

# THE BLACK PANTHER

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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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## PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

Following is President Ho Chi Minh's New Year's message:  
Beloved compatriots and fighters --

1968 was a year of very glorious victories for our armed forces and people throughout the country. The U.S. imperialists had to end unconditionally their war of destruction in the North.

Since early Spring, 1968, our compatriots and fighters in heroic South Viet Nam have continually attacked and continually risen up, and have recorded very brilliant victories.

Certainly the U. S. aggressors will meet with complete failure. Our armed forces and people throughout the country, dashing forward with the impetus of victories, will surely win complete victory.

On the occasion of New Year, 1969, on behalf of the people throughout our country, I wish to convey my warm greetings and thanks to the brotherly socialist countries, friendly countries and peace-and-justice-loving peoples in the world, including the

progressive people in the United States, for their wholehearted support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

I cordially send my best wishes of solidarity, struggle and success in the New Year to our compatriots...fighters and cadres and Chinese residents in both South and North Viet Nam, and to our fellow-countrymen living abroad.

I dedicate the following lines to the new Spring:

Last year was full of glorious victories.

This year the forefront's sure to win still bigger

ones

For Independence, for Freedom,

Let's fight so the Yanks quit, and the puppets

topple.

Forward! Fighters, countrymen!

North and South reunited, could there be happier

Spring!



## THE GENIUS OF HUEY NEWTON



... by Alprentice (Bunchy) Carter

But I want to try to explain something here, I want to try to say what Huey Newton is. The genius of Huey Newton is that he is the highest personification of what Malcolm ever talked about. The genius of Huey Newton and the relevance of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY is that the Party has been engendered from the first generation of urban blacks on the West Coast. That either if we weren't ourselves, if the rank and file of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY itself was not born in the south, then our parents were, but that by and large we grew up on the West Coast. That what's significant is that this has happened. That where in the South, niggers, you know, like the white man, racist white power structure, is not only upon 'em, oppressing them, around them, surrounding them, within them, intimidating them, killing them, black people are very conscious of this happening, you know, and consequently they're like affected by it, molded by it. And their activities, their whole course of life is directed from the fact that they ARE oppressed, surrounded, behind, over and under, by this power structure, by racism.

On the West Coast, it has not been the case. Like the first generation of urban blacks (and that's us, the BLACK PANTHER PARTY), we've been pushed into corners, into ghettos, you dig it? And the only time that we come into contact with, I mean into visual, physical contact, is either through the businessman, the avaricious businessman, the insurance salesman, the milkman, or the occupying forces of the pigs, you dig it? That we have not, even though we haven't been educated, you dig it? (Like we haven't had no schoolin', because we didn't relate to that), but we was still, by and large, kinda free, I mean like we were able to produce a Huey Newton, a cat who could be free, who would say, "Well, motherfuck the police," you dig it? "Parker's sister, too." Who could say, "The racist dog policeman must withdraw immediately from the black community, cease the wanton murder and brutality of black people, or suffer the wrath of the armed people." He was free enough to realize this, and free enough to express this. This is the genius of Huey Newton, of being able to TAP this VAST RESERVOIR of revolutionary potential, I mean, street niggers, you dig it? Niggers who been BAD, niggers who weren't scared, because they ain't never know what to be scared was, because they been down in those ghettos, and they knew to live they had to fight; and so they been able to do that. But I mean to really TAP it, to really TAP IT, to ORGANIZE it, and to direct it into an onslaught, a sortie against the power structure, this is the genius of Huey Newton, this is what Huey Newton did, Huey Newton was able to go down, and to take the nigger on the street and relate to him, understand what was going on inside of him, what he was thinking, and then implement that into an organization, into a PROGRAM and a PLATFORM, you dig it? Into the BLACK PANTHER PARTY -- and then let it spread like wild-fire across this country.

This is the genius of Huey Newton, the engendering, the establishing of the first vanguard party in the liberation struggle in the Western hemisphere, Huey Newton and the genius of it.



## HONORING BROTHER MALCOLM

On February 25, 1965, Black People lost a true revolutionary and leader of his people. The brother of whom we speak is Malcolm Little, alias Malcolm X.

But we will not elaborate too much on Brother Malcolm's death because it was his life that was inspirational and relevant to Black People.

Malcolm's life was stolen away

from us by establishment-oriented provocateurs, as have been the lives of other revolutionaries who understood the real situation as it stands, and who posed a threat to the racist, decadent establishment.

We of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and Black People all over the nation say "Power" to Brother Malcolm and his death will not have been in vain.

## EDITORIAL...

### NATION CELEBRATES HUEY'S BIRTHDAY

By BIG MAN  
Co-Editor

Thousands upon thousands stood up and shouted "FREE HUEY!" This is a very clear indication that the people of racist, decadent America are aware of what's going on and they are sick and tired of the injustices and brutal policies of this country.

As the Minister of Defense says, it was not his birthday that was important in itself, but the fact that the occasion gave revolutionary potential a chance to gather. The People have vowed that Huey will not spend another birthday in the insane, mind-killing factory of the master killers of America.

Branches and Chapters across the United States held rallies and birthday parties, in honor of HUEY P. NEWTON. Thousands of people of all colors turned out in force to DEMAND that Huey be set free.

In Los Angeles, San Diego, Vallejo and Oakland, California, the people had the opportunity to hear Huey's message from prison. In New York, Kansas City, and many other cities the people heard speakers and had the opportunity to view films on the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



## BERKELEY BENEFIT RALLY

On Sunday, February 16, a benefit rally for Huey P. Newton was given at the Berkeley Community Theatre, in honor of the Minister of Defense's birthday.

The theatre was almost filled to its capacity, and the people were exposed to a group of revolutionary speakers such as the Chairman of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY Bob-

by Seale, Rev. Earl Nell, Attorney Charles R. Garry, SDS leader Tom Hayden, Ray Masai Hewitt, a leader in the Los Angeles chapter of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and revolutionary poetry by Brother Bunchy Carter as recited by Baby Dee.

There was an almost ominous

silence surrounding the empty chair of Huey P. Newton. But the people themselves showed their disapproval of the absence of the Leader and Minister of Defense of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, by raising clenched fists in the Black Power salute and shouting in unison, "Free Huey!"

## MESSAGE FROM HUEY

"Taped in Prison"

REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, WHITE RADICALS WHO ARE BECOMING BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

I'm very happy that we are all here together today, not because it's my birthday, but because we should be together on any and every occasion that we possibly can in the name of solidarity.

February 17th fortunately is also the Tet of the lunar new year. So we're celebrating the lunar new year with our brothers in Viet Nam. We're daily making the people more and more aware of the need for unity among all revolutionary people and also that it's impossible for us to overcome the treacherous bureaucratic class without an organized force.

The students at the many universities across the nation are challenging the reactionary authority of the schools and are also pointing out very vividly that it's impossible to have a free university, free schools, or a free society, in a society that's ruled by a fascist military-industrial complex. The community is now seeing that our fight on the campuses is more than just a fight for "freedom of speech" on the campus, or Blacks gaining a knowledge of our heritage; it's also showing the direct relationship between the reactionary government and the agencies and institutions that are only an arm of these reactionaries. Until we penetrate the community and make them aware, and plant the seed of revolution, we will never have freedom at our schools. The community now is being mobilized by the Black revolutionary forces and along with them are our white revolutionary comrades.

It seems that the time has come for an escalation of our offensive. Just as our brothers in Viet Nam had the Tet offensive last year, this celebration today will only be a prelude or celebration to the offensive that we are going to wage in

the not-too-far future. "In the near future a colossal event will occur where the masses of the people will rise up like a mighty storm and a hurricane, sweeping all evil gentry and corrupt officials into their graves." Brother Mao put that quite well, and we will follow the pattern and follow the thoughts of Chairman Mao.

Today it should mark a new time where the TWO-REVOLUTIONARY force in the country (the TWO-REVOLUTIONARY force I'm speaking of is the alienated white group and the masses of Blacks in the ghettos, who for years sought freedom and liberation from a racist, reaction-system. After approximately three years now that the Panthers have been organized, we have gained even closer relationship with our Latin American brothers, our Chicano brothers in the United States, and the Cuban people, and every other people who are striving for freedom.

I would like to thank everyone very much for coming, and we must remember that we must never make excuses for such gatherings as this. Today we'll use the excuse of my birthday; but the real issue is the need to come together in unity and brotherhood.

Our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver is with us in spirit, and I'm very sure that this decadent fascist society wasn't worthy of him and couldn't tolerate his presence because he acted as a guide flag for the people. So we must make a society that will welcome people like our Minister of Information.

The Oakland Seven are now standing trial for resisting the fascist system, and we would like to let them know and would like to rally the community for support. They have a very able representative in court with them, Charles Garry, who is very capable and truly a revolutionary. Brother Eldridge Cleaver has said on more than one occasion that he would go into any court in the world with an attorney like Charles Garry. I would like to

A short time ago we suffered a very tragic experience in that two of our very talented and gifted and dedicated brothers were assassinated in L.A.: Brother "Duchy" and Brother Huggins. This was only an escalation of the oppression against us. The assassins were agents of the establishment, and they took the occasion to eliminate the people's fighters, or fighters for the people. Knowing that the people have no recourse, the institutions and the court institutions give us no recourse because they're only representatives of the reactionary system. The community will have to erect revolutionary courts and also a community militia to protect the community and see that the community gets justice.

Brother Rubin has suffered many investigations, and now he's under investigation. He's going to trial on or about four or five different alleged crimes, and the crimes are SEEKING JUSTICE. The society views any person who's striving after justice and freedom and to end exploitation as a "criminal." We know that if we are criminals, the criminals have received their ultimate revenge when Karl Marx indicted the bourgeoisie of grand theft. We realize that it's they who are criminals and it's they who will have to be brought to justice. We will have to go on fighting in spite of the losses and in spite of the hardships that we're bound to suffer, until the final downfall of the reactionary power structure.

So, POWER TO THE PEOPLE, BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE, AND PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD!

Huey P. Newton  
Minister of Defense  
Black Panther Party



## FREE HUEY BIRTHDAY RALLY IN KANSAS CITY



(THIS ARTICLE IS A REPRINT FROM A KANSAS CITY NEWSPAPER)

### LARGE TURNOUT FOR PANTHERS

Black Leaders 'Serve Notice' on White Community

### TALK OF REVOLUTION

Crowd of 700 Packs Gregg Center to Hear Black Panthers

The Black Panther party served notice on white Kansas City yesterday afternoon at a rally that a revolution is coming if black demands for justice and equality are not soon satisfied.

The rally drew about 700 persons, most of them black, into the Gregg Community center at Seventeenth street terrace and the Paseo. The applause and cheers that greeted much of the oratory indicated clearly that not everyone was there just to satisfy his curiosity about the militant organization that established a chapter here only two weeks ago.

#### Start Is Delayed

Scheduled to begin at 3 o'clock, the rally did not start until 3:30. As the long line outside the building kept growing the 300 seats filled quickly. The crowd, three and four deep, overflowed against the walls.

Nor did many leave at 3 o'clock, the time it was scheduled to end. Most waited, for

the Panther leaders had waited until last to speak. Their speeches were explosive.

"We were forced to build this country," Pete O'Neal, deputy chairman of the party here, said, "and if forced to, we'll tear this . . . down!"

"People are afraid of the word 'revolution,'" said Bill Whitfield, deputy minister of information. "They know the Black Panther party is revolutionary people. The system must be changed. We can't go on living the way we're living . . . The revolution is coming."

These and similar remarks prompted cheers and applause.

#### Some Stand 'Guard'

As the crowd jammed into the community center gymnasium, several young men wearing black berets and black coats stood along the walls and stage and stared stoically ahead with their arms folded either in front or in back of them.

The rally opened with a panel discussion moderated by Keith Black, deputy minister of education. Participants were the Rev. Richard Saale, pastor of the Blessed Sacrament Catholic church; Bruce Watkins, Jackson County circuit clerk and former city councilman; W. Paul Jones, associate professor at the St. Paul School of Theology, Methodist; the Rev. Phillip Lawson, director of the Methodist Inner-City parish; and Bervin Fisher, president of the Lincoln Community council.

Their hour-long discussion centered on the alleged injustices imposed and tolerated on the black community by whites in Kansas City. The police department, the Kansas City Board of Education, the city administration and the business leadership of the city all received

severe criticism.

Mr. Lawson at one point said that while in the process of changing the system there was an immediate need to stop the way the police were operating in the black community.

Watkins said he was present to find out what the Panthers stood for. Reading its platform, he said he saw much of what he and many others had been fighting for for a long time.

#### Neglect as Cause

"I believe in Martin Luther King," Watkins said, "but I do believe a man has a right to protect himself. When people ask me what are the Black Panthers going to do, my answer is, 'Whatever they do, it's brought about by your neglect.'"

Fisher took the same tack, commending that he had received calls last week that he should not play host to the Panthers at the meeting.

"I told them I wasn't responsible for the Black Panthers being here," he said. "The white power structure is responsible for their being here."

A 15-minute movie about the Panthers' national organization and its leaders in Oakland, Calif., was shown. When Eldridge Cleaver, author of the best-selling "Soul on Ice" and fugitive deputy minister of information, appeared on screen, he was greeted with applause.

Much of O'Neal's speech afterward was devoted to the "Free Huey" campaign that seeks the release of Huey P. Newton from jail in Oakland. He was convicted of manslaughter last year in connection with the death of a policeman.

Stretched across the front of the stage was a banner that read: "Happy Birthday, Huey. Huey P. Newton has got to be FREE!" The rally was officially held to honor Newton's birthday.

# CALIFORNIA WINE BOYCOTT

ARTICLE TO INFORM THE BLACK COMMUNITY ABOUT THE CONDITIONS IN DELANO AND THE PROLONGED STRUGGLE OF THE FARM WORKERS IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND THE UNITED STATES.

Written  
Nick De Lara

### THE SECONDARY BOYCOTT BECOMES PRIMARY

This year the California Grape Boycott is taking another turn. For the past three years, Californians have noticed picket lines in front of many stores. The lines were attempts to stop shoppers from patronizing stores that carry grapes. These efforts were generally unsuccessful. This is the reason for the new tactic that will be used by the farmworkers. The new tactic is a petition campaign against the Safeway Stores.

This strategy was introduced by Fred Ross in the L.A. area last year and proved to be very successful. So the campaign is now going throughout the nation. You will no longer see the picket lines on the sidewalks in front of stores. The farmworkers ask for your support in the petition campaign, and that you help as much as you can in informing your friends.

The hope is that by closing Safeway through petitions, Safeway will bring pressure to the growers and force them to negotiate with the strikers. "This can only be done with the community support and dedication to fellow man," said Vivian Levine, director of operations in the Oakland East Bay Area. The farmworkers ask all our readers to look for the petitions and signs.

### DEATH AND DISEASE LURKS THE FARMS

A new threat is now on the shoulders of the Farm Workers in Delano and other areas in the state. An exposure of the pesticides and insecticides leads the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee to conclusions that these agents of death and disease must be directly responsible for many of the illnesses and deaths to their own. Measures are now being taken to rectify the situation of infection in the valley.

A team of researchers attempted to look into records of the pesticides and insecticides used by growers but were denied access of the usually public records. It appears that there is something being hidden by the state and the growers in this matter. The Farm Workers want to know why they cannot have access to those public records.

### STATISTICS ARE FRIGHTENING

Since 1951, 32 occupational fatalities implicating agricultural chemicals occurred in California. During the same period, 82 children and 22 adults died from accidents attributed to pesticides and other chemicals. A total of 136 deaths caused by a variety of dangerous substances.

In 1966 was an even worse year. 1347 cases of reported occupational disease, which arise from exposure to certain pes-

ticides and insecticides were recorded by doctors in California. The most commonly recorded of these diseases are: skin conditions, 452; eye conditions, 362; systemic poisonings, 233; chemical burns, 116; from the 233 systemic poisonings, 173 (74%) were caused by organic phosphate pesticides, nearly 1-1/3 times more than in 1965. Considering the entire 1347 cases, 253 were caused by organic phosphate pesticides, 102 by parathion, and 438 were unspecified.

### FROM THE FACT SHEET

"Because the number of victims continues to increase, protective measures must be taken. Washing of facilities for farmworkers in the fields must become available. There should be adequate supervision of agricultural chemical users. Improvements must be made concerning the engineering of crop-dusting aircrafts, and related equipment. Finally, it is essential that all pesticide containers be labelled correctly."

The farmworkers say that there has been no immediate action taken on this matter by the growers. There seems to be no evidence that the growers have concern. More over, it appears that the growers are using this type of chemical warfare to destroy the farmworkers in the valley and also destroy the valley.

According to certain leading conservationists, the pollution of water and food for wild life is increasing due to the pesticides and insecticides used in the area. Concern to conservation is the other primary argument for the limit and control of these deadly and paralyzing chemicals.

The farmworkers ask the support of the community in the attempt to put control on the users of these chemicals. If the community can support these efforts the struggle will become easier.

### GUERRILLA WAR DECLARED AGAINST DELANO WORKERS

For the past 180 months, there has been a war on in the home of a Delano boycott family. The home of Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Chavez, has been the target for night raids from some unknown guerrilla force. "We will not be moved!" Chavez says.

The incidents have been occurring since the family became involved in the Delano boycott. At first it was just simple phone call threats, and egg throwing. Then the attacks escalated with the use of flower pots. The missiles were thrown through the window of the Chavez home and once, there was a near serious victory for the raiders. But Reuben Chavez, still refuses to move.

Last week there was a vigil to protest the stagnancy of the police department. The march was very successful and was not at all violent. Although there was obvious mass support, the San Leandro police had taken no action to step up protection of the home. In light of this, the Chavez family ask the support of the black community in persuading the pigs to take action.

## A SOLD SESSION AT THE HAKALU







# CULTURAL NATIONALISM

## The Minister of Education

We must destroy all cultural nationalism, because it is reactionary, and has become a tool of Richard Milhous Nixon, and all the U. S. power structure which divides the poor and oppressed, and is used by the greasy-slick Black bourgeoisie to exploit Black people in the ghetto — it murdered Alpern — it murdered "Bunchy" Carter, our Deputy Minister of Defense and John Higgins, our Deputy Minister of Information.

Cultural Nationalism is a fixation in a people's development like a half formed baby. We mean by this that cultural nationalism is necessary in the early stages of a people's political development. For instance, if we say we're Black and proud, we are saying what is necessary and true, but being Black and proud will not free any of us slaves. Cultural Nationalism always exists in an oppressed people, at about the time that they first begin to challenge the oppressors' value systems. That is, it was not until 1965-66 that we Black people began to say that we accepted our Black skins, our brik hair (sappy-kinky), our African noses, and large lips. Prior to this point of development we, on a whole, accepted white beauty values. To prove it, we used artra skin tone cream, and Black and White ointment, as well as nadinola, to lighten our skins and thus becoming more "beautiful," and our parents told us not to let our mouths hang open, because it made our lips larger.

So in 1966 all over the U.S. we began to challenge white supremacy in terms of instilling Black beauty values in ourselves. The result was the natural, which was good, but has nothing now to do with the liberation of the Black Community. What resulted was that we began to judge people by whether they wore a natural, an African robe, called a buba, a Dashiki, an African necklace, a voodoo symbol, a lion's toe bone; we did not judge people on any principles that had to be internalized, such as a fight to the death to end white racism; or whether they were working to redistribute all of the money the rich have stolen from all of the oppressed Black, Brown, Red, Yellow people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and those within the imperialist domain of North America, the U.S.A. We formed the cult of the natural; natural barber shops; hair products, combs, brushes began to be sold, and these shops were called new breed unlimited, the Black shop, these were our Negro businesses and we were Black and proud.

Because of our cultural nationalist fixation, we're being super exploited. That is, we're robbed by finance companies when we buy cars, and furniture, and we're robbed by Black capitalists at these various Black shops, who are selling culture for money — Blackness for money. Cotton African print shirts are being sold by New Breed for \$30 and \$40. This is highway robbery. So, Cultural nationalism leads to the super exploitation of the poor Black, white middle class clowns and bitches of varying shades of Black and get richer, by opening up so-called Black stores. Lis-

ten, if you can be Black, be wearing African robes, speaking Swahili, Leagala, or Bantu (all African languages) then any white racist can be Black, because they have more money with which to buy African dresses, shirts, and to pay an African traitor-tom to teach them Swahili. Cultural nationalism is super natural nonsense. Cultural nationalists whether with bald heads such as the US niggars, or those with beards and wild naturals, are dead slaves. To say you're Black and you're proud and still go to Vietnam to fight our Vietnamese brothers or to go and enslave the Vietnamese people is a crime against all of us descendants of slaves in the U. S. It is reactionary and insane, and counter-revolutionary to teach or practice cultural nationalism. When one speaks of nationhood in terms of culture only, he is admitting that the entire group he comes from is too weak, timid, and dissatisfied to challenge the slave master, and put him up against the wall, take all of "his" money, and redistribute it to all the poor. You can not say that wherever Black people are, there is our nation. To say this is foolishness. What if the masses of people you're talking about are slaves, as we are in the U. S. When you talk about nationhood, you are talking about territory (land), people and sovereignty (power). When we talk about becoming free, we have to talk about power, getting all the goods, services, and land, and returning them equally to the oppressed and enslaved Mexicans, Blacks, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites in the U.S. and to the rest of the oppressed and hungry people in the world. Also, we have to drive the racist dog police out of our communities or kill them. Speaking Spanish, Swahili, Vietnamese, Hindi, will not feed a starving people. Nor will wearing an African robe. But a revolution will smash, shatter, and destroy the oppressor and his oppressive system, return all the power, the milk, eggs, butter, and the guns to the people. A revolutionary people will not tolerate a Richard Milhous Nixon. We must stop this Neanderthal beast, this white supremacist and his millionaire buddies from freaking all the way out and exterminating us, with hunger, illiteracy, disease, racist police bullets, and napalm bombs, all of us. But Nixon, Dupont, Alloto, any racist capitalist will support cultural nationalism. Because cultural nationalism is a bourgeois-capitalist scheme, to confuse the masses of people, so that they will not assault the city halls, the bank tellers and managers, or seize control of community schools, Nixon's scheme is to establish a few so-called black businesses, by establishing Black capitalism. This can not and will not succeed. We have had Black Capitalists ever since the slaves in the field and the house were separated. The traitors known as the Black bourgeoisie, are Black capitalists. The Black capitalists, in the main, have been the lemon colored descendants of house niggers, who are now morticians, teachers, lawyers, doctors, post office workers, and Black gangsters

with money. What cultural nationalism. Once one realizes his human worth, his intrinsic value, then bourgeoisie slightly to darker he knows that he must not tolerate skinned sell-outs and clowns, who slavery, oppression, capitalist extortion drive the brutal racist exploitation any longer. It is at this point that the slave picks up his tools of liberation, sharpens his razor, culture in the white sense, and steals a gun, shoots a police, robs a bank, seizes control of a school, assaults a job foreman, runs a racist landlord off, burns up a cotton field, or grape field, shoots down a helicopter. Black capitalism will only insure a greater raping of the Black community. Capitalism only creates rich individuals, rich families, such as the Kennedy's with 600 million dollars, the racist Duponts with 7.5 billion dollars, a sissy named Howard Hughes with 2 billion. All of these racists must be robbed completely. We want all our common-freedom is a state not limited to a few to be rich. We want all the particular culture, race or people, wealth redistributed, all the medicine redistributed. All of the man-which a struggle for human rights given to poor. We must fight to make the last first, and the first last. In short, we must make the revolution for the ultimate change. When one visits a "black shop" one

Cultural nationalists are sissies, they are afraid to force into being a universal human struggle, the poor have nots against the rich. Cultural nationalism is a fixation, a mutation in a people's development. Listen to this: Freedom is a state not limited to a few to be rich. We want all the particular culture, race or people, wealth redistributed, all the medicine redistributed. All of the man-which a struggle for human rights given to poor. We must fight to make the last first, and the first last. In short, we must make the revolution for the ultimate change. When one visits a "black shop" one

Francisco State is based upon three principles:

## MAMA LAMU RONNIE



Another negative characteristic of cultural nationalism is the cult of the personality that it creates. In all of these groups one person appears to be the moving force, the god; this is a bourgeois manifestation of a class division of superiors and inferiors, of rich and poor, high and low. But if change comes, if the revolution is to be made, it will be made by the people organized by a vanguard. The job of the vanguard is to show the people strategic method by which to resist oppression, the oppressor, and the oppressors, lackeys, who are murderous cultural nationalists, traitors, agents-provocateur, in short: all of the Black bourgeoisie.

The only brother we have today is the brother who will help us make the revolution. Having Black skin has nothing to do with being a freedom fighter. The standards are universal; what man will use the gun as Huey did? In Los Angeles, California, 4 Black pigs, who are members of the US organizations led by a bald headed pig named Ron Karenga, murdered 2 of the highest officials of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, on Friday, January 18, 1969, at U.C.L.A. Bunchy and John were shot. With brutal 357 magnum pistols, John's stomach was blown out through his back. Bunchy was shot in the chest, his lungs were blown out of his back because he and John were leading the students at U.C.L.A., as well as the Black community in Southern California in a struggle against white supremacy in its most vicious and murderous form: the Los Angeles police, who kill our babies, racist educators, who kill our minds, and the avaricious businessmen who sell us meat blown by filthy flies. These are the real reasons for the murders, the given reason for the murders is that Karenga wanted to be Chairman of the Black Studies Department at U.C.L.A., a \$20,000 a year job. This most clearly shows us that cultural nationalists are capitalists, gold dust lovers, and how murderous capitalists are. Karenga had Alpern "Bunchy" Carter, the Deputy Minister of Defense of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and John Jerome Higgins, Deputy Minister of Information, murdered for \$20,000. So we see how doggish, brutal and treacherous cultural nationalists are. Therefore, we must end this madness. We will make the revolution by fighting with the basic tool, the people organized and armed with the correct ideology and guns, or we will continue to rot in our ghettos. As for the PARTY, we will root out cultural nationalism.

BY:  
George Mason Murray  
Minister of Education  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## DEATH TO A "GOOD NIGGER"

You "good nigger" out there living and vacillating. Jeopardizing your life and the lives of your people. Closing your ears to Revolution, Liberation, and a United International Liberation Struggle. You say you're tired of your people being exploited and oppressed and you mean to bring about a change. Well, "good nigger," the only change that's going to come about with your vacillating and living will be a mass genocide on you and your people. You might as well be the same imperialist, exploiting dog that has knifed oppressed people of the world. Because you're definitely out to destroy yourself as much as any capitalist racist. "Good Nigger," why do you come up with statements like: "Violence is not the answer," when someone speaks of self-defense? Violence! You speak of violence, well what the hell do you think has been perpetrated on Black people for over 400 years? Or can you deny your history? Can you deny the racist Power Structure does not give a damn about justice, liberty, equality, freedom, and peace? It means less money in his pocket. Yes, "good nigger," you can deny it ... You say "end racism and everything will be alright"? Can you deny that the system is not a product of the racism, that racism is a product of the system? And can you deny death to a "good nigger" and long live a Revolutionary? Yes, "good nigger," you can deny it.

sees that Black capitalism is super exploitation of the poor. Martin Luther King did not die for Black capitalism, Malcolm X did not die for cultural nationalism. Huey P. Newton, our Minister of Defense, did not go to the penitentiary so that sissies and acid heads in yellow sun glasses and African robes, could piss on the poor. These three men gave up all for freedom for the revolution that we must make. The people must force this ultimate change. The era of cultural nationalism is the last stage in an oppressed people's development before they pick up the gun, fire bomb, and dynamite in an organized manner in order to make the revolution.

1. A fight to the death against racism.
2. The right of all people to determine their economic, political, social and educational destinies.
3. The right for the people to seize power, to carry out all their goals, and answer all their needs. In short -- ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

These are principles that all human beings can fight for. The fight is being waged by Black, Brown, Red Yellow students, and workers, as well as progressive whites.



# PUPPET HAYAKAWA V.S. BOOTLICKER WILLIE BROWN



Puppet Hayakawa and Bootlicker Brown exchange heated words on roots of campus crisis . . .



. . . but as the debate fires up, Pig Mayor Alioto tugs Puppet Hayakawa's shoulder . . .



. . . as Pig Chief Cahill puts a similar friendly arm on Bootlicker Brown and tempers ebb



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The People's Liberation Army of Vietnam

## COLOMBIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

Revolution, organ of the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), recently published a document which pointed out the tremendous achievements in the first year of the revolutionary armed struggle unfolded by the Colombian People's Liberation Army, and called upon the revolutionary people of Colombia to strengthen their struggles and strike hard at U.S. imperialism and the Colombian oligarchies.

The document was jointly issued by the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the People's Liberation Army and the Regional Patriotic Committee of Alto San and Alto San Jorge.

It pointed out first of all that the broad masses of the Colombian people are rising up in struggle in all parts of the country and their political consciousness is rapidly heightening.

It said: Standing in the forefront of the triumphant struggle of the Colombian people is the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). In Colombia, "the People's Liberation Army, the armed arm of our Party, has emerged and has been growing stronger daily. Today, it has become the brain and spine of the armed struggle of our people."

The People's Liberation Army, it continued, "has unfolded its struggle on three principal fronts: fighting the enemy; unburdening and developing production; and odd-

lizing, educating, organizing and arming the broad masses of the people. Our people's army is fighting under the slogans of 'absolute confidence in victory, profound and boundless love for our people and irreconcilable hatred for our class enemies.' We are convinced that 'we are bound to win the fight.'"

The document said: "Parallel to the People's Liberation Army, there have appeared the revolutionary peasant militia and the regional patriotic committees. The last-mentioned are the embryo of a patriotic front for liberation."

It pointed out: The People's Liberation Army replied to the suppression of U.S. imperialism and the operations in the first year beginning from June 1967. In the first year's combats, the People's Liberation Army killed or wounded many enemy soldiers, captured a number of weapons and recovered the U.S. imperialist enterprises and from the oligarchies hundreds of thousands of pesos' worth of goods. It also recovered several thousand hectares of land and thousands of cattle and horses from the hands of the big latifundists. In the course of fighting, "the People's Liberation Army has forged ahead in its development and its combat determination has brought about great success. These successes have strengthened our people's confidence in and profound love for their own armed

forces."

The document condemned the reactionary authorities for cruelly persecuting the peaceable inhabitants. It stated: The Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the People's Liberation Army and the patriotic committees, carrying out the line of the Party and applying the thought of the great teacher Comrade Mao Tse-tung, shall continue to stand at the head of the people and point out to them the road of revolution.

It called on the Colombian people to counter with conscious struggles the repression, oppression and exploitation of the people by U.S. imperialism and the Colombian oligarchies and to firmly support the People's Liberation Army. It also called on all the fighters of the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary peasant militia to redouble their efforts in annihilating the enemy.

Revolution has also published war communique No. 9 of the People's Liberation Army which reported the combat achievements of the People's Liberation Army in June and July, 1968. The communique pointed out that the People's Liberation Army has grown stronger in the course of fighting.

In the first eight months of fighting, eight detachments were set up, including the "María Cano" detachment composed of women fighters.

## WORKERS CONTINUE STRIKE IN DEFIANCE OF TYRANNY

SPAIN

The worker and student movement has been surging forward since the end of last year in Spain, which is ruled by the fascist chieftain Franco. Confronted with this vigorous people's movement, the Franco dictatorial regime, casting aside all pretexts, declared a nationwide "state of emergency" on January 24. But this reactionary measure only stirred up the indignation and resistance of the Spanish people, who have a glorious tradition of struggle, still more.

Workers' strikes and rallies took place in Madrid, the capital, and Bilbao, the industrial area in northern Spain, to protest against the "state of emergency" announcement and ruthless capitalist exploitation. On the evening of February 1, the people in Madrid came out against the "emergency" regulations. They shouted "Freedom! Freedom!" and held aloft placards reading "Franco,

murderer!" and courageously and adroitly fought the fascist policemen.

In the key industrial city of Bilbao, about 15,000 workers went on a two-hour strike on January 31 against the capitalist owners' unjustifiable sacking of a worker who openly opposed the government announcement of the "state of emergency." Then on February 3 and 4 the workers in four of the city's steel plants downed tools. By February 6 some 25,000 workers in the Bilbao area had joined the ranks of the strikers. The strike was the biggest ever in the Bilbao area in recent years.

Repression of the revolutionary people by the reactionaries can only arouse fiercer resistance from the people. The fascist suppression by Franco's dictatorial regime can by no means intimidate the Spanish people. On the contrary, it will only hasten its collapse.



# BLACK MAN STANDS OFF 5

PRESS RELEASE

BLACK MAN STANDS OFF - 5 POLICEMEN, 1 POLICE LIEUT., 1 POLICE CAPTAIN, 1 POLICE DOG AND 1 POLICE "OBSERVER" WITH --- FENCE, AND PAPER!!!

SID WALTON MAKES OPENCHALLENGE TO THE POLICE DEPARTMENTS OF LOS ALTOS AND MOUNTAIN VIEW.

BACKGROUND:

On the eve of Thanksgiving at about 10:00 p.m., Sid Walton left Oakland, California and drove to his E. Palo Alto residence. When he arrived home his wife reminded him that they had to pick up their vehicle from Mr. View, California. Their vehicle had been driven there by a person employed at Hillsdale Dodge in San Mateo because Mr. Walton's busy schedule that day did not allow the time to get to San Mateo before Hillsdale Dodge closed at 10:00 p.m. He needed his vehicle Thursday, a holiday, so Mr. Burnett agreed to drive Mr. Walton to pick up his vehicle and leave the loaner vehicle there at Mr. Burnett's residence on El Monte Avenue in Mt. View.

Following the direction he had been given, Mr. Walton took the San Antonio Road turnoff from Bayshore freeway and proceeded to El Camino where he made a left turn. As he was making the turn, Mr. Walton observed a police car with two (2) occupants in the front seat. The driver gave me an icy cold stare as I negotiated the turn. I get your badge number," I walked commented to my wife about his close enough to him to clearly see stare, and she observed him later his badge and being damned certain turn into El Camino as if in pursuit of someone. My wife was able to observe this because I was proceeding very slowly--my directions had erroneously stated that I was to make a right turn onto El Monte after my left turn at El Camino.

As we passed the street that we found not to be El Monte, my wife told me that the same police car was following me. I replied, "So puzzled and unable to give an answer, I'm not breaking the law." After a thoughtful pause (hand proceeded slowly along El Camino still on gun), he stated that "it is looking for El Monte. After a few possible this vehicle was stolen." I found such a place near Corky's Restaurant and proceeded back-to-back-stepped to the car with hand and San Antonio Road. My wife observed the police car make a quick U-turn and again follow us. At this point it was quite obvious that the car was following us and I became concerned as to why, especially since he had given me such an icy stare as I made my turn a few

minutes prior to that."

Upon reaching the traffic signal San Antonio Road and proceeded to a place where he could make a U-turn and did so, so that he could again head south on El Camino in search of El Monte Avenue.

Mr. Walton stated the police car likewise made a U-turn and was immediately behind him at the traffic signal which was red at the time. "I opened my door and told the driver of the police car that I wanted him to make a right turn and to please stop so that I could speak to him to ask him for directions and to discuss WHY he was following me." As the eastbound light turned green, Mr. Walton stated the police car stopped about 8 feet behind him.

"I got out and walked back to the police car saying 'Good evening, officer, may I have your name and badge number, please?' Looking somewhat astonished, he got out saying, 'Why?' I stated that I wanted to get some directions from him and more specifically to inquire why he was following me." Rapidly unsnapping the leather safety strap on his holster, he placed his hand on his service revolver, pulled it up a bit in the holster and said, 'Get over there!' (indicating that I should go over by the car I was driving.) 'For what?' I asked. I stood there, pen and paper in my hand. His hand was still on his gun, a hate look was in his eyes. 'Give me your driver's license and get over there.'

"The driver demanded, 'I will as soon as I stare as I negotiated the turn. I get your badge number.' I walked commented to my wife about his close enough to him to clearly see stare, and she observed him later his badge and being damned certain turn into El Camino as if in pursuit of someone. My wife was able to observe this because I was proceeding very slowly--my directions had erroneously stated that I was to make a right turn onto El Monte after my left turn at El Camino.

"He looked at my license and at found not to be El Monte, my wife told me that the same police car was following me. I replied, "So puzzled and unable to give an answer, I'm not breaking the law." After a thoughtful pause (hand proceeded slowly along El Camino still on gun), he stated that "it is looking for El Monte. After a few possible this vehicle was stolen." I found such a place near Corky's Restaurant and proceeded back-to-back-stepped to the car with hand and San Antonio Road. My wife observed the police car make a quick U-turn and again follow us. At this point it was quite obvious that the car was following us and I became concerned as to why, especially since he had given me such an icy stare as I made my turn a few

"When the other cars arrived, I lag to be getting badge numbers and not to shoot me on any pretext that I was attempting to escape. The first of the newly arrived badges that I got was #3 because he too had his hand on his gun at the 'ready.'

"After recording badge numbers and car numbers, I asked the person in civilian clothes who was in Car #20 with Badge #6 if I could have his badge number. He said that he was an 'observer' and his name was Jerry Spade. Badge #3 came over, hand still on gun and told Spade not to give me any more information and to 'let him get it off the report.' I asked Spade if his name was spelled S-p-a-d-e as in 'Sam Spade'; he glanced at Badge #3 and said nothing.

"Mrs. Walton said that Badge #6 came over to the car, opened the door in an ill-mannered way, looking for the registration and did not even say 'Pardon me' or 'Excuse me, please.' "He just acted as if he owned the world."

One of the Badges said that a car had been stolen from Hillsdale Dodge that matched the description and license number of the car that I was driving (the car that I was driving had license number 1 over Sm D over L over R, 3063. The license plate frame had 'San Mateo' at the top and 'Hillsdale Dodge' at the bottom).

Lt. Corp. Storphine (Mt. View) and Capt. McFadden (Los Altos) were on the scene also. Our dialogue went as follows:

Police: "Mr. Walton, why do you have a dealer license on YOUR car?"

S.W.: "Because I have a legal right to be driving this car which has a dealer license on it."

Police: "Oh, no, you don't."

S.W.: "Why not?"

Police: "The license number on this car is one number off from that of a car stolen from Hillsdale Dodge today."

S.W.: "What makes you assume that I stole THIS car with a DIFFERENT license number?"

Police: "Did you borrow it or SOME-THING?"

S.W.: "What are my constitutional rights concerning the refusal to answer your question before you answer my previous question? The burden of proof is on you to prove that the car is stolen and that you have the right to further detain me."



Police: "No, it isn't."

"I turned from the Lt. and Capt. #6 if he was finished with my driver's license, and he said 'Yes' and returned it to me. I asked, 'Am I free to go?' He indicated that I was so I walked over to a person who I had observed witnessing the incident. I asked for his description and 'one number off from Jerson of the San Jose Mercury.' He then asked me what all the trouble was about and I related the foregoing train of events to him. He said that he too had seen an officer with his hand on his gun.

After I departed from the scene at about 11:48 p.m., I drove to Mr. Burnett's home to pick up my vehicle. I informed him that I had been stopped and that a car had stolen car? supposedly been stolen from Hillsdale Dodge "just like the one that I was driving" except for one number on the license," to which he replied emphatically that no car had been stolen or reported stolen from Hillsdale Dodge.

Thus the police told a BOLD FACED lie to cover up for racist hatred and behavior on the part of a white policeman desiring to harass a Black person. I maintain that the Lt. and the Capt. were there to cover up his blunder.

The police knew that in this racial society that Black people are the victims of dealers, not dealers themselves, and thus instinctively felt that a Black man HAD to have an explanation for driving a white man's car.

Until such police behavior stops, no respect for the police department is forthcoming. This is why minority people call police "pigs," although I feel that this is quite an insult to a pig. The war against such human indignities is on and I publicly challenge you to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that there had been reported on November 27, 1968, the theft of a car matching the description and 'one number off from Jerson of the San Jose Mercury.' He have the identical license number of the car which I was driving.

I maintain that you are telling a BOLD FACED lie in a thinly-veiled attempt to cover up racist behavior.

You see, my wife had been driving the car all day in San Mateo, East Palo Alto, Palo Alto and San Jose. Why didn't the California Highway Patrol or any of the police in broad open daylight detect the supposedly been stopped and that a car had stolen car?

If you cannot do this within two (2) weeks, then you owe me a public apology for your blundering dehumanization of me near the corner of El Camino Real and San Antonio Road between the times of approximately 11:10 p.m. and 11:30 p.m. on November 27, 1968.

Racism must end or we must die fighting to end racist behavior.

Can you dig it?

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Sid Walton is currently under fire in Palo Alto for trying to develop multi-racial understanding and for defending the BLACK PANTHER PARTY program and platform. Recent threats have been made against his life by cowardly anonymous phone callers.



## SAN DIEGO BRANCH REPORTS

The racist, exploitative pig power structure and their pork chops, we mean the US organization and other provocateur agents sent into the Party (two informers have been caught and kicked out by the San Diego branch of the Black Panther Party) are bent on destroying the local leadership, the San Diego Black Panther Party central staff.

This press conference is held to let the community know that bold-headed US organization niggers, working with the F.B.I. and local pig forces, are staging some lying bullshit and some murderous activity, similar to what happened in L.A. to our Deputy Minister of Defense, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins, our Deputy Minister of Information. Planting of marijuana in some responsible Black Panther Party members' home and persons and lying at door fronts are present tactics. Arrests immediately follow such plants of marijuana. For

what? They're done to try and draw the community away from the correct teachings of our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. On the Correct Handling of a Revolution and other teachings that engender the need for the Black Panther Party here in San Diego. Those who accuse the Black Panther Party of erroneous activity are the ones bent on destroying its leadership. On the west coast, some 10 members have been killed in the last year. And in defense of our lives, some 5 pigs have been killed, according to information that has been received from reliable sources.

Any kind of indictments (grand jury or federal) that are planned to try and make mass arrests and murders of Panther members is no more than the murder of Bobby Hutton a year ago and the murder of "Bunchy" and John Huggins in L.A. last month. Don't expect the Black Panther Party to say anything in public about what we are

going to do. What we're doing first is informing the community what we all should expect, that is, we all should defend ourselves when attacked by pigs and pork chop cultural nationalist niggers. The community can stop the pig power structure and their pork chops by denouncing them as atrocious, murderous, greedy men, bent on exploiting the black community (that's Black Capitalism, what Karenga and the US organization use). And capitalism put us in slavery, and it's got all other oppressed peoples in semi-slavery in this country, from the students and workers, to the employed and massive unemployed black peoples. The Black Panther Party says that we know the masses of the people aren't stupid like the pork chops and big power structure thinks. LET'S DEFEND! LET'S STICK TOGETHER, WAGE A PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE FREEDOM POWER TO THE PEOPLE.





## WASHINGTON/MOSCOW COLLABORATION INTENSIFIED

Shortly before and immediately after Nixon took office, the renegades in the Kremlin went out of their way, openly and covertly, to flatter and toady to the new boss of U.S. imperialism. Impatient to establish connections with the new set-up of the American monopoly capitalist class, they engaged in wide-scale diplomacy behind the scenes in Washington, New York and other American cities. They even sent a delegation of what they called "public leaders" to the United States to "exchange opinions on Soviet-American relations and a number of current international problems." In their own words, all this represents "joint efforts . . . to solve the ripe international problems" with U.S. imperialism. Even Western reporters were "surprised" by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's feverish anxiety to do business with U.S. imperialism at the first opportunity.

The British paper Evening Standard published a Washington report on January 29, saying: "Soviet diplomats, it is now known, contacted members of the Nixon staff in New York shortly before the inauguration and extended talks took place with Henry Kissinger, Nixon's White House adviser on

foreign policy. And over the last few days Georgi Zhukov, the political commentator of Pravda . . . has been in Washington for quiet talks with key members of Congress." The paper added: "The pace and urgency of the Soviet approaches have surprised most experts here." It quoted a U.S. official as saying, "It's so promising . . . I've never known them to be in this much of a hurry."

The nauseating fawning on the new U.S. imperialist chieftains by the clique of Soviet revisionist renegades and their impatience to fraternize with U.S. imperialism are not only a new exposure of their true colours as renegades but also a confession of their difficulties and dire plight both at home and abroad.

U.S. imperialism quite appreciates the way the Soviet revisionist renegades dance to its tune. U.S. News and World Report, a U.S. monopoly capital mouthpiece, said, "High on the Nixon agenda is the search for better relations with Russia."

One of the important items in the further counter-revolutionary global deals between the United States and the Soviet Union now under preparation is the so-called limitation of nuclear missiles. As a "gift" to Nixon on the day of

his inauguration, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique made a "proposal" on this question to U.S. State Department spokesman McCloskey declared that U.S. imperialism "is giving priority consideration to the question of beginning talks" with the Soviet revisionists.

Nixon himself made it clearer still on January 27 at his first press conference after assuming office that talks on this question were only the beginning of a series of counter-revolutionary global deals between the two countries. He said: "What I want to do is to see to it that we have strategic arms talks in a way and at a time that will promote, if possible, progress on outstanding political problems at the same time." Western news agencies pointed out that Nixon's statement showed he was ready to have "a broad dialogue" with the Soviet revisionists and he hoped this could gradually lead to "concerted efforts" by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism "on a scale never previously achieved."

At his February 6 press conference, Nixon indicated that the United States agreed to the recent proposal repeatedly put forward by the Soviet revisionists that representatives of the United States,

the Soviet Union, Britain and France should hold meetings at the United Nations to discuss a so-called "political solution" to the Middle East problem. He stressed that "initiative" on the problem "must be multilateral." This means U.S. imperialism wants the four countries to take "joint action" to put pressure on the Arab people and compel them to swallow a fraudulent "political solution." Nixon again dropped the hint to the Soviet revisionists that if they wanted to clinch the deal with the United States on the "limitation" of the missile race, they must collaborate still further with the United States regarding a settlement of the Middle East problem, that is, they must join the United States in efforts to stifle the just struggle of the Arab people, the armed struggle of the Palestinian people in particular.

In response to the call by Nixon for an "open society," the Soviet revisionists have granted permission to the U.S. Overseas National Airways to operate 20 chartered flights between New York and Leningrad for 1969, beginning from March. Each flight will bring 200 American "tourists" to the Soviet Union to spread malodorous bourgeois influence among the Soviet people. For its part, Soviet re-

visionism sent delegation after delegation to the United States in "exchange." It also quietly agreed to send an "observer" to a conference on the "communications satellite system" in Washington this month. This means that the Soviet revisionists will join the U.S. imperialists in the dirty activities of collecting information.

During this incensed collaboration that was being worked out between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, U.S. News and World Report, in a recent article, divulged the criminal objective of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the two most ferocious enemies of the revolutionary people of the world, which are collaborating and struggling with each other in their vain effort to redivide the world between themselves. It said: "What the Kremlin wants from Mr. Nixon is an agreement that the U.S. and Russia should get together and divide the world into spheres of interest and influence, with a few 'no man's lands' open for grabs."

The more U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism intensify their collusion, the more clearly will they reveal their ferocious features before the people of the world and the more quickly will they go to their doom.

















## REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

A Black child sits in a classroom and stares aimlessly out the window. In front of the class with her back turned, a teacher addresses the class and at the same time writes arithmetic problems on the blackboard. The teacher teaches, using examples and talks about taking 14 apples and dividing them with 7 friends and ending up with 2 apples apiece. At the sound of the word apple, the Black child's face looks up and he seems to know what she's talking about, but soon his mind returns to the 14 apples and he wishes he had something to eat. The teacher in the meantime drones on and on about remainders and quotients. The result of this is that the child falls farther and farther behind. The root cause of this problem is not mental incapacities or cultural deprivation, but HUNGER.

It's a vicious circle that Black people are caught up in this country. They TELL US, you're hungry because you're poor... You're poor because you haven't got the best jobs... You can't get the best jobs because you're uneducated, and you're uneducated because you didn't learn while you were in school, and you didn't learn while you were in school because you weren't interested. And every time the teacher mentioned 5 apples or 6 bananas, your stomach growled. How can a person be expected to pay attention and learn about history, math, science and other subjects that are abstract to his reality when his mind is concentrating on a very real and concrete problem? Where is the next meal coming from? The people have cried for relief without getting it for too long. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY standing as a true representative of Black people's desires and needs, realizes that this vicious circle and chain of events must be broken, it cannot and must not be allowed to continue. In the words of our chairman Bobby Seale,

"THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY is going forth to make sure the desires and needs of the people are answered."

The chain was broken: a free breakfast program was born in Oakland.

The breaking of this chain opens up a new era in the Black colony of Afro-America. The important aspect of this era lies not merely in the fact that the chain was broken but in the manner in which it was broken. The capitalists ruling class of this country knew that this hunger existed and had the means on hand to eliminate it. The proof of this lies in this government's own congressional report on hunger in America. At the same time that it acknowledges this hunger, the federal government pays some of its

Senators not to grow food on their land and also destroys thousands of tons of wheat every 2 years. What happens though is that to give away wheat would lessen the price of wheat on the open market and profits would be in danger. So the ruling class sees this food give-away as certainly not in their best interests, which is always measured in dollars and cents and never in human suffering or lives.

The vacillating Black bourgeoisie class who claim to have made it on their own and who have historically paid lip service to the oppressor

and rejoiced at having "escaped" from the ghetto, knows that this hunger exists. All the civil rights organizations with their middle class orientation know that this hunger exists and have resources and manpower to do something about it, but instead of concentrating on the real and important needs of the people for food, the class weakness of bourgeoisie society surfaced and their true allegiances showed themselves. These people and their organizations indulged in subjectivism and petty bourgeoisie individualism and went off chasing a false dream of integration into a sick society and a moral instead of a political problem, and our children went to

school hungry. In Oakland, California, the people under the leadership and guidance of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY smashed this evil chain, took destiny into their hands and moved to collectively feed their own children and this is where the important aspects of this undertaking lie. Our party knew along with anyone else who had eyes to see and ears to listen, that our children were going hungry. But this is where our party differs from previous parties and groups that claimed to have the peoples' interests at heart. Our party is a revolutionary party made up of activists and is a party that courageously follows the examples of putting words and ideals into action as exemplified by our founder and Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. Huey P. Newton holds that a machine is not functional unless it produces what it is designed to produce. Our party took this basic desire and need of our people and brought it into reality working alongside the people. Thus combining theory with practice.

To the half-baked, the narrow-minded and the avaricious fool, this may seem as though BLACK PANTHER PARTY now endorses reform action and is no longer interested in revolution. What these persons fail to see is that by developing a blueprint that the people can use to solve their problems and by showing that it can be done, our party takes another step forward on the path of successful revolution.

Unlike the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie groups that operate on federal funds and poverty grants and breed nothing but distrust and disunity, unlike pork chop nationalists organizations like the Los Angeles based US which openly goes into business with the capitalist class riding on the backs of the people, exploiting and oppressing the people and murdering to weaken the peoples' revolutionary camp, the core of our party comes from the workers and the masses and all our actions are designed to strengthen the people's revolutionary camp and not the enemies' reactionary camp. Our party correctly understands the necessity of our people taking part in collective socialist actions and ridding ourselves of all selfish petty bourgeoisie individualistic tendencies through hard work and self-sacrifice. The party members and parents are there five days a week at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church on 27th and West every school morning from 7-10:00 a.m. and feed an average of 130 children a day. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY realizes the responsibility and the burden we bear. Our pilot program will soon be extended throughout our communities to every single child who wants it. Our party is of, by, and for the people; and can never divorce itself from the interests of the people.

- All power to the people
- Black power to Black people
- Panther Power to the Vanguard.

Landon Williams

### Breakfast for School Children

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the Black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community—mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the Black community where racists oppress us—are asked to contribute to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs in where B's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Neri at these numbers: 534-5584, 533-1016. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211 or sign up with other community people and citizens for full stomachs and better education of Black children.

We urge as many mothers and other Black citizens as possible to write with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the Black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0103 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductible. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both Black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

#### BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE  
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 2624 WEST ST., OAKLAND

- Money Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_
- Time
- Food or Utensils—State Kind and Quantity Below

If Business Include for your tax exemption \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSC—ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH





# PORK CHOP

# CAPITALISM

The Propagators of cultural house niggers as tools to divide nationalism are no more than the the field niggers from their move super natural nonsense they expose, to liberation.

They are for the most part only a reflection of the nationalist bourgeoisie. They epitomize the idealism of Ron Karenga, the high priest of psychedelic rhetoric and Pork Chop nationalism. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy, be they half-headed, pork-chop nationalists or the avaricious racists, of this imperialistic system. The pork-chop nationalist is very dangerous to the revolution, because his external appearance is that of a Black man. He is used by the pig power structure to continue the suppression of Black people, and to undermine the revolution.

We say we know where it's at, and it's up to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to expose and to denounce all the piggish rhetoric spouted by these buffoons, and turn them over to the people.

We know that you, the people, despise cheap rhetoric spoken by these reprobates, that repeat the words of the slave master.

We as a people's party understand that the racists are using the

Let us first define the house nigger and the field nigger. The house nigger is the type of scum that will break his neck to please his slave-master. Furthermore, he consistently shouts Black Power, I'm Black, and his hair is usually fixed in a natural. We realize that this is not a criteria for the liberating revolution. It is detrimental to our people and is only a reflection of white Racism. They shout Black Capitalism which is Black Piggism!

We're not going for it any longer, because four hundred years of oppression and a history of rebellions are directly related to sell-outs, filthy reprobates, and traitors.

The field niggers, that's us, are the ones who hate the slavemaster. We are the ones that know there can be no peace between the master and the slave until the slave is free or the master is dead. It's time to intensify the struggle and to call a snake a snake, a dog a dog, and a pig a pig, be he Black or White. Because the people are going to deal with it by any means necessary.

Niggers talk about capitalism. They refer to it, when a Black person is in business to make a profit, as "Black Capitalism." This so-called "Black Capitalism is not good for the masses of Black people. The black bourgeois and cultural nationalist seem to believe that anything with the word black in front of it is good for the masses. The word capitalism and the use of capitalism by the power structure has done only two things for the Black masses. It has exploited our people and shot us into four hundred years of black madness.

That bone-nosed fool in Washington, D. C. is spouting about Black Capitalism and all Black Capitalism is, is exploitation of the mass of Blacks by Blacks.

The country was founded and built on capitalism at the expense of the Black masses. From the time we set foot on this continent until now, the power structure has used and exploited black people for their own capital gain. We were exploited before 1865, or as they say, when

we were slaves. Even after 1865 by the power structure to put the power structure exploited our Black-bourgeois in a position to further exploit the masses. It is built this country, when cotton and tobacco were king.

Now the capitalist along with his black counterpart are still exploiting the masses with sloganism and trickology. The white capitalist, the same one who a few years ago was producing products to straighten hair and turn skin lighter, is making products to "help us have a natural look." He has even taken our hair, the hair he makes fun of, and has put natural wigs on the market. He and these capitalistic niggers have taken African styled clothes and have mass produced them out of cheap material and sell them to the "I'm Black and I'm Proud" set, at prices they can hardly afford. These people sell things at a tremendous markup to Black people in their Black community while the community itself is in a state of slow decay.

This black capitalism as set forth in Washington is nothing but a move

the people oppressed. It is not merely a race struggle but a class struggle. The black "so-called capitalist," as it was in times of slavery, is nothing more than a house nigger given crumbs off the table of the power structure to appease him. It does not only appease him, but puts him in a position (so he thinks) that is better (class-wise) than the position of the field nigger.

If the masses take a good look they can see that black-capitalism will never benefit them. The things he masses need the most are co-ops. By co-opting our effort, money, and knowledge we can better help the masses break away from, and finally defeat, the slave-master.

The new term "Black Capitalism" is nothing but the same old stew warmed over.

By Jolly

# WHO DECIDES FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

Daily decisions are made which affect the lives of Black people in their community. These decisions have effect on the kinds of schools Black children attend, the way the law is enforced, the kinds of jobs held by Black people, and the types of political and economic structures under which Black people will live. The question is, who makes these decisions? Black people don't decide for themselves. The answer to the question is obvious. The decisions are made by others, namely whites. Whites who live outside the community make decisions that affect the lives of Black people. Black people are still relegated to a position of subservience and treated like immature children by the white ruling class.

community yet they have no say about the things that affect that community. They either totally lack the necessary power or they fail to utilize the potential power they do have to make decisions in their own interest. Consequently, white racists are constantly in a position to decide what's good for the Black community.

The so-called Model Cities Program is a prime example of how this works. The M.C.P., like all poverty programs, outlines certain goals which are supposed to be beneficial to Black people. However, the humanitarian goals of these projects become obscured and turn into a large con game as soon as local and national politicians stick their greedy hands into them. For

example, whites who perpetuate this brutal, genocidal, and racist social system are now paying themselves large sums of money to "correct" it.

If this program runs true to form as is thus far indicated, Blacks (with the exception of a few token representatives allowed to participate for the sake of appearances) will be "allowed" only minor participation in the making of decisions who exploit and brutalize Blacks are going to take it upon themselves to make decisions for Blacks -- and also make a considerable sum of money in the process.

Under these circumstances, the only "good" that a Model Cities

or any other program can do is to change a few unsightly physical characteristics in a community. Even with these minor changes, however, the people who really need assistance will not reap the benefits. They will, in all probability, be forced to move so that fancy middle-class apartments and subdivisions can be built -- which will only make more money for white-owned realty and construction companies and hastily established white-controlled non-profit corporations and foundations.

What must be realized also is that the Model Cities Program is practically all of the other so-called Anti-poverty and urban rehabili-

tation programs, because of the manner in which they are implemented and conceived, do more to perpetuate than change the system that has brutally exploited and suppressed Black people.

What the Black community really needs is POWER and not another money-making project for the white community. Once we have power (economic, political and brain) we will be able to repair our own communities, without waiting until whites say that it should be done and then proceed to tell us in what ways we must do it.

Once we have power, we will be able to decide for ourselves.



# OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

## WHAT WE WANT

## WHAT WE BELIEVE



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.



# FREE HUEY NOW GUNS BABY GUNS





**HUEY NEWTON**  
**MINISTER OF DEFENSE**  
**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**THE BLACK PANTHER**

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE  
 PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
 BY THE  
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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## 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.

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.



## 10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

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

We believe in an educational system that will give 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.

### 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

### 2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

### 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 of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

### 4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

### 5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

### 6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

### 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

### 8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the schools authority.

### 9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

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

### 10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power 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 experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable 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 force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

## "IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNION hasn't become a member of this UNION of BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual bases. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth; divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

BLACK STUDENTS UNION  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
3106 SHATTUCK ST.  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

COMING SOON

## THE BIOGRAPHY OF HUEY P. NEWTON

By Bobby Seale  
and Those Who  
Know Huey. With  
an introduction by  
Eldridge Cleaver.







## 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 on 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.

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# BLACK PEOPLE: KEEP YOUR GUNS

## CALIFORNIA AND FEDERAL GUN LAWS

This article is to serve as a guide for the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and is not to be construed as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

12001 -- A concealable firearm is any firearm having a barrel less than 12 inches in length.  
12025 -- Any person caught with a concealable firearm CONCEALED on their person or within any vehicle is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12026 -- No license is required for any citizen 18 years or over to keep a legal weapon in their home or place of business. (Some weapons require federal registration.)

12027 -- Persons exempt from Section 12025 includes members of any club or organization organized for the purpose of practicing shooting at targets upon established target ranges, whether public or private, while such members are using firearms upon such target ranges, or while going to and from such ranges.

12031 -- Except as provided in subdivision (f), every person who carries a loaded firearm on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in any incorporated city or in any public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory is guilty of a misdemeanor.

(f) Persons who are using target ranges for the purpose of practice shooting with a firearm, or who are members of shooting clubs while hunting on the premises for such clubs.

(c) In order to determine whether or not a firearm is loaded, pigs are authorized to examine any firearm carried by anyone on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place. Refusal to allow a pig to inspect a firearm constitutes probable cause for arrest.

(h) Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of any loaded firearm, under circumstances where it would be otherwise be lawful, by a person who reasonably believes that the person or property of himself or another is in immediate danger and that the carrying of such a weapon is necessary for the preservation of such person or property.

(j) Nothing in this section shall prevent any person from having a loaded weapon, if it is otherwise lawful, at his place of residence, including any temporary residence or campsite.

12552 -- Every person who furnishes any firearm, air gun, or gas-operated gun, designed to fire a bullet, pellet or metal projectile, to any minor under the age of 18 years, without the expressed or implied permission of the parent or legal guardian of the minor, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12560 -- Any felon who owns, has in his possession or under his custody or control any firearm is punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison not exceeding 15 years, or in a county jail not exceeding one year and/or by a fine not exceeding \$500.

## FEDERAL LAW

(1) Title X of the Civil Rights Act provides that anyone who demonstrates, manufactures, transports, or teaches the use of firearms, explosives, or incendiary devices for use in riots or civil disorders may be imprisoned for up to 5 years and fined \$10,000.

(2) Title VII of the Crime Control Act states that felons, veterans discharged other than honorably, mental incompetent, aliens illegally in the United States, or former U.S. citizens who have renounced their citizenship, who possess, receive, or transport interstate any firearm may be punished by a fine of \$10,000.

(3) The National Firearm Act requires that a \$200 tax be paid on each transfer of any fully automatic firearm, rifles with barrels under 16 inches, shotguns with barrels under 18 inches, any rifle or shotgun under 26 inches overall, or silencers. The Act also requires that the \$200 tax be paid on the making of any firearm that meets the specifications listed above.

## THE FOLLOWING LAWS BECAME EFFECTIVE ON DECEMBER 16, 1968

(1) Only a licensed manufacturer or dealer may ship or transport interstate any firearm (other than a rifle or a shotgun) or any ammunition to anyone but a licensed dealer or manufacturer. (Licensed importers may also ship and receive all firearms and ammunition interstate.)

(2) No one but a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may receive in his state of residence any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) that has been obtained by him outside his state of residence.

(3) Only a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may give, trade, transfer, transport, or deliver any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) to anyone living in another state.)

(4) To receive or transport into any state a firearm that cannot be legally purchased in that state is a federal offense.

(5) Only a licensed dealer, importer, or manufacturer may ship or transport in interstate commerce any fully automatic weapon or any sawed-off shotgun or rifle.

This article is not intended as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

# POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls -- one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

# BLACK BOOKS



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"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN  
THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE REVOLUTION — WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

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- FOR DEFENSE
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# VIETNAM



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