Robert Lowell
Jane Jacobs
Hortense Calisher
Harvey O'Connor
Truman Nelson
Charles V. Hamilton
Stanley Kunitz
Stanley Kaufman

LABOR

Julian Mayfield

Emile Capouya

Tana de Gamez

Muriel Rukeyser

Arthur Waskow

Carlos Monsivais

George Hitchcock

Tillie Olsen

Jean Paul Sartre

Mrs. Richard Wright

Christiane Rochefort

Julia Wright Herve

Daniel Guerin

Yves Loyer

Gerard Chaliand

Mourad Bourboune

J. Semprun

Juliette Minces

David Welsh

THEATRE, FILMS, ARTS

Godfrey Cambridge

Jules Feiffer

Ossie Davis

Malvina Reynolds

Ruby Dee

Shirley Clarke

Saul Landau

Ed Bullins

Gil Turner

Open Theatre

Elsa Knight Thompson

John Carpenter

Robert Brustein

Richard Schechner

Saul Gottlieb

Delphine Seyrig

Roger Pic

Dugald Stermer

R.G. Davis

PROFESSORS

Jim Lennon

Sidney Lens

Hans Koingsberger

Ashley Montagu

Conor Cruise O'Brien

Douglas F. Doud

D.F. Fleming

C. Wade Savage

Donald Kalish

Howard S. Becker

Maurice Zeitlin

Sidney M. Peck

Noam Chomsky

Richard Lichtman

J.B. Neillands

Montgomery Furth

William Lindner

Stephen Smale

Donald B. McLeod

Cyril Epstein

Roger Dittmann

A.K. Bierman

O. Revault d'Alonnes

Madeleine Riberioux

Laurent Schwartz

A. Soboul

Staughton L. ynd

MUSIC

David Amram

POLITICS

Reies Lopez Tijerina

Jesse Gray

Floyd McKissick

James Forman

Julian Bond

Tom Hayden

ATTORNEYS

Maria Jolas

Denis Berger

Joby Fanon

Mrs. Betty Shabazz

Stokely Carmichael

Carl Oglesby

Len Holt

Mal Burnstein

Paul Halvorik

Sherwin A. Shayne

Eugene Deikman

M. Lafue-Veon

M.R. Plasson Stibbe

Gisela Halimi

John Thorne

PHYSICIANS

Oscar Rambo, M.D.

Philip Shapiro, M.D.

Carlton Goodlett, M.D.

Robert E. Greenberg, M.D.

EDITORS

Angus Cameron

Irving Bein

Arthur Wang

Aar on Asher

Joe Fox

Richard Huett

J.R. Talbo

Marilynn Meeker

Leo Huberman

Carey McWilliams

Robert Silvers

John J. Simon

Theodore Solotaroff

POLITICAL PRISONER

HUEY NEWTON

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose _____ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee _____

Name _____ Date _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Profession _____ Organization or Title _____

ICDEC, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

SUBSCRIPTION FORM



Support
Your
Newspaper--
Subscribe
Today!

Enter my subscription for (check box):

	National Subscriptions	Foreign Subscriptions
3 MONTHS: (13 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$2.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$3.00
6 MONTHS: (26 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5.00	<input type="checkbox"/> \$6.00
ONE YEAR: (52 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$7.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$9.00

(please print)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE/ZIP # _____

COUNTRY _____

PLEASE MAIL CHECK
OR MONEY ORDER TO:MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, CA 94126

THE BLACK PANTHER



BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF
OF
THE BLACK PANTHERPolitical Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY NEWTONChairman
BOBBY SEALEEditor
Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVERManaging Editor
Deputy Minister of Information
BIG MANRevolutionary Artist
and Lay-out
Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLASProduction
Manager
JOHN SEALE

Co-Editors

Distribution Manager
ANDREW AUSTINCirculation
SAM NAPIERCENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTYMinister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTONChairman
BOBBY SEALEMinister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVERChief of Staff
DAVID HILLIARDField Marshals
UNDERGROUNDMinister of Education
GEORGE MURRAY

Minister of Finance

*Minister of Foreign Affairs

*Minister of Justice

Prime Minister

Communications Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVERMinister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF
ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF
DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.



**PEOPLE OF THE WORLD , UNITE
AND DEFEAT
THE U.S. FASCIST AGGRESSORS
AND ALL THEIR RUNNING DOGS!**