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FREE
FOR
G.I.s



BLACK SOLDIERS AS REVOLUTIONARIES TO OVERTHROW THE RULING CLASS



BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, B.P.P.

This is the county jail, city prison, San Francisco, California. And this is Bobby Seale, the Chairman of the Black Panther Party of which Huey P. Newton is the Minister of Defense, and Eldridge Cleaver is the Minister of Information. I am presently incarcerated here as a political prisoner in the same manner that our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, is incarcerated in another prison here in California known as C.M.C. (south of San Francisco 200 miles). And I wanted to send a message from jail here as a political prisoner.

We are here in America, brothers, (Black G.I.s, who this message is to), trying to rid ourselves of the oppressive conditions that we've been subjected to for 400 years. And now they have Black brothers with their lives on the line, dying and fighting a people who are only wanting for themselves, self-determination in their own homeland and to unify their country and unify their people. And the only reason that Black G.I.s are over there, or Brown G.I.s, or Red (Indian-American) G.I.s, Chicanos, and even white G.I.s, the only reason you're there is because the fascist, ruling class circles of America (the avaricious, big-time, businessmen, the big rich men; the demagogic, lying politicians, the misleading politicians who mislead and try to lie to the people) are the ones who put you there and the ones who mean to keep you there. They're the ones making fascists out of you brothers. And it's correct that the Vietnamese should defend themselves and defend their land and fight for the right to self-determination, because they have NEVER oppressed us. They have NEVER called us "nigger". They have NEVER done anything wrong to us. The leadership of the Vietnamese is that of heroic people. This is also true of the Vietnamese people who are heroic people, fighting for their right to self-determination.

And so, the same goes for Black people here in America living in wretched ghettos and oppression. We have been struggling for 400 years, as many of you Black brothers are well aware, I know you dream about home. But when you come home, come home and realize that you have a fight here, that we have the right to control our destinies in our Black community; as the Chicano people have a right to control their destinies in their Chicano community or areas and places where they live; as the American Indians have a right to control their destiny; as the poor,

oppressed white people have a right to control their destiny (many poor, oppressed white people must realize that it's the ruling class). The Indian-Americans, the Chicano-Americans, the Latino-Americans and Brown people, and Black people in America are beginning to move more and more in opposition to the oppressive conditions that the SAME avaricious businessmen and demagogic, lying politicians create and maintain--that exploitation. The workers of this country are beginning to move more and more, day by day, step by step from a lower to a higher level in opposing the ruling class circles, because they (the ruling class circles) are the ones who keep the racism going. They are the ones who keep people hating each other because of skin color, etc.

The Black Panther Party, brothers, does not fight racism with racism. There are no white people in the Black Panther Party but we do have alliances with white radical student groups who have stood up in protest against that war for your sake and for all the G.I.s' sake. We wanted them back home. We wanted to bring them back home as a means to end that war, demanding and protesting that the G.I.s come back home and the war end.

The Black brothers, Vietnam Black G.I.s, must understand and feel desire to oppose oppression right here at home domestically. Oppose fascism. The cops occupy our community just like a foreign troop occupies territory. Just like, you are a foreign troop there in Vietnam, occupying territory at the directions of the fascist ruling class and their military leaders who are also a part of the fascist ruling class. Not at the will of the people of America are you there. You're there because the imperialist U.S. aggressors (and that's exactly what they are) have sent you there. And we'll be glad when you come back, because here you must fight the pigs who occupy our community. In every major city and metropolis throughout America police forces have been doubled, tripled, and quadrupled wherever Black people live; where the large populations of Chicano people live; where the large populations of people who are protesting and opposing war, are protesting and opposing the poverty and the murder and brutality that's committed against Black people in the Black community. Wherever the case, these police forces have been tripled and quadrupled with

machine guns, AR-15s (the same kinds of guns you brothers got and are carrying over there), .357 magnums (you can stand up and shoot 10 demonstrators with one bullet with a .357 or a .44 magnum) that these cops carry here.

They're not solving the problems of the people, the U.S. government, the local government, the federal government, and the city governments. All they're doing is putting money out for more arms. And now a state of DOMESTIC imperialism exists here to the extent that genocide can begin to be committed tomorrow, if they decide.

We'll be glad when you come home. We oppose the war here, we say, "Power to the People." We want all the people to move to have proletarian democracy--workers democracy (a real people's democracy), and not capitalistic, exploiting democracy for the minority ruling class. There are only 800 big, rich businessmen who control this imperialistic regime in America. There are numerous demagogic politicians, from the local government to the federal government. There are approximately half a million or more local police, some more millions of national guardsmen. But they are used against, not to protect the people. They're used to murder and to brutalize the people, such as at the National Democratic Convention back in August of 1968.

The numerous amounts of brutality that are going on, and you brothers haven't even heard about them. The political prisoners that Black Panther Party members have been made (We have over 50 political prisoners here) all because the Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party began to be implemented. And what was the Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party?

From the very beginning of the Party the Ten Point Platform has always read: We want freedom. We want the right to determine our destiny in our own Black community. Number two: We want full employment for our people. Number three: We want the end to oppression and the exploitation of the Black community by the capitalists in our communities. Number four: We want decent housing fit for shelter of human beings. Five says: We want a decent education. It says we want decent education that teaches us about the true nature of this decadent American society an education that teaches us our true history and our role in the



present day society. And number six says: We want all Black men to be exempt from military service. That's what we demand here of this government. (We really want you home, brothers). Number seven says: We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people. The last two points of the Program covers our right to fair trial by peers as it says in the Constitution of the United States.

It's important Black brothers that we understand the need to come home. It's important that we understand that the Vietnamese people are only fighting for the right to self-determination in their land,

It's important, brothers, that we understand it's the fascist ruling class circle who have you there, who got you fighting there. It's important, brothers, that you understand that your fight is really right here at home in America. So when you come back, you'll be fighting against the oppression that we've been subjected to for 400 years. So I will wind this statement up and probably, hopefully, send some more. Better yet, I think I should say a few more things concerning Black G.I.s and the history of this country.

In the Civil War when there was a fight between the North and the South, in that Civil War, 186,000 Black people enlisted in the military service. We were promised freedom, justice, and equality; and we never received it. During World War I there were over 350,000 Black Americans in World War I. And we were promised freedom, justice, and equality; and we never received it. In World War II some 850,000 almost a million Black Americans fought in that war as Black G.I.s. And we were promised freedom, justice, and equality; and we never received it. Then there was the Korean War the fascist ruling class aggressors put together. And we fought there. Now, here it is again--another war against a people who are trying to fight for the right of their self-determination. They don't even promise you "freedom, justice, and equality" anymore. Kinda bad now, brothers.

If we would only begin to realize the necessity of not being a tool for the fascist aggressor! And that doesn't only go for Black G.I.s. That goes for Mexican-American G.I.s, Chicano brothers, rather; that goes for the Indian American G.I.s and Chinese-American G.I.s; and that goes for even the poor white American G.I.s who have to understand. That goes for even the G.I.s who have some humanistic understanding about a people's right to survive and a right to determine their own destiny in their own land, like the average human being who can understand that Black people have been oppressed for 400 years here in America--all G.I.s. And the Chicano people are oppressed, and the Indian-Americans are oppressed.

You guys know that. Every last one of you know that. You cats come from off the block, you Black brothers. And I know you, you know me just as well as I know you. The

many times we use to break off into parties and be fighting and carrying on. Some of you would be blowing joints, and drinking and carrying on and being sharp, trying to get you some clean clothes, and chasing them sisters out there. You ain't no different from other brothers; only we just turned political. We just turned political. We're being made political prisoners because we're standing up out there against this fascist ruling class, against those fascist, racist pigs who occupy our community like a foreign troop occupies territory. We're the

same, but we're just in two different places. We should be here fighting here at home. They protest over here for the freedom of political prisoners. You should all be closer at protesting over there for the freedom of political prisoners in America.

Power to the people. Power to the people; that's what we say. Power to all the people. And get rid of the power, take the power away from the minority ruling class circles, the imperialists and fascists here in America. The same thing they're doing over there to the Vietnamese people, they're getting ready to upstep and do to Black American people. The same thing; the same kind of weapons, vicious weapons. They have tanks; they have nerve gas and everything else prepared. And it's time that we understand and realize this. All the masses of the people and the G.I.s and the people at home are the ones who have to protest the war, are the ones who have to protest the injustices right here at home.

So you brothers who are dreaming about coming back home, when you get back home, you're going to see that same oppression. They're going to promise you a job; but you're going to be out of a job. In some cases they're going to try to give some of you dishonorable discharges for one reason or another and tell you that you can't get a job when you get back. But all you have to do is tell him it wasn't no jobs here when you left. And that's why you got off into that thing anyway. You went into the service for the same reason I went into it at one time over 10 years ago, some fourteen years, now; 'cause it wasn't no jobs, it wasn't nothing to do, and you didn't have any money in your pocket and you was frustrated with your surroundings and basically your environment. That's the reason most of you brothers went in there. It was a way to get a chance to do something. And you feel you'd go in the Army and some guy'd sell you some insidious notion about being a man, and all that kind of crap. And you were already a man. You're a human being. That's the first basis for being a man; it's being a human being, and not going out trying to prove how many colored peoples you can kill in a foreign land. That's not being a man; that's being a fascist. And that's what the fascist power structure does.

So to ALL Black American G.I.s, it's very important that you understand the need to come home; the need to relate to the struggle here; the need for the people and us to get mobilized and to amass together to free the political prisoners; the need to fight for community control of police where the people will have control, not of the same police, but fire those in now and set up community control operations. The Breakfast for Children Programs. Understand that the demagogic politicians are lying. They're lying on the Party. They've attacked the Party; they've attacked our offices. And in some cases we've had to defend ourselves with weap-

ons because we vowed that we would stand and defend ourselves, to defend our people and teach our people the correct methods to resist the pig power structure here in America, the fascist ruling class, the exploiters. That's what they are--oppressors.

So, power to the people, brothers. And please come on home, brothers. And when you get home, we'll be waiting for you.

**BOBBY SEALE
CHAIRMAN
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

PRESS RELEASE

September 6, 1969

SAN DIEGO BRANCH

It becomes difficult to find language that will suit our needs and desires effectively, when the daily conditions of our lives are such that

tectors of the law", the pigs are extremely commonplace. And, therefore, to try so many times to tell the people and educate each other about our lives and how to deal with our condition is difficult, for words weaken with over-use.

But, again we in the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party have been victims of attack by fascist vigilantes representing themselves as the San Diego Police Department, and under the usual pretense of looking for a fugitive from justice. On last Tuesday, September 2nd, members of the Black Panther Party's San Diego Branch were in their community talking to the people. While out talking to the people, they noticed members of the San Diego Police Department running around, claiming that a man whom they had been trying to catch had been seen running into a known Panther house.

In this house at that time were only two sisters, Gloria Shields and Gloria Johnson, and an eighteen-month old baby, Bink. When the brothers who were out in the community saw the S.D.P.D. vigilantes surrounding the house and begin distributing shotguns, carbines and Thompson sub-machine guns, they called the house and told the sisters to call lawyers and others who could give legal aid because these madmen were about to attack.

The S.D.P.D then surrounded

the house, got into position and ordered the women and baby to open the door. When the sisters asked if these men had a warrant, they were told, "We don't need one. We'll kick the door down." The women said they were not opening the door and were told they had 10 seconds to do so. Before 10 seconds were up, the San Diego protectors of the law began firing C S Gas Rockets into the house. They continued this for 45 minutes.

Because the masses of people understand clearly that the Police Department is no more than an occupying army of the community, the people outside the house began throwing rocks and bricks at

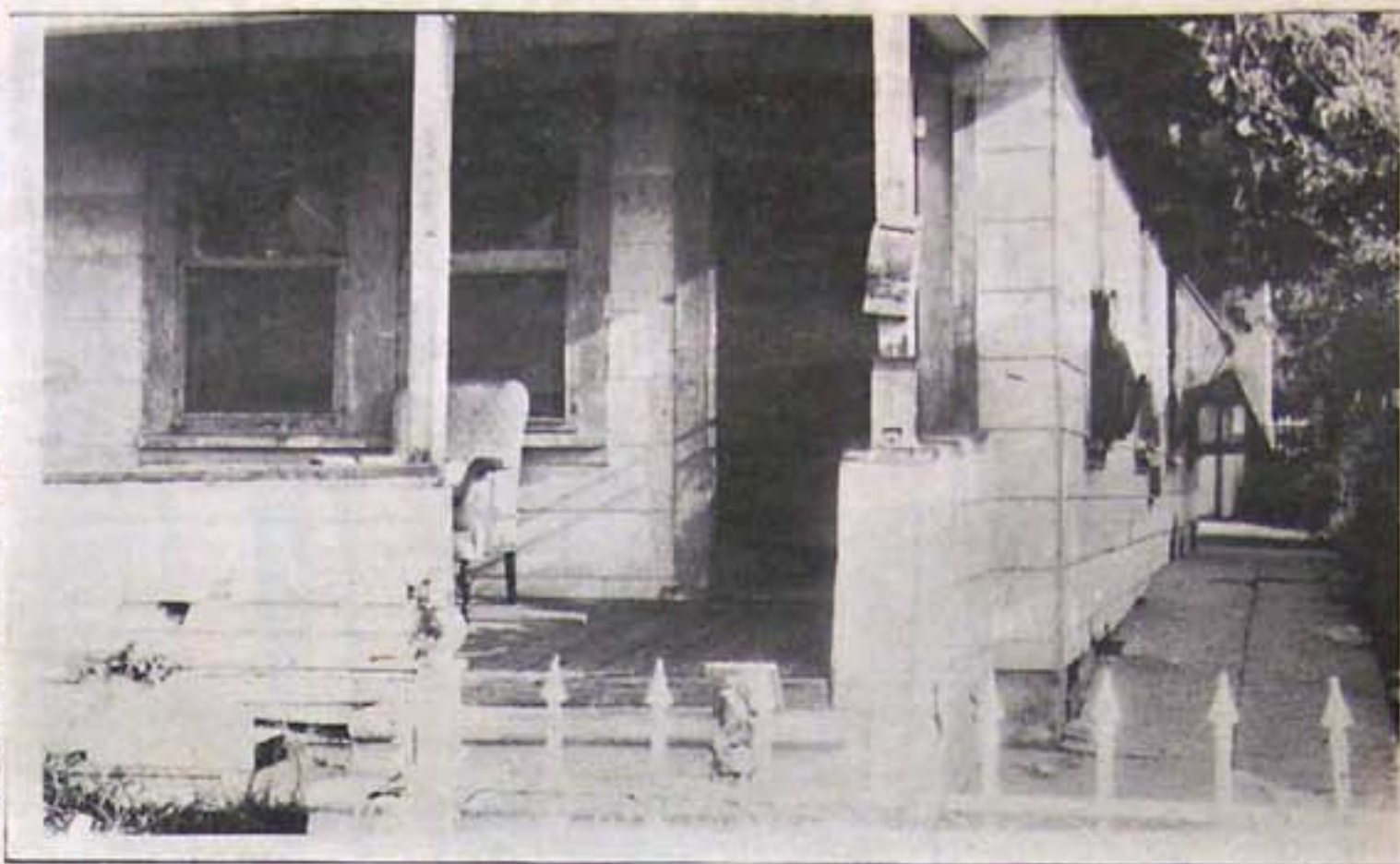
the police to try and keep them from killing these two sisters and the baby. The people's activity became so intense that the police's concentration was forced to the people and they stopped firing the gas rockets into the house, and turned to "disperse" the outraged people.

The sisters then came out of the house carrying the baby. After this, complete bedlam was created by the police activities: They tore up the house, threw out food and medical supplies, arrested most of the people outside for disturbing the peace and failure to disperse, and kicked down the doors of other community people, still looking for a so-called suspect. Finally around

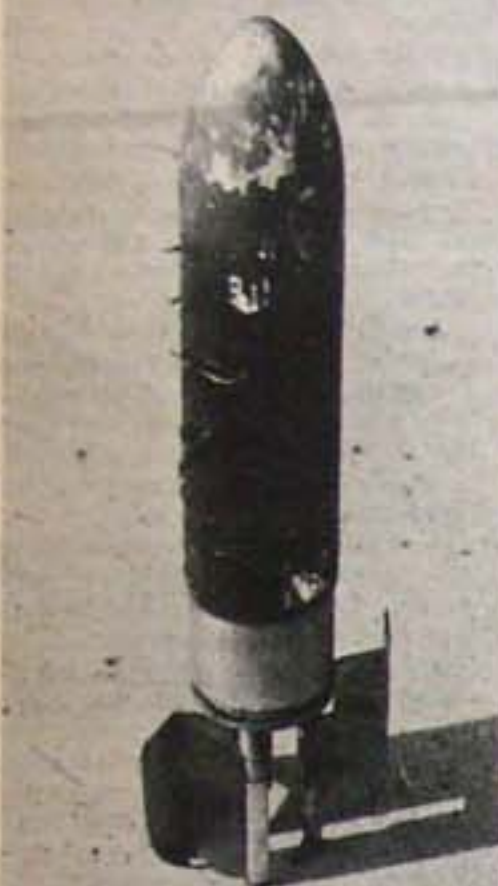
4:00 a.m. they left the area.

And so, we once again merely remind the Power Structure that attacks on the Black Panther Party are in fact attacks on all the people, and the people, as they did, in San Diego, clearly see this and will move on this. And we also remind the Pig Power Structure once again of what our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, said some time ago, "The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality of Black people, or face the wrath of the armed people."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



S.D. Panther Pad Wrecked by 'CS' Bombardment



1 Foot 'CS' Shell Fired Into S.D. Panther Pad to be harassed, beaten, jailed, or killed by the police, the "pro-

TO THE PEOPLE

The foul acts that have been committed on the Black Panther Party by the fascist lackey pigs have shown that the struggle of the oppressed people has definitely been brought to a higher level of the revolution. A clearer, and clearer line of demarcation has been drawn. These crazy, stupid pigs of San Diego have been harassing Panthers, and intimidating them constantly ever since its existence. Why? Simply because the Black Panther Party is the servant of the people, to go forth and meet the wants and needs of the people. To teach the people the strategic methods of how to resist the power structure. These very things have been put into practice.

All the constructive things that the Black Panther Party is doing are in the interest of the people, so it is not at all hard to understand, or begin to understand, why the pigs move the way they do. Anytime you hear or see fascist pigs jammed bumper to bumper, running into each other to try and commit foul acts on the people's

vanguard; or for that matter, on the people themselves, we all begin see more clearly the fascism that is brewing more overtly in our midst. Anytime you hear or see gangs of criminal pigs chasing people with outrageous weapons that will kill instantly, and the people throwing rocks and bottles so that the pigs can't catch them. We all see the anger of the oppressed people. We know that the people want this insanity to stop. The people also know it can't be stopped with rocks and bottles. So, what then? Well, it moves to the level of knowing that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

On September 2, 1969, at 11:45 p.m., the coward, sissy pigs launched C.S. gas in the residence of Party members which occupied two sisters and a 1 1/2 year old baby. C.S. gas was shot through every window and hole in the house. they then proceeded to the rear of the house where the landlord lives, and kicked his door in, oinking and drag his son out of bed. Everyone on the block was

up and on the outside digging on the pigs going crazy. Ever since that house has been occupied, the dirty low-down pigs have been using terror tactics every night, and threatening to do what they have finally done. Brothers have been on the block, up many streets, and on the set bringing the message of liberation to the people.

Brothers and sisters have been executing all means to establish programs that will serve the people and not exploit them, such as the Free Breakfast Program, Free Health Clinics, Liberation School, and Community Control of the Police. Everytime we make that positive step in the best interest of the people, the pigs go crazy and get constipated, and turn the Black community into a shooting gallery, with Black people as the targets.

What the pig power structure is doing is openly practicing fascism. That's right, fascism. Right here in racist Babylon! You dig? They are protecting not the people but the capitalist in our community. And they will stoop to the bottom of the s--t to do this,

That's what they did last night. These fools are mad because Save-More robs no more, and that means a capitalist in our midst has been downed by the people. (Save-More is the capitalist market that closed August 21 by Panthers and lumpen-proletarians) Money down the drain of the capitalists and another victory for the people. So it is natural that they would attack the Vanguard. But what the pigs fail to see is that last night, on July 13th at the Park, at Southcrest Park last week when they were chanting 1, 2, 3, 4 go get the Niggas, when they burglarized the Black Panther Party office, what they did at Huffman's when they overtly attacked Black people, what they did to Chairman Bobby, Huey, Eldridge Cleaver, and all criminal acts that they have committed all across this country. They fail to see that they have in fact, by their actions, intensified the struggle for freedom of all oppressed people. All the foul, corrupt acts have not been bad things but good things. It has shown the people the true nature of this decadent,

fascist American society. so Right On!!

To the stupid pigs of the power structure, who boosted the struggle, and with their actions, will continue to raise the revolutionary struggle and spirit, we will continue to wage the revolution, implement the 10 point platform and program, and arm ourselves against the fascist pigs that occupy our community. The fascist pig better believe that: We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people, or face the armed wrath of the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

LONG LIVE THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

BLOOD TO THE HORSE'S BROW AND WOE TO THOSE WHO CANNOT SWIM

SAN DIEGO PURGE



The San Diego Branch of the Black Panther Party has exposed a foul element within our ranks.

A sister--Lydia Runnels. She is guilty of committing the following undesirable acts: Liberalism

and subjectivism. She let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when she knew a person had clearly gone wrong; she indulged in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward ones suggestions to the organization; she would be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation; she also indulged in pleasure seeking. These faults were pointed out to her time and time again, yet she made no move to correct them. the revolution has no room for so-called Panthers who impede progress and harm the interests of the masses.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Ministry of Information
Black Panther Party,
San Diego Branch

THE PEOPLES' PIMP FROM NEW HAVEN

As of August 27, Theodore Spurlock, the most reactionary counter-revolutionary madman to ever hit the set here in New Haven has been expelled from the Black Panther Party. He has on many occasions proven himself to be a harmful corrosive to the Peoples' Revolution. He has perpetrated such evils as:

1. Individualism
 2. Subjectivism
 3. Disregard for organizational discipline
 4. Spreading erroneous information (lying to the people)
 5. Liberalism
 6. Consciously cashing false checks in the Party's name
 7. He did not adhere to the policy and ideology laid down by the Central Committee.
 8. Selfish departmentalism
- All of such evils breed the weakening of the bonds between the Party

and the people, which Erica Huggins and the other incarcerated Panthers tried so hard to strengthen, and it also creates disunity within the Party.

The New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party has had a thorough house cleaning and has purged from its ranks that rock headed, mud-brain, counter-revolutionary maniac, Theodore Spurlock. Our only conclusion of a bird-brain like that is that either he is a fool or an agent.

We the remaining members of the New Haven Chapter will start anew. We will go forth to meet the needs of the people, serve them, love them with heart and soul and never at any point divorce ourselves from the interests of the masses.
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE THE CONN 15
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

INSTITUTIONALIZED ILLNESS IN THE PRISON SYSTEM



"Most veterinarians give better medical care than most prison doctors."

By Rev. Robert Taylor

One of the first incarcerated persons ever to entrust his life to my ability as a counselor was a petty con man named Donald Clark. I met him nearly twelve years ago in the House of Correction in Chicago, where he was serving a six months sentence for defrauding an innkeeper. We met weekly for about three months and talked for an hour in the prison yard. In those days a chaplain was not allowed a desk or an office.

Mr. Clark was less a con man than a compulsive check writer and belonged either in a simpler society or in deeper therapy than I could provide. I never knew whether what I said to him or what he was eventually able to say to me would have any effect on the course of his life in the "real world" outside because he died a few weeks before his release date.

DONALD CLARK joined the sick line one morning, and although the inmate in charge and the part time doctor were convinced that his complaints were symptomatic only of malingering, they allowed him a few days in the hospital to rest.

For three days he complained of various pains and an inability to urinate. His color changed from a pleasant alcoholic ruddiness to a very unpleasant yellow. The inmate nurses claimed that he sneaked to urinal in the dark of the night.

I think it was the fourth day that the doctor, a recent immigrant from Eastern Europe who spent most of his time running a private clinic in the ghetto, became sufficiently concerned to have him transferred to the County Hospital. He died

there about six years later. Such examples are not everyday occurrences in prison, but they are by no means rare. There were many during the several years in which I worked in the Bridewell and Cook County Jail. I remember this one clearly because I remember Mr. Clark. But even a very few such incidents would be enough to substantiate the inmate belief that most veterinarians give better medical care than most prison doctors.

THE NEGATIVE VIEW of the medical profession by members of the inmate sub-culture, justified or not, is a major factor in the poor delivery of health services in prison. All prisons can be characterized

by constant conflict between the custodians and those in custody. It is normal for the latter to view the former with hostility, suspicion and contempt. In this context it is possible to understand that such medical services as may exist in prison are frequently avoided, even when needed, by inmates.

AT ST LEONARD'S HOUSE, an agency that works with ex-prisoners in Chicago, we have a good deal of documentation on this point. Our volunteer physician has picked up a vast number of undiagnosed conditions, unrepaired hernias and treatable diseases among men seen at St. Leonard's House in the first week or so following their release from extended periods of incarceration. He estimates that one third of them leave the penitentiary needing medical attention.

They frequently cite their distrust of prison doctors as the reason for their conditions. One man entered the penitentiary with 20-20 vision and left the penitentiary totally blind from glaucoma having refused medical attention until it was too late. Another old timer chose to extract his own teeth with a contraband

pair of pliers rather than risk, as he put it, a broken jaw bone at the hands of the prison dentist. OTHER FACTORS RESULT in the der-use of existing medical services. For example, in many prisons a bucket in his cell which was emptied each morning at the back of the prison yard and disinfected with a HANDFUL of lime.

THE FACTOR MOST DESTRUCTIVE of health services in prisons, however, does not relate to architecture and equipment. In a prison or jail all visible power of subversion and passive resistance, but members of the treatment team, including the medical staff, are almost totally powerless. This condition is sharpened by the fact that the medical staff is for the most part a part time staff.

THE MEDICAL FACILITIES and the medical facility is usually the inmate nurse. Inmate nurses can develop a good and therapeutic atmosphere in the infirmary. They frequently achieve a high degree of competence. I know of one man who, following his release from prison, successfully ran an under-world "trauma clinic" which specialized in gun shot wounds.

Too often, however, the inmate nurse is subject to the pressures and demands to "operate" in the inmate subculture and to use the power of his position as a means of enhancing his status and wealth. THE PART TIME PHYSICIAN wandering into this milieu will almost invariably, and in a very short time, associate himself with the custody forces of the institution. He will spend most of his time trying to catch malingers. At a nearby women's reformatory aspirin (to deal with the symptoms) and castor oil (as a deterrent against coming back) are the standard prescriptions for everyone who joins the sick line for the first time.

Medical facilities are seldom designed by or for professionals and one suspects that even the best appearing infirmaries were designed more with an eye to show than with an eye to function. EVEN THE MOST DEDICATED

medical staff would have a difficult time maintaining the health of the prison population given the general health and sanitation conditions in most of our prisons.

Too often laundry facilities are inadequate and changes of clothing occur infrequently. In many cases straw mattresses which become breeding places for vermin are still in use.

Older prisons of brick or stone interior construction are never really dry, and the steam heat on the outside walls never really reaches the cell block, located for security purposes some distance from the outside wall. Perhaps for this reason tuberculosis has been known as the "prisoner's disease".

Ventilation in the cell house is usually poor and the cleanliness of the dining and kitchen facilities is often questionable.

I know of no prison now in use that does not have inside plumbing. However, the south cell house of the Chicago House of Correction was built in the 1880's without plumbing, and until 1960 when it was torn down, each prisoner had a bucket in his cell which was emptied each morning at the back of the prison yard and disinfected with a HANDFUL of lime.

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The part time physician out of naivete or his sense of powerlessness will look the other way when his facility is used, as it often is, as a punishment section by the disciplinary staff. The whole medical ritual and its apparatus is significant in this connection. The institutional staff maintains its relative position from the institutional inmate by various means. Baggy prison uniforms, strange hair cuts, institutional numbers rather than names, mild personal assaults (searches, frisking, confiscation of property, censorship of mail) all become means of clearly marking off staff from inmate and keeping the inmate fully conscious of his place.

AT TIMES AN UNRULY INMATE requires more direct physical assaults on his person and these often take place in the hospital. One of the punishment facilities in a nearby penitentiary is called the "detention hospital".

A brief newspaper scandal last year involved charges of a "goon squad" that operated out of the hospital in a downstate penitentiary. The "goon squad" consisted of inmate nurses whose main function was to beat up rebellious prisoners who were transferred to the hospital for that purpose.

Most services to prisoners are extraordinarily poor. They are poor because prisons by definition are outside of public view and have very low priority on everybody's list. They are poor because most institutional health services are poor.

They are poor because the medical profession as represented by prison doctors has been badly compromised and subordinated to the security paranoia of the wardens. They are poor because they are expected to function in the midst of appalling health and sanitation conditions. And they are poor for all these reasons because they are generally viewed with contempt by their consumers, the inmates.

CHURCHILL is quoted as saying "The advancement of a country's civilization can be gauged by the treatment that country gives to offenders against its laws." Trotsky was a bit more blunt: "You'll never know what kind of country you live in until you've served time in one of its prisons."

Insofar as these propositions are true, prisons provide an index to the quality of life in a free community; and without question the health services of a prison can provide an index to the quality of life in the prison.

Father Taylor is executive director of St. Leonard's House, a Chicago agency serving released prisoners.

(Reprinted from Health Rights News, August 1969)

MEDICAL CARE IN THE ILLINOIS PRISON

Here in Chicago we are receiving hundreds of complaints, from the lumpens concerning people who die in the house of correction from inadequate medical care. In the House of Correction the doctors are referred to as Dr. Jekyll or Dr. Frankenstein, you see these are doctors who hate sick people, doctors who are only concerned about their personal wealth instead of the inmates health. It shows that even in the prisons class differences appear. White brothers receive the same Frankenstein type attention, because the highest rate of white inmates are southern whites from the white Harlem, next in line are the Puerto Ricans.

The July Issue of Ebony tried to glorify the Pork Chop, Handkerchief head, slaveholding warden Winston "Wimpy" Moore by saying "Wimpy Moore" cleaned up the prison. They showed Wimpy Moore sitting in with the inmates talking and laughing, but they didn't show the armed guards. Ebony did not mention that

Wimpy Moore has to have a 24 hour guard with him every where he goes. That's the contradiction about the bootlicking Johnson Publishing Company. (Ebony) So the people are saying to slaveholding Moore and his slave master Daley and Pig Oglvie. "We want all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails freed." The Patriots are saying "we want freedom for all Hillbillies held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails released." The Young Lords are saying the same. What we are saying is release and we will rehabilitate them with love, respect and with a political ideology, Socialism. And we will in turn replace the inmates with the pigs and pork chops. We'll even let Ron Karenga be the pork chop barn boss over the pigs.

Bob Lee, Field Sect. Black Panther Party Illinois Chapter

LEAD POISONING IN NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT

Lead poisoning is a very controversial issue in New Haven, Connecticut. Children have been turning up sick and are being treated for mental disorders. The problem is stemmed in bad housing, which finds its source in a system which is so wicked and low-lived, that it has no concern for human existence. Lead poisoning comes from paint which is so old it peels off the bad housing and little brothers and sisters between the ages of one and six eat the paint because it tastes sweet (paint containing lead is the cheapest paint that can be bought).

Point No. 4 of the Black Panther Party's Platform and Program; We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings.

The people of the community have complained to the so-called housing authorities about the poisonous paint, but these fascist pigs oink, "Teach your children not to put things in their mouths". The pigs always have a way of shifting the blame, always the victim of an unprovoked attack. One sister whom I met and spoke to, who is also

very strong and a beautiful person, told me of the harassment she has gotten from the idiot pig inspectors who are supposed to check for repairs needed in the house. The pigs are the biggest hypocrites and law-breakers in society.

Mrs. Glasper the beautiful person of whom I speak, is a welfare recipient, and has seven children, five of her young warriors had lead poisoning. The effect of this lead poisoning will not be detectable in the young brothers and sisters until they get older (then defects will be detected by the children's development). After speaking to many other people in the area and conducting investigation, I've found that most of the houses are coated with paint containing high contents of lead.

The people in the community became aware of what was happening in their community, and they started to move on the system. They formed a group called CITIZENS AGAINST LEAD POISONING; they've had press conferences, meetings, formed their own housing

authorities to go into houses and test for lead; they've gone out and stood guard at the sisters homes who've been harassed by the pigs for filing complaints because of lead found in their homes. The people are tired of this treatment and they're moving on this. The Black Panther Party has been involved in this from the beginning and we're going to keep on serving the people.

THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING WITHOUT A PEOPLES' ARMY; THE PEOPLES' ARMY HAS NOTHING WITHOUT THE PEOPLE.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
FREE RUEY!
FREE BOBBY!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
BE STRONG!

Rosco
New Haven Branch,
Black Panther Party

REVOLUTIONARY MURDERED

"By lifting their hands against Larry, they lifted their hands against the best that humanity possesses." Larry Roberson, Chicago Black Panther, was murdered by paid mercenaries--the "Chicago police"--PIGS who wounded him in a shoot-out on July 14 and then placed him in Cook County Hospital, a known slaughter-house, where he where he died Thursday, September 4, 1969.

On the morning of July 14, Larry, 20, and Party comrade Grady "Slim" Moore came out of a restaurant at 610 California Ave. where they had eaten breakfast. Once outside, Larry and Slim noticed the pigs harassing people about the so-called "robbery" of that same restaurant. Pointing out that no robbery had taken place and that the rights of the people should be respected, Larry pursued an argument with the pigs. Going into a frenzied rage because of his statements, finding out that he and Slim were Black Panthers, and then threatening to kill them, the pigs pulled out their guns and started shooting, wounding Larry in the stomach. Slim was not wounded. Determined to defend himself even after being shot, Larry managed to get his gun out and wound two of the attacking maniacs.

Both Larry and Slim were arrested and charged with robbery and attempted murder, though no robbery had taken place. Larry was also charged with illegal possession of a weapon. Slim was taken to jail, and Larry was taken to the County Hospital. (Numerous studies, reports, and cases indicate the poor medical attention given at this hospital. Because the service is free, the hospital's majority of patients are poor people who have continuously protested the bad conditions. Even so, the cries against this slaughter-house have been largely ignored).

Larry's mother and lawyer were the only visitors that he was allowed to see while in the hospital. Trying to weaken his revolutionary spirit,

guards told him that the Party cared nothing about him and had forgotten him. He never received mail that was sent to him from his comrades. Every effort was made to weaken his will and his body. Thus, Larry was not simply killed; he was overkilled.

Distorting as usual, the news media would have us believe that Larry was a criminal, even though he was never tried for any crime and WAS NEVER GUILTY of any crime. This Larry who they cast all kinds of suspicions on is the same Larry who worked on the Breakfast for Children Program, feeding the hungry, who worked to open the People's Health Clinic which will give free medical at-



LARRY ROBERSON

tention to the sick, and who dedicated his life to serving the people. It's an insult to the vilest degree to label such a person a "criminal" or a "gangster", when he was the highest that any of us can be--a "servant of the people."

Because we protest the oppression under which Black and other oppressed people live, members of the Black Panther Party have been victims of harassment, brutaliza-

tion, and murder, perpetrated by pigs under the direction of the power structure.

Understand that it was not one or two individuals that murdered Larry, but a system--a capitalistic system that exploits the many for the benefit of a few and that crushes those that are powerless and those who protest. Understand that this country has become a police state and that it permits people such as Larry to be murdered by so-called "protectors." Understand that this is nothing but a manifestation of the fascist trend that this country is taking. But lastly, understand that Larry was, as Illinois Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton is: "too revolutionarily proletarian intoxicated to be astronomically intimidated."

It doesn't shock us to read that every day, every hour, every minute men die, because death is a state all of us will encounter. How it is encountered plays a significant part in how we will react to it. Thus, natural death or death caused by disease hasn't the same effect on us as death resulting from murder. The difference being that natural death and death from disease are uncontrollable, i.e. we haven't developed the medical know-how to combat them. But murder causes a sensation of horror, because it is controllable; it doesn't have to happen.

This country's legal system, supposedly set up to control such people as murderers, is in fact not controlling them, but sanctioning them.

Larry's death was controllable. Why? Because if the people had the power they were suppose to have, they would see to it that murderers be taken off the streets. Fascist elements, like the pigs who killed Larry, would never in the first place have been hired to "dominate and destroy" ("protect and serve" has become a mockery). And unless we seize the power that

is rightfully ours, we will always be dominated and destroyed; we will lament about that which we could have controlled.

The Black Panther Party is fighting like Larry fought to see that the people have the power that is rightfully theirs, and that they not be victims of human vultures (such as the vulture that killed Larry).

Just as man is more powerful and can destroy animal vultures, then human vultures must realize that there is a power greater than they--the people--that even though they now soar high and strike at innocent prey, they are controllable and can be shot down.

They can be shot down because the people can demand Point No. 7 of the Black Panther Party's Ten Point Program: "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people."

Larry is gone now. Soon the soil will cover the once breathing revolutionary whose last breath was in service to the people. Thus, the soil will enclose and encase him, but not his revolutionary spirit, because it is not measurable or confineable, cannot be destroyed. It cannot be buried, Larry's spirit will be in our midst as long as there are oppressors and oppressed, tyrants and subjects, persecutors and victims. His spirit will be there inspiring us to give all that we have--our lives, if necessary--so that a new day dawns.

For at Larry's death, 100 have risen to take his place and to fight as he fought. One hundred have come to the realization as we must all come to the realization, that: "Only on the bones of the oppressor can the people's freedom be founded; only the blood of the oppressor can fertilize the soil for the people's self-rule."

All Power to the People
Panther Power to the Vanguard
Long Live the Revolutionary Spirit



Bobby's Poem

Uncle Sammy called us full of Lucifer
But we're calling him Lucifer for burning
Us. That's the beginning as to why we
Don't give a good eagle-eyed Mc-Flegal
Tripplewhammy damn. So, All you fools
Who think you are looking at the Geek
Might as well go and get your money back
For that ticket you
Got from Uncle Sammy and call him a pig
Define this bastard for a better conscious
So that you wont continue acting like a freak
Gestapo dog. Just relate to the fact that
You must pick up the gun to survive. Everyone knows
That many of you Bastards contribute to
Tax-deductable charity organizations that
So-called Superman Lynching Baines has set up.
Burn Baby Burn was the beginning cry that
Depicts to all you freakish fools the level of
Our consciousness. Sing the song "Fuck"
Mickey Mouse Ronald Reagan" daily and as
Human Beings challenge the whole racist Exploitative
Government to a duel. Because if we had the
Ear phones for you to wear to be told what to
Do we would damn sure put that in your EARS.

BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Pig Doctors and Pig Police Murdered Larry Roberson

Comrades as I wrote the article "Medical Care in the Illinois Prisons," Larry Roberson brother, warrior, Panther died in the pigs' hospital security ward, Larry had been shot July 16, 1969, our last report was that he was in very good condition and that he was sending a message for the Panthers to continue the struggle. September 6, 1969 Larry suddenly died of un-announced causes. I'm not going to spend much time on Larry but I will state that if you know Fred Hampton, Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, or Bobby Seale, then you damn sure know

To Larry we say:
This is to the man who lived, tried and died, saying,
I am a Revolutionary!

Bobby Lee
Field Secretary
III. Chapter

GEORGIA WOMAN RETURNS FLAG

A mother in Georgia, embittered by her son's death in Vietnam, has sent the American flag from her son's coffin to President Nixon.

Mrs. Miles Stewart, a businesswoman in Warner Robbins, Ga., included a letter to the President which said, "I do not want a flag which represents a country which is sacrificing her young men as this one is doing."

Pvt. Wayne Stewart, 22, was killed in combat last April. Mrs. Stewart has been writing to congressmen and military authorities, but she has only received cold replies. A previous letter to the President got no response.

This time Mrs. Stewart said, "I hate the flag for what it stands for in Vietnam--the murder of our young men. But I love it for what it is supposed to stand for."

Reprinted from GUARDIAN

THE BLACK PANTHER
FASCIST FUNNIES
PRESENTS:
**THE RISE AND FALL OF
MICKY MOUSE**
BY BLOOD BROTHER

LOOK AT YOUR HANDS,
PIG OF PIGS... THE
BLOOD OF 'LIL BOBBY
HUTTON IS ON THEM--
THE BLOOD OF REVOL-
UTIONARIES AND THE
BLOOD OF STREET PEOPLE.
BORAXO WILL NOT WASH
AWAY THE MEMORY OF THE
PEOPLE, OR THE TRUTH.
YOU ARE THE MIDDLEMAN,
PUNK-- THE CAPITALISTS
CONTROL YOU, AND YOU
CONTROL THE PIGS...
BUT THE PEOPLE ARE



HIP TO YOUR OPPRESSIVE
GAME, PIGMONGER, AND
THE PEOPLE WILL CUT OUT
THE MIDDLEMAN JUST AS
SURELY AS YOUR POWER
STRUCTURE CRUMBLES BY THE
DAY, AND YOUR ONLY VICTORY
WILL BE A PHYRRIC VICTORY.
YES, MICKY MOUSE, YOU
ARE THE REAL FUGITIVE
FROM JUSTICE -- THE
PEOPLE'S JUSTICE. AND
THE PEOPLE WILL PREVAIL!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PERISH THE PIGS
B.B.

WANTED
MICKY MOUSE
DICTATOR OF THE
STATE OF DONEYLAND
FOR: MURDER, EXTORTION,
KIDNAP, FRAUD, GRAND
LARCENY, AND OTHER
CRIMES AGAINST THE
PEOPLE. WARNING: THIS
RODENT IS IN THE COMPANY
OF ARMED PIGS AND SHOULD
BE CONSIDERED DANGEROUS

INTERVIEW WITH BIG MAN

MANAGING EDITOR
BLACK PANTHER PAPER

Reprinted from STRAIGHT

BIG MAN, Managing Editor of the Black Panther newspaper and Deputy Minister of Information in the Black Panther Party, talks to Dan McLeod of the STRAIGHT at the Underground Media Conference on July 11 in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

STRAIGHT: What do you think of Stokeley Carmichael putting down Eldridge Cleaver for associating with white radicals?

BIG MAN: I hate to deviate from what our Chief of Staff says, but Stokeley, at the time he was in the Party (as Honorary Prime Minister)... didn't become well politically educated. Even Eldridge's writings and Huey's writings say that it's necessary for revolution in the black colony, that there should also be revolution in the white mother country. And we've learned from Eldridge to form coalitions—meaningful and working coalitions—with different white radicals...the Peace and Freedom Party, etc. There's not that much difference between our struggle and anyone else's struggle here in Babylon, because we're fighting the same monsters: Capitalism which, teamed with racism breeds fascism.

STRAIGHT: Why do you tell people to kill the pigs?

BIG MAN: We always advocate self-defense. People have a right to defend themselves. That's why, when Huey started the Party, he said that there should be a shotgun—which is a legal weapon—in everyone's home for self-defense. He took into account the fact of the St. Valentine's Day Massacre back in the '20s in Chicago when men in policemen's uniforms masquerading as policemen, entered this garage and murdered a number of men. So we say that anyone who rushes into your home acting in the manner of an outlaw deserves to be treated in the manner of an outlaw. The people have a perfect right to self defense. If there's a pig in the community who's misusing the people and acting in the manner of an outlaw, the people have a right to live, and therefore they have a right to defend themselves in order to live.



Big Man, Mg. Ed., The Black Panther

STRAIGHT: Do you usually brand all policemen as pigs, or just a specific few? How about the ones who are trying to change the system from within?

BIG MAN: In our community, the way we're treated by the so-called peace officers, they act in the manner of a pig, so therefore we classify them as a pig. I don't see any revolutionary police officers so-called trying to change their police system, because they're only really a tool of the real culprit: the demagogic politician, the lying politician, and the avaricious greedy businessman. And the fascist pigs only back up the policies set forth by these tools.

STRAIGHT: Whenever I get arrested I try to explain to the police that it's the system that's controlling them, and some of them realize that and I think it's changing to some extent. But

PIGS RAID MEDIA CONFERENCE

ANN ARBOR (INS)--Thirty Ann Arbor cops and men from the Washtenaw County Sheriff's office invaded the Radical Media Conference held at a hilltop house July 12.

A small group of officers had shown up at first, ostensibly looking for a girl who had been busted for possession a few days before and then was released on bail. They were denied entrance by a conference security guard. Ten minutes later, carloads more of them appeared, and one by one they emerged through the trees, coming from almost every direction.

Fifty people who had been enjoying the afternoon sun and rapping about a closer communications network between the larger revolutionary papers, stood around a little dazed after the invasion.

Some people speculated that the cops had come looking for a shootout with the "hippies," an idea that might have come to them after noting the armed guard at the bottom of the hill.

In light of the street fighting in this small Michigan city a few weeks before, and in view of the absurd claim by the county sheriff that local radicals might have killed the six girls murdered in the area recently (the idea being that they would then have shown up the sheriff as an incompetent for not solving the crimes), the theory of the shootout seemed plausible. The radical media people were not bent on carnage, so they took it easy. The cops eventually relaxed too; some of them began looking over the hundreds of underground papers lying all over the place. Meanwhile, the rest of the pigs searched the house, ostensibly for the girl who had been busted.

After half an hour, the gendarmes got ready to leave. One of them flashed a V-sign as he departed. The conference people booed him loudly as they stood watching the hill.

that's in Canada, which is different from what you're up against.

BIG MAN: But even so it relates to a class struggle; it's the oppressed against the oppressor, no matter where it is. And all over the world the police control the interests of the avaricious businessman and demagogic politician. And whether it's an army in India or in Southeast Asia, they're all one and the same.

STRAIGHT: What do you think of this conference; do you think it's not nearly as together as it should be?

BIG MAN: Definitely. Because the people here—I don't know whether it's the lack of political education or what—but they seem to be trying to separate politics from the situations that they're talking about. Like they say we want to talk about politics one day, and then the next day we want to talk about power to get legal aid for the oppression that's going down for the different papers that are busted down by the pigs. But how can you separate politics from that—that is political.

STRAIGHT: You're the closest paper to being truly underground, aren't you?

BIG MAN: No. I would say, with the Black Panther Party, there is no underground. We're just the opposite. I don't know what specifies being underground really in the press because our paper is definitely above the ground, as is the Party. Because we can't educate the people by being underground. Underground to us is like somebody sending letters out into the night and not being available to talk to the masses of the people. I would say that these papers (at the conference) are not really underground. They're talking about distribution and circulation and newsstands and vending machines, shit like that...

STRAIGHT: Have you experienced repression of your paper on the local and national level?

BIG MAN: Yes, most definitely. We've sent papers out on TWA and United and when the papers were received our brothers would open up the package and the papers are soaking wet. This happened specifically with the issue we did on Malcolm X—a tribute to Malcolm X's birthday—those papers that were sent to Harlem, about 5,000 were totally destroyed.

We've had word from the inside, that sometimes when we get to press late and our paper comes off at 12 o'clock at night, that bundles of papers have been ripped off and taken away by FBI agents.

The printer himself has had people quit... People have come around, talked to all of his staff—typesetters, etc.—and they've quit. He's had typesetters who claim they quit because they didn't want to typeset some of our material because of the content of it.

STRAIGHT: Then you got some Justiwriters from the (San Francisco) GOOD TIMES?

BIG MAN: Yeah. The GOOD TIMES gave us their Justiwriters and we were able to deal with that situation.

STRAIGHT: Have you ever been busted for any-



Porky Pig Guards Dangerous Hippy

thing you've printed in your paper, like libel?

BIG MAN: No. We've never been busted because everything we print is political and is relevant to what's happening. We imagine it to be coming up soon though, with the McLelland Commission and J. Edgar Hoover on the rampage such as they are. I would imagine that smashing papers will be coming up in the future as oppressive measures by these pigs.

STRAIGHT: We got busted for libelling a magistrate in Vancouver and got convicted. They didn't give us the right to appeal so we lost and had to pay a \$1500 fine. We've also been busted a number of times for obscenity, and have 17 charges against us now for different things...

BIG MAN: I don't know what the policy is in Vancouver, Canada, but in America other so-called underground newspapers have been meeting this repression and we think that freedom of the press is a farce.

STRAIGHT: What would you like to see come out of this conference?

BIG MAN: Well, as a revolutionary man I would like to see all these people, since they're supposed to be opposed to the system, to try to establish some kind of union and lay down some principles in opposing the system and stop being what I term to be cultural nationalists.

...My paper is almost completely divorced from what the other papers are doing.

JACK BURGESS (L.A. FREE PRESS): I don't think they're completely divorced from what you're doing man. I think the other papers are approaching what you're doing from another angle, from another point of view.

BIG MAN: The reason I said that, man, is because of Huey's teachings and what I've learned: In this particular situation in order for the revolution to be successful—there is a revolution in the black colony being led by us, and the whole country as a matter of fact is being led by us—but there has also got to be revolution in the white mother country. And the reason I don't deal with any of that shit, man, is because we as an organization are on the verge of being wiped out very quickly. And I don't engage in that shit because I don't have any time for it. This shit is deathly serious to us. Because day to day I don't know whether we're going to put out another paper, or they're going to bomb the office—because they know that's where the central work on it is at—or we're going to get picked up on the street, or whether I'm going to get shot in the back.

STRAIGHT: What kinds of things do you expose in your paper—the city government, for example?

BIG MAN: Yes, definitely. That's why the pigs are very reluctant to attack us in Berkeley or Oakland now, because we made everything—every fuck-up that they've made—political. So they kind of stay away from us, just waiting really to get their shit together and be able to justify what they do to us to the public. They'd like to kill us all.

HUEY'S APPEAL

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The following article is taken from the appeal prepared by the attorneys defending Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. Huey's attorneys have moved to have the case reviewed by the Court of Appeals of the State of California. The Black Panther News Paper will print the appeal in part--every week to give the people all the facts as to why Huey P. Newton should be set free immediately.

The evidence introduced herein (by Blake, Blauner, Hunter, Dizard, etc., and by the defendant himself) establishes an identifiable minority of the black poor in Alameda County, culturally distinct in West Oakland, but existing throughout the United States. Neither inclusion of a token Negro professional nor inclusion of the white poor (and all Negroes and all poor were systematically underrepresented by the processes used here) mitigates the fact of the total exclusion of this identifiable minority.

The identifiable minorities of Negroes and poor black persons (herein West Oakland residents) were systematically underrepresented by use of the voter registration lists and by the practice of making up the working panel of those who responded to a mailing to the address of last registration. The master panel was unconstitutionally discriminatory by virtue of the significant underrepresentation of the voter registration lists alone, regardless of the reason for low Negro registration and high Negro transience.

But, in addition, the factors of qualification, desire and feasibility of registering to vote and maintaining a permanent residence are not neutral to racial origin. The prosecution introduced no evidence, (33) and none is available to dispute Messinger's testimony herein that (R.T. 273):

"... The use of the voters roll as a universe from which to draw the voters' names, including the initial procedure that Mr. Schnarr (Alameda County Jury Commissioner) uses to get the names from the voters roll tends to insure a biased panel. I would further suggest that the methods he uses thereafter to assemble the persons belonging to the names, so to speak, further biases the panel so that it is doubly the case, not just singly that poor persons and black persons are eliminated from Alameda County juries. . ."

FOOTNOTE

(33) In opposition to the motion and evidence in support of the motion to quash the venire, the prosecution referred only to selected portions of the Federal Jury Selection Act (R.T. 239-40), and offered only the testimony of the Clerk of the Oakland-Piedmont Municipal Court that said lower court also used the voter registration list as the sole source of trial jurors (R.T. 239). Defendant put the entire Jury Act into evidence (R.T. 241).

END FOOTNOTE

All recent studies confirm the testimony of Professors Dizard, Hunter, Messinger, Blauner and Blake in this case, and of the findings of the authors cited in defendant's Memorandum of Points and Authorities in Support of the Motion to Quash the Venire that Negroes (and poor people) are substantially underrepresented in voter registration rolls, and that this underrepresentation is related to factors not "neutral" with respect to racial discrimination and economic pressures. See, e.g., a recent study of the problem by C.A. Lindquist, in "An Analysis of Juror Selection Procedure in the United States District Courts," 41 Temple L.Q. 32 (1967), wherein the writer analyzes the fact that in 1964, out of a voting age population throughout the nation of 114 million, about 80 million were registered. Residence requirements were the most severe legal restriction upon registration, resulting in an estimated 8 million disenfranchised in 1960. A large proportion of these were from lower class, cultural minorities, such as migrant farm workers or southern blacks who had recently immigrated to northern cities.

Intimidation and apathy, which are also related to racial and socio-economic factors, were largely responsible for the remaining failures to register. Lindquist expressed great doubt that voter registration lists without supplementation were capable of producing representative juries in view of the fact that the 30 million people excluded from the voter registration lists, a disproportionate number were members of the lowest socio-economic strata of society.

Whether or not the factors which account for low Negro registration may be attributed to historic and/or continuing discrimination, or economic pressures affecting transience, or even, arguendo, laziness or hostility, no operative factor--even the deliberate mechanism of not registering to vote in order to avoid jury service--can be deemed sufficient to deprive the defendant of his constitutional right to a jury representative of the community and drawn from a random sample of the community.

The Constitution guarantees, not a trial by those interested in voting or serving on juries, but a jury drawn from the entire community, including the apathetic, the disillusioned, the selfish, the lazy.

Presumably, the state would not argue that poverty levels are "neutral" with respect to race, nor dispute that in restricting and substantially underrepresenting the poor's service on jury venires and juries, black people are further systematically excluded. Because poverty is so much more widespread among blacks than among whites and because blacks are still concentrated in and restricted to low-paying, unskilled jobs, any set of selection standards which eliminates the poor, blue collar workers largely eliminates Negroes. (34)

FOOTNOTE

(34) Thus, Negro family incomes were about 56% of white incomes in 1964, compared with 53% in 1961-63; Negro earnings are so low that, regardless of whether Negroes

are employed, unemployed, or out of the labor force, their incomes fall within a narrow range at a low level. A much larger proportion of non-white than white families had incomes under \$3,000 in 1964, even though a much larger percentage of non-white families had more than one earner.

The extensive effort of the Negro family to ensure its security meets not only discriminatory hiring practices, but also the situation that many of the occupations and industries in which Negroes are numerous have a large degree of seasonality and high unemployment, even in times of high employment generally. About 40% of non-white families, compared to 12% of white families, were poor in 1964.

U.S. Department of Labor, The Negroes in the United States, Their Economic and Social Situation, 35-36; T.



HUEY P. NEWTON

Bartlett, Employment, Race and Poverty (Ross & Hill, 1967 Ed.); M. Harrington, The Other America (1962). See, also, Kerner Report (1968):

"Although there have been gains in Negro income nationally, and a decline in the number of Negroes below the 'poverty level' the condition of Negroes in the central city remains in a state of crisis. . .

"Employment is a key problem . . . despite continuing economic growth and declining national unemployment rates, the unemployment rate for Negroes in 1967 was more than double that for whites. . .

"Negro men are more than three times as likely as white men to be in low-paying, unskilled or service jobs. This concentration of male Negro employment at the lowest end of the occupational scale is the single most important cause of poverty among Negroes." (page 13)

b. ABUSE OF PEREMPTORY CHALLENGE TO ACHIEVE AN OTHERWISE CONSTITUTIONALLY PERMISSIBLE RESULT

One Negro juror, a bank loan officer, remained on the trial jury and became the foreman (R.T. 1320). The prosecution's systematic peremptory challenge of every black person but one from the jury and of every black person from the alternates violated the plainly expressed policy of the United States Supreme Court, the California Supreme Court, and the public policy of the United States and of the State of California.

The California Supreme Court has recognized the possibility that:

"(A) prosecutor would abuse the high responsibilities of his office by employing peremptory challenges to accomplish an otherwise constitutionally impermissible result..." People v. Sears, 70 A. C. 485, 500 (1969).

While such an abuse should not be assumed, it must be identified and prohibited when the total facts and circumstances lead to the logical and reasonable inference that the district attorney had a conscious intent, and exercised the peremptory challenge pursuant to that conscious intent, to exclude black people as a group or category from the jury. People v. Smith, et al., Superior Court of Alameda County, No. 42219 (July 1968)

In the Smith case, which came to trial in the same Superior Court just a few weeks before the trial in the instant case, Judge George Phillips declared a mistrial where the district attorney had exercised 26 peremptory challenges, the majority of which were against non-whites, and, in fact, excluded all non-whites sitting as part of the prospective jury. Judge Phillips held that these facts and circumstances were such as to logically and reasonably lead to the inference of a conscious intent on the part of the district attorney to exclude non-whites as a group or category from the jury.

The intentional use of the peremptory challenge in the instant case had the practical effect, as it had in Smith, of impaneling a jury not representing the conscience of the community. If it be assumed, arguendo, that by peremptorily excusing all Negroes from the trial jury herein the district attorney's use of the peremptory would have fallen under the rule of People v. Smith, his sparing of one Negro bank officer cannot save an otherwise unconstitutional practice.

Thus, it is not only despite, but even because of, the

prosecution's sparing of the one Negro bank officer--with the decision of People v. Smith only a few weeks old--in conjunction with its total elimination of all other black people, that the inference is compelled as to the prosecution's conscious intent to achieve a jury not representative of the community.

The court in Smith described the prejudice resulting from a class exclusion on the basis of race as "not... subject to precise measurement... (being) so subtle, so intangible that it escapes the ordinary methods of proof." The same prejudice remains, and did remain here, when all but one Negro were excluded from the trial jury. The situation obtaining herein when the one Negro was left on the jury was identical with that described in Smith, as follows:

"(An impartial jury) must represent a cross section of the conscience of the community, that is, it must be impartially drawn from a cross section of the community without systematic and intentional exclusion of some qualified groups or categories of citizens....
"...(A)ll elements of society (must) have an equal chance of being a part of the random sample of the cross section of the community, to wit, the final jury selected." (Emphasis the court's.)

The use of the peremptory challenge by the district attorney here, notwithstanding the fact that one Negro juror remained, showed a distinct prejudgment as to groups and categories of citizens which were, in his opinion, qualified to serve as jurors and those which were not. The result of such a categorical use of the peremptory challenge destroyed the representativeness of the random sample of the conscience of the community. Although the procedure of peremptory challenge is formally authorized by California Penal Code section 1069, providing that no reason "need" be given, neither a proper interpretation of the section nor the Constitution permits abuse of this procedure through a conscious intent to exclude--totally or with one token exception--a class, category, or sub-community of the whole community.

The exclusion of all Negroes but one from the defendant's jury, and the exclusion of all Negroes and minority group persons from the alternates, created an atmosphere in which fair play and substantial justice fell victim, an atmosphere in direct disregard of the requirement that a broad cross section of persons be represented upon a criminal jury. People v. Diaz, 105 C.A.2d 690 (1951); California Penal Code section 1078; People v. Hines, 12 Cal. 2d 535 (1939).

Use of the peremptory challenge to exclude all but one black person from the jury violates an affirmative duty not to discriminate recognized by federal statute (18 U.S.C.A. 243 (1948)) and the Supreme Court. See Avery v. Georgia, 345 U.S. 559, 73 S. Ct. 891 (1953), supra, reversing a conviction where the jury was obtained by a process excluding Negroes by means of colored cards. The Court there stated that the state jury commissioners and other officials involved in the selection process:

"...were under a constitutional duty to follow a procedure--'a course of conduct'--which would not operate to discriminate in the selection of jurors on racial grounds." (345 U.S. at 561)

CONT. NEXT ISSUE



GI CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 13 TO PUT BRASS ON TRIAL

By CHARLES HIGHTOWER

NEW YORK, Aug. 13 — While the Pentagon continues its frantic efforts to crush GI resistance to the Vietnam war and racism, the GI movement is putting the military establishment on trial.

The organizing work inside military bases by such organizations as the American Servicemen's Union and the GI Defense Organization has ruptured the iron-tight control over the minds of rank-and-file GIs. And rebellions by prisoners in post stockades and by black and Puerto Rican enlisted men have created a new era in the struggle.

A national conference on GI rights will be held in Washington Nov. 13-16, it was announced by the GI Defense Organization in a planning session held last week in Chicago.

Pvt. Joe Miles of Ft. Bragg, N.C., a black GI who helped

found the organization called, GIs United Against The War In Vietnam, is a member of the steering committee for the conference.

Proposals expected to be considered at this national meeting include the guarantee of freedom of speech for GIs, freedom of the press and assembly, due process rights to servicemen, and legislation to enforce the prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment by the officers' caste and their agents.

Appeal to labor

The American Servicemen's Union has asked organized labor to support the GI movement.

Brochures distributed at factory gates by ASU members ask workers: "Would you work for less than \$4.00 a day? Would you submit to a system under which a boss could put you in jail for not saying, 'Sir,' to him?"

"Would you handle deadly chemicals, poisons, plague germs, forcing them upon people — women and children — just because the boss told you it was all right and in fact, ordered you to do it?"

"You would do all these things and more if you were a GI in the non-union U.S. Army, Navy, or Marines today," the ASU statement told workers. "that is, you would unless you were organizing a rank-and-file opposition to the brass like the American Servicemen's Union is doing."

Persecution

At Ft. Dix, N.J., the brass command asked the FBI and Military Intelligence to investigate the GIs involved in anti-war organizing. A black GI, Pvt. Henry Mills, and a white soldier, Pvt. John Lewis, were closely associated in ASU work on the base, which included publication of a progressive newsweekly called, "The Special Processing Detachment News."

The Army brought courts-martial charges against the two men. Mills was convicted of absence without leave, after he missed a stockade formation, and of disobeying an officer who ordered him to, "sit down, boy." The black GI is now serving a sentence of six-months confinement at hard labor.

Lewis was charged with as-

saulting an MP, with absence without leave, and with breach of the peace. He was convicted on Aug. 7 of absence and breach of the peace, and sentenced to forfeiture of \$85 a month for a four-month period, without confinement.

"Brass on trial"

Henry DiSuvero, who defended both Mills and Lewis, emphasized that what was really on trial was the brass, as represented by the commanding officer of their company, Capt. Quentin Hunter. Hunter testified at Lewis' court-martial trial he knew that Lewis and Mills were putting out the "SPD News" and added he wanted to get them for a long time for their anti-war activity.

In a statement to the court before sentence, Lewis said: "Seventeen percent of the deaths in Vietnam are black. This is way out of proportion. The entire infantry, which is forced to conduct the war, is made up of blacks, Puerto Ricans, and the people who don't have any color, the poor whites, the oppressed whites, who are forced into serving because of economic reasons... I know that this system of dog-eat-dog expects a person such as me (white), who was able to get a little college, to step on my brother to get ahead. But I don't seek to escape from my class. I cannot do this. I must stand with my class who are the oppressed."

Andy Stapp, national chairman of ASU, said his organization "strongly suspects that military goons have murdered a black GI, James Brigham, because they could not break down his opposition to the war."

A contrast with NLF

Specialist Fourth-class Brigham was one of three GIs released by the NLF in South Vietnam on Jan. 1, 1969. He had stated that during his imprisonment by the Vietnamese he was "treated as an equal to others without racial discrimination. This I never saw in my home country, or in the U.S. Army," said the GI. When Brigham was released, the U.S. examining physician at Long Binh hospital, Lt. Col. William Hammon, said the black GI was in "generally satisfactory to good condition."

But Brigham was taken to Walter Reed Army Medical Center immediately after arriving in the U.S. On Jan. 9, the Army claims, he had "brain surgery." He died on Jan. 17.

"We suspect that the only 'brain surgery' done on Jim Brigham was an effort to break him or silence him as they have managed to do with other returned prisoners who had made anti-war statements," Stapp declared. "And that MI (military intelligence) goons did not succeed; we suspect that they killed him in the process," stated the ASU chairman.

Probe sought

The ASU is seeking to investigate the death, with the assistance of private medical specialists.

American Servicemen's Union program

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

Union representatives of the enlisted men must have the right to meet with today's dictatorial officers and tell them what the men want. The present Hitler-type regulations forbid this and call it mutiny. Such regulations must go.

WE DEMAND ELECTION OF OFFICERS BY VOTE OF THE MEN

Workers elect union leaders, from steward to president, but we GIs have utterly no opportunity to pass on the merits of the military leaders who have power of life and death over us. The soldiers in the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam elect their own officers. What's wrong with American GIs electing theirs? United States officers should not only be elected, but subject to recall at any time by majority vote. We demand election of officers by the vote of the men in their command.

WE DEMAND AN END TO SALUTING AND SIRRING OF OFFICERS

We believe compulsory saluting and sirring of officers is degrading to GIs. This show of obedience is required to create an atmosphere of subservience to the dictatorial orders of the officers. Few civilians realize that men are constantly being court-martialed and often given prison sentences for leaving out the "Sir" in addressing the Brass.

WE DEMAND FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGES

We demand an end to a wage system where we get pennies an hour while the banker generals get \$50,000 a year. We demand a wage system based on the needs of the enlisted men — pay by work, not rank. We demand an end to the impoverishment of enlisted men, which forces many of our brothers' families to welfare while the generals' families trip off to the Riviera.

WE DEMAND AN END TO RACISM IN THE ARMED FORCES AND RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE

We know that racism seeks to divide the oppressed enlisted men against one another in order to prevent unity in the fight against the Brass. We know that black and Spanish-speaking brothers are placed in the most dangerous assignments and suffer the highest casualty rates. We demand an end to the filling of stockades with black and Spanish-speaking GIs who have refused to submit to the racist attacks and insults imposed on them by the Brass. KKK crosses have been burned both here and in Vietnam. We believe that anything less than a head-on attack against white racism would cause the solidarity of white and black GIs in our union to break down and thus play into the hands of the Brass.

WE DEMAND RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL OVER COURT-MARTIAL BOARDS

We demand an end to the system whereby

the all-powerful officers sit in judgment over GIs. The Constitution guarantees the right of any person to be judged by a jury of his peers. In the Armed Services there has never been a GI of the rank of PFC or lower who has served on a court-martial board, and yet 90 percent of those court-martialed are PFC or lower. The vast majority of cases would not even be considered crimes in civilian life (and yet 95 percent are now being found guilty). If a GI must stand trial, let other GIs try him!

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT OF FREE POLITICAL ASSOCIATION

This freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution. GIs have been harassed and court-martialed on the basis of their associations alone. We believe that our association and organization is a matter of our survival — our life or death. The Brass associate with whom they please. We want to associate with whom we please.

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO DISOBEY ILLEGAL ORDERS — LIKE ORDERS TO FIGHT IN VIETNAM

We believe that no officer has the right to order us to fight and die in battles against our brothers, be they in Berkeley, Chicago, Detroit, Santo Domingo or Vietnam. The GIs have a right to decide where they want to die and what they want to die for. We believe that orders must serve the needs of the people.

Wisconsin's anti-draft prisoners

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 13—Twelve of the Milwaukee 14, convicted for the destruction of Selective Service records, are in the state prisons of Wisconsin on two-year sentences.

They can receive mail from anyone, though they are limited in the mail they can send out. They would appreciate hearing from readers of the Daily World or others.

Here are their names and prison addresses:

Bob Graf
Union Grove Farm
Box 87
Union Grove, Wisconsin 53182.

Fr. Anthony Mullaney
Walworth Correctional Center
Elkhorn, Wisconsin 53121.

Br. K. Basil O'Leary
Wisconsin School for Boys-
Wales
Box WX
Wales, Wisconsin 53183.

Doug Marvy
Wisconsin State Prison
Box C
Waupun, Wisconsin 53963.

Fred Ojile
Wisconsin State Reformatory
Box WR
Green Bay, Wisconsin 54305.

Jim Forest
Gordon Forestry Camp
Gordon, Wisconsin 54838.

Fr. Robert Cunnane
Flambeau Forestry Camp
Hawkins, Wisconsin 54530.

Rev. Jon Higgenbotham
and
Don Cotton
McNaughton Forestry Camp
Lake Tomahawk, Wisconsin
54339.

Fr. Al Janicke
Oregon Farm
Oregon, Wisconsin 53575.

Fr. Jim Hamney
and
Fr. Larry Rosebaugh
Wisconsin Correctional Inst.
Box 147
Fox Lake, Wisconsin 53933.

Jerry Gardner
St. Croix Camp
Sandstone, Minnesota 55072.

At Waupun State Prison, where Marvy is confined, the average inmate is 47 years old, and has been in prison before. He spends 16 hours of every day locked in a five-by-ten-foot cell. Sentences range from three to five years.

Many of the inmates are black, while all of the guards are white country boys. There is a strong atmosphere of racism.

Inmates receive 40 cents per day for eight hours of work. On their release they each receive \$10 and a suit of clothes. The return rate is 70 percent.



ANDY STAPP
ASU national chairman





NOT QUITE EVERY WARHAWK WHO SUPPORTS THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS FROM THE CAPITOL, THE PENTAGON, OR WALL STREET. G.I.'S WITH FIXATIONS ON UNIFORMS, REGULATIONS, AND MURDER HAVE CIVILIAN COUNTER-PARTS. (NOTE NON-WHITE, JEWISH, CATHOLIC, OR COMMUNIST NEED NOT APPLY).

WESTMORELAND'S RAILROAD

Fort Dix

A model GI, who guards at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and who was awarded an "American Spirit Honor Medal", is on his way to becoming a very well-known soldier.

Sgt. Michael Sanders was singled out for a special interview in his hometown newspaper, the Louisville Courier-Journal by the Pentagon, who expected him to live up to his "perfect soldier" image--an inspiration to the folks back home. They were in for a surprise.

When asked about his privileged job as special guard at the Tomb,

Sanders said: "It's unfortunate when people see me here on duty that they will associate me with the Vietnam thing. I am very much opposed to our Vietnam involvement, and I think, so is practically everyone else here."

Other GIs on hand at the interview nodded in agreement, according to the N.Y. Post.

This was too much for the Pentagon. Army Chief of Staff Westmoreland went straight to Sander's battalion commander and ordered Sanders to active combat duty in Vietnam.

FROM SHAKEDOWN

MESSAGE TO THE PEACE MOVEMENT

"WHERE THE CHOICE IS SET BETWEEN COWARDICE AND VIOLENCE I WOULD ADVISE VIOLENCE. I PRAISE AND EXTOL THE SERENE COURAGE OF DYING WITHOUT KILLING. YET I DESIRE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE NOT THIS COURAGE SHOULD RATHER CULTIVATE THE ART OF KILLING AND BEING KILLED, THAN BASELY TO AVOID THE DANGER. THIS IS BECAUSE HE WHO RUNS AWAY COMMITS MENTAL VIOLENCE; HE HAS NOT THE COURAGE OF FACING DEATH BY KILLING. I WOULD A THOUSAND TIMES PREFER VIOLENCE THAN THE EMASCULATION OF A WHOLE RACE. I PREFER TO USE ARMS IN DEFENCE OF HONOUR RATHER THAN REMAIN THE VILE WITNESS OF DISHONOUR."

-MAHATMA GANDHI: DECLARATION ON QUESTION OF THE USE OF VIOLENCE IN DEFENCE OF RIGHTS. (PUBLISHED GUARDIAN 16/12/38)



PIGS VAMP CLERGY

On the afternoon of August 16, concerned citizens of San Francisco, mostly members of the clergy made a visit to the U.S. Marshal's Office demanding to know the whereabouts of Chairman Bobby Seale.

The pig in charge told them that he was ordered not to disclose any information. This, he said, was for the protection of the prisoner and the deputies involved. He said that they would have to direct their questions to the District Attorney who he added, was not in his office at that time. Every one left except nine members of the clergy who refused to believe the words of the lying pig.

Minutes later warrants for their arrests were issued from the U.S. Attorney's Office.

The nine ministers arrested were

charged with trespassing.

On behalf of the concerned citizens and the nine clergymen arrested, Rev. Cecil Williams stated the following demands and posed these questions (to all fascist pigs responsible) to which every concerned person has a right to know the answers:

1. Why had Bobby Seale been kidnapped?
2. Where is he?
3. Why is he being deprived of due process and refused legal counsel?
4. Why has he not been given the respect due to political leaders?
5. What is the state of his health and well-being?

(This must be determined after he has been examined by a doctor approved by the B.P.P.)

These clergymen are of the community, ministers and others included who just wanted to find out what is happening to the Peoples' Chairman (which they have a right to know). This is just another attack that will raise the consciousness of the People, because the People are becoming more aware each day as the pigs continue to run amuck.

The People involved don't have any legal counsel, as far as anyone knows at this time. They are being held in the county jail of San Francisco. They were scheduled to appear before the U.S. Marshall Wednesday, August 17, at either 8:30 or 10:00 a.m. on the 20th floor of the Federal Building.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

JOBS!



JOB OPPORTUNITIES! NEGRO VETS PREFERRED, GOOD PAY, UNIFORMS, AND STATUS. NO EXPERIENCE REQUIRED. EARLY DISCHARGE FROM SERVICE CAN PROBABLY BE ARRANGED. MUST HAVE NATURAL TALENT FOR BROWN-NOSING AND BOOTLICKING.

NATIONAL GUARD BIAS REPORT GAG

(FRED) The Illinois State government is trying to cover up reports of discrimination in the Illinois National Guard. The state is taking no steps to alleviate conditions reported in a study ordered by Gov. Otto Kerner in March 1968.

That report has never been made public because neither interim governor Sam Shapiro nor Gov. Richard Ogilvie felt obligated to a report not commissioned by them.

The Daily Defender obtained the report and on June 28 published the documentation of discrimination: of nineteen guard units in 12 cities only two units had over six black soldiers and nine units had

no black men, although many were from communities with large black populations. Of three hundred officers, only thirty are black. Despite this information, Attorney General William Scott recently submitted a report that said there was no discrimination between blacks and whites in the guard and even if there were it would be illegal to establish any quota or percentage method in apportioning vacancies between whites and blacks.

When the Defender attempted to interview Scott on this ruling, he was vague, threatened the Defender with an investigation, and

hung up on the reporter. None of the other Chicago papers covered the suppressed report. Brigadier General Raymond Watkins, who authored the suppressed report for Gov. Kerner, was contacted last week by two Chicago television stations for an interview regarding his findings. The interview was then cancelled with the explanation that Attny. Gen. Scott has refused to appear to discuss his report.

Meanwhile, black officers in the guard say there has been no change in guard policies since the original charges of discrimination were raised in 1968.



PLAYBACK ON ARMY LIFE

After being out of the Army about three months, a thought arose in my head: why should a majority of this nation carry the burden of waging war on the oppressed people of Vietnam. For myself and a lot of my fellow brothers, we are at the top of the draft lists, and the vast majority of the time we are placed in Infantry to become puppets for this Imperialist Government. We have no say so about what we can and can't do. Being in the Army is a modified form of slavery, because the government says there is no discrimination in the Army, which is a motherf---g lie. The brass plays on racism to keep the Black brothers isolated. They tell the White people that the Blacks are the cause of all their troubles in the Army. To prove this the Black people are the last to be promoted as far as rank goes. Also the majority of guys in Infantry are Black and we have a high casualty rate in Nam.

As for R & R's in Viet Nam, the Black brothers are always at the bottom of the waiting list, so the White guys can get the best selections of places to go. It is always the Black Brother who is convicted for refusing to fight his revolutionary comrades in Vietnam.

When we come back to the States we are the first to be reduced in rank, and also we get all these---ty details; like K.P., Guard Duty, and are put on restriction to the Company Area. The uncle toms, bootlicking a--- niggers, which are commonly called liars, really make it hard for the together brothers. So I say to the brothers that are unlucky enough to be in the Army, f---k the Army, and the sorry a--- individuals that are career soldiers.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Brother, Lionel Anderson

WHERE THE NATIONAL GUARD IS AT

Washington, D.C. (LNS) -- In 1964, the National Guard was called up five times. 3,100 soldiers of the state were sent into action against the people in the streets.

Last year the number of call-ups rose to 106 and involved 150,000 soldiers. In the first half of 1969, the Guard was called up thirty times, putting 24,100 Guardsmen against actions ranging from People's Park in Berkeley to Black rebellions across the country.

Interviews in the U.S. News and World Report of June 30 indicate clearly that the purpose of the Guard has shifted almost entirely from serving as a reserve force in time of foreign war, to a ready force to face and fight Americans at home.

Another conception of the Guard has always been that it is pretty much a hometown bunch ready to cope with hometown emergencies. The fact that the Federal government is moving to increase its share in funding the Guard from 900 million dollars a year to a

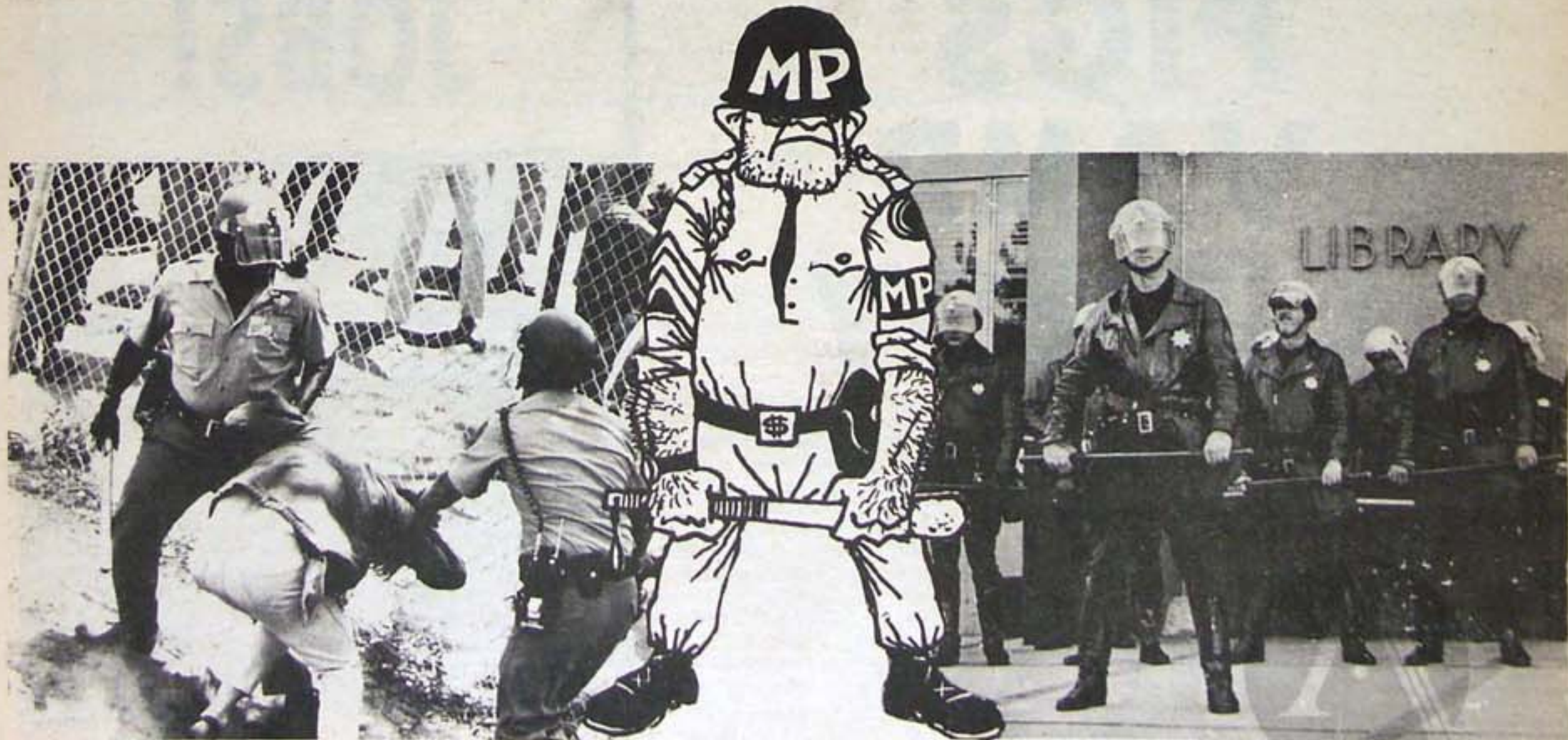


billion and a quarter suggests that the U.S. has some serious ideas about how it will use the Guard--not just to clean up after heavy rainstorms.

The states themselves, around which the Guard is organized, contribute only 55 million a year.

Col. Robert B. Riggs was quoted in "Army" Magazine as saying, "One trend is self-evident; metropolitan police cannot cope with even disorganized violence when it reaches high proportions. Tomorrow, police and National Guard units may not be able to cope with urban violence that is well organized."

But in the meantime, the Guard is trying. In the District of Columbia, an expert "counter-sniper" has been assigned to every squad in the local guard. California has organized a complex airlift system to trouble spots. Ohio is fitting its copters with gas sprayers, and just about every state is escalating the level of their technical counter-insurgency material.



"WHO SAYS I CAN'T MAKE IT IN CIVILIAN LIFE?"

WHAT'S IT LIKE TO BE WOUNDED?

NEW YORK (LNS) **O**ne of the grimmest aspects of the Vietnamese war is that many GI's are returning with wounds far worse than those suffered in any previous war.

A recent flight into Kelly Air Force Base in Texas, for example, brought back from Vietnam a load of young soldiers with burns over as much as 70% of their bodies. With months of care and plastic surgery, some may return to a semblance of normal living. But for many the price of survival will be to go through the rest of their lives badly mutilated.

"We're saving them, but I don't know for what," one Army medical officer recently told a Wall Street Journal reporter.

Although there is an increase in the percentage of soldiers who survive their wounds, the Army Surgeon General's office says that it's too early to make a "definitive" assessment of the long-term effects of the more serious wounds.

High-powered rifles are one cause of

these more severe injuries. Bullets fired from the "burp guns" commonly used against the U.S. troops in the Korean war traveled at about 1,600 feet per second, but bullets fired from the Soviet AK-47 rifles being used against the U.S. forces in Vietnam travel at about 2,400 feet per second. Because a bullet's speed is important in determining its wounding power, this increase often makes the difference between a minor wound and a devastating injury.

"At 100 yards, you can almost catch the burp gun shell with a pitcher's mitt, but at the same range, an AK-47 can kill a bull moose," says Dr. William Demuth, a University of Pennsylvania professor who has studied the wounding power of rifles.

These shells are causing massive destruction of flesh, bone and nerves when they hit.

One GI provides a good example. A few months ago the 24-year-old soldier was stationed in Vietnam. One bullet went through his helmet, then his forehead and finally lodged at the back of his skull.

"The bullet destroyed most of his brain," says Dr. Ludwig Kempe, a neurosurgeon who treated the soldier at Walter Reed. "He breathes, but he is and will remain totally unconscious—he will never even know he's here."

Bigger rockets are another factor in the increasing severity of injuries. In Korea, bazookas were used against U.S. troops, but in Vietnam much larger 122mm rockets are being used. Comparing the bazooka with the larger weapon "is like comparing a firecracker with a stick of dynamite," an army officer told the Journal reporter.

One soldier recently hit by a rocket



Glory for the Pentagon



Holy Water to Sprinkle on Hydrogen Bombs



Profit for the Capitalists

blast had his lower right arm blown off, was hit by 33 fragments in his other arm, and was burned over 60% of his body. Men burned over a large portion of their bodies seldom survived in former wars. This was not usually a result of the burn itself but of the onset of lethal bacteria known as *Pseudomonas*. Thanks to wonder drugs such as Sulfamylon, however, the number of deaths as a result of this infection is greatly reduced.

But no drug has yet reduced the mutilation of someone who has survived extensive burn wounds. After being flown to Kelly Air Force Base, men are transported to the Army's burn unit, which is at nearby Brooke Army Hospital in San Antonio. One patient now in the burn unit is Peter, a 20-year-old Army Private. When he was injured in March, Peter was in a Sheridan tank, working as a loader for the main gun.

"We were moving through a rubber plantation one afternoon when we were

attacked by mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and machine guns," he says. "Our tank began firing, and the main gun jammed. Then a rocket-propelled grenade hit us, and there was a big fire."

Peter tried to claw his way out of the intense heat of the tank fire, "but the hatch was so hard to open," he says. By the time he got out, all of Pete's fingers had been burned off. He also suffered severe burns on his arms, face, chest and neck.

The open nature of the war being fought in Vietnam also contributes to the gravity of the wounds. In both Korea and World War II, much of the fighting was done from the protection of trenches and bunkers. In Vietnam, soldiers are often completely exposed, particularly during search and destroy missions. Thus, fragments from a mortar shell may lodge in many parts of the body instead of just one limb.

A soldier who keeps a wounded limb may face a difficult future. Although

doctors know more about how to repair damaged blood vessels (which means fewer amputations are necessary), a high-powered rifle bullet may also destroy nerves. It is far more difficult to repair a nerve, and often impossible to restore the full function of certain nerves. Science now allows the wounded man to keep his arm, though it may well dangle uselessly at his side for the rest of his life.

There have been improvements in both skin grafting and plastic surgery techniques. But no one can restore a badly burned victim to anything resembling his former appearance.

One 34-year-old pilot was burned when his plane crashed on take-off from a Vietnamese airfield. He has since undergone 17 plastic surgery operations. But the fire badly burned his face, burned off most of his hair and burned off most of his ears, and doctors say that even with the best medical techniques, he will never look the same.

Reprinted from OBSERVER

Hermanos! WHO ARE THESE PEOPLE

Reprinted from BASTA YA!

por VALENTINA DE EL GRITO DEL NORTE ESPANOLA, NEW MEXICO

I didn't know anything about this war. People would say the "Vietnam War" and it was just another word; they would say "undeclared war" and I didn't even know what it meant, but I did know that all kinds of people I knew were going to fight this war. I didn't know anything about this war except what they told us about fighting Communism. Then I read a really interesting book called *Vietnam: The Inside Story of the Guerilla War* by Wilfred Burchett, and another, *Vietnam, Vietnam* by Felix Greene. These two books gave me facts about the Vietnam War.

Now when I hear that a boy of our Raza, a poor boy, a boy who doesn't know anything about the Vietnam War, has been drafted or enlists, it burns me, I feel terrible. I say to myself: why, why are you going to fight in this war? Is it because that's the only way you can find to make a living? Or is it because you're tired of your little home town and parents and you want to "see the world"? Or maybe because you want to impress the girls with your uniform? Or because you're afraid to have your buddies and girl friends call you chicken?

And is it also because you don't know anything about the war?

When writing his book Burchett spent 10 months with the N.L.F. guerrilla fighters, misnamed by the government and press here the "Viet Cong Vietnamese Communists." His life was endangered many times but when a reporter wants the people to know the truth his life isn't important. It's like a person who gives his life to the Causa. He doesn't care whether he gets killed if this means in the end he will get justice and liberation and the truth to the people.

How and why did we get involved in this unjust war? All of a sudden we wake up and here we are all involved in a war. They are sending our brothers and cousins to a war that we don't know anything about. Let's see what Burchett and Greene have to tell us.

For a long time the Vietnamese have been fighting against oppression and imperialism. (Imperialism is when a large country,



Georgia Technique

like the United States, exploits the people and natural resources of a smaller country.) Before fighting this war against the U.S., they were fighting against the French imperialists and before that, the Japanese. The U.S. people's tax money paid 80% of the cost of France's war. Why did this country do that? In a 1953 speech in Seattle, President Eisenhower said that 400 million dollars to help the French was not a giveaway program; it was just the cheapest way to prevent something terrible happening to the U.S. security, and its power and ability to get certain things (like tin and tungsten) from the riches of Southeast Asia. So this is the reason why we got into Vietnam in the first place.

Then the Vietnamese defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu, and the French pulled out all their troops and agreed to have a peace conference in Geneva, Switzerland. All the big powers signed the Geneva Agreement in 1954—except the U.S. and the Vietnamese rulers who were vendidos to the French. But they did promise not to violate the agreement by force or threat of force.

These were the three main points of the agreement:

1) Everybody agreed that the separation of Vietnam into two parts—north and south—was not a final arrangement. (This division was supposedly to allow the French troops to regroup in the South and leave the country, and it was accepted in good faith by the Vietnamese who had fought against the French.)

2) Elections would be held within 2 years to make sure that the country would be re-unified.

3) In the meantime, neither the North nor the South would make any international alliances or receive military help from the outside.

Naturally the French wanted to try to keep some influence in Vietnam, and the U.S. wanted to make sure that the government stayed under control. So without any consultation with the Vietnamese people, the U.S. saw to it that a rich landowner, then living in the U.S., became President. His name was Ngo Dinh Diem.

Diem soon proved himself to be the worst of dictators, savagely repressing any opposition. Just 12 days after the Geneva Agreement was signed, an event happened in Saigon. The people had a huge demonstration mainly to celebrate the signing of the agreement, with lots of cheering. They also presented demands for the release of political prisoners from the war against the French. Diem was against that, because he knew those prisoners wanted a better government than his. His reply to the people's demands came in a volley of rifle fire. A pregnant woman was shot through the stomach and people were killed. That showed people the nature of the Diem regime. Diem's army forces would surround villages, then search, raid, arrest, torture and kill anyone at all who was against the rich people in power. Many people who had done absolutely nothing were also victimized. Diem wanted to erase any thought or experience of the first resistance against the French. At one point he wanted to make a list of the people who had taken part in the resistance, but it was impossible because almost every able-bodied man, woman and child took part—from an old man to a child big enough to carry a message or a parcel.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Alabama Technique

Diem started a "Denounce Communists campaign." If a wife had taken part in the resistance, the couple was forced to divorce and remarry in order to prove they were sincere. Some husbands went to jail without any hope of coming out again. Some people had their families taken to jail and these people were never heard from again. They weren't even given a trial. Thousands and thousands were killed this way.

1956 came and went and there were no elections, as had been promised to the Vietnamese people. President Eisenhower said that if there would have been elections, possibly 80% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh—the supposedly terrible Communist leader in the North. So—no elections.

Ho Chi Minh was the people's leader against the French. He helped train many boys and girls for the resistance fight. They were picked from strong, tough campesino families with stomachs and nerves and revolutionary ways as strong as steel.

As Burchett tells us, they were all prepared to go and live with the tribal people, if necessary for the rest of their lives. They were called Vietnamese or "Viet Minh" cadres.

There are many tribal people in Vietnam. They live somewhat in the way the Indian here lives. To name a few tribes: the Rhade, M'ngong, and the Jarai. These people didn't trust anybody, not even other tribes. One of the reasons was that they were always thought of as savages and mistreated. It was the same as here in the U.S., where the Indians were treated as savages and the culture and the land have been grabbed from the people to make money with now. In movies Indians are always called savages.

The "Viet Minh" were trained to respect the people's points of view, customs and ways of life. If the tribe would file their teeth down to their gums, the cadres had to do that also. If they worshipped stone idols or prayed at the table, the cadres did this too. The tribal people grew to like and trust the cadres as if they were all in the same family. It was because for the first time in all their lives they were treated as equals by outsiders. The Vietnamese cadres were disciplined never to criticize them in a bad way, but when the time was right they were to teach them and show them the wrong in their ways of life. The cadres were taught many good things too, such as the use of weapons and traps.

Burchett gives examples of showing the tribes the wrong in their lives. In one of the villages after the growing season, everything was eaten after a feast and then the tax collector would come and collect for back rents, etc. The tribal people believed that the gods wanted them to be slaves and wanted them to be unhappy. They would say, "It is the will of God that we are this way." The cadres would explain to them that it wasn't the will of God, but that it was the will first of the French, and then the U.S. Diemists. And that it was the French and the United States who made them pay all the results of their labor in taxes.

At first it took a long time to convince the people of this. As time passed, the people came back and began to ask a lot of questions. Then they went back and taught about what the cadres said some more. Finally the day came when they went back to the cadres and said, "It's true, it's true, what you say is true." They cried at first and then got angry and said: "Our forest is full of elephants, our land is good, our soil is rich, we wear old torn loin cloths, we could live better." Then they said, "Look how they cheat us for a month's work. The French give us an old shirt or worn out pair of pants. For a brass gong we must give them an elephant or buffalos. The U.S. Diemists give us a bottle of perfume or bar of soap for a hard day's work and they give our women a few beads or bits of cloth in return for so many pigs and buffalo."

The tribes people are a very beautiful people (as the N.L.F. cadres said). Once they give their word they would rather die or suffer the worst tortures than break it. They are so straight and pure in their thinking, they are honest and generous. They would die before betraying a friend.

Another example of the cadres was after the U.S. Diemists dropped napalm on villages from planes. Napalm is a jellied gas which is thrown from a plane (like spraying D.D.T.) and once it hits you it cannot be taken off. The more you scratch it the worse it gets. It burns through the skin like acid and either kills people or leaves them permanently crippled. When napalm hits, the skin on your body melts like candle wax. The local agents would say that the planes were "Kim Phiar" (the fire bird god) and that this god was punishing the tribes people for being so disobedient because they wouldn't sell their lands or crops. The tribes people believed this until the N. L. F. (National Liberation Front) cadres shot a few fire birds (planes) and the people found U.S. or Diemist (Vietnamese vendidos) pilots inside of them. The majority of the tribes-people supported the "Viet Minh" and now the N.L.F. all the way. Their slogan is "Anti-Puppet, Anti-imperialist" and this the tribes support with all their hearts.

In the war against the French, quite a bit of land was taken away from the rich absentee landlords and given to the landless campesinos. When Diem got in power, he and the U.S. made many plans and schemes to get this land back. After they got it, they wanted the people who had been living on the land to pay them back rents. People refused to put their thumbprints on their land documents. When they refused to pay backrents and put their thumbprints on these documents, the police and army units went to the people's houses to harass them. Finally the people got so tired of

the debts and so discouraged that they ran away to the jungle in order to make new villages and a new life where they couldn't be bothered.

Don't all these tactics sound familiar to you? The way the U.S. Government robbed our ancestors of their land? The forests were ours once, too. And what are they doing with it now? Making billions of dollars with the wood and minerals and ski resorts from OUR forests. These tactics sound so familiar to me, especially how they would cheat our ancestors into signing an X (not a thumbprint) on their documents and make them believe they were signing for a crop of beans or credit in a store. It just makes me realize that these books are great and that they really have the facts. I realize that if this government can cheat and deceive its own people, it makes sense that they could do it in other countries too.

We cannot exactly separate when the Vietnamese fought against the French and when they began fighting the U.S., since in so many ways the war is the same except that the people fought against two different countries—but always for the same reason. We can't even say exactly how the U.S. got so deeply into the war.

We do know that after the French (helped by the U.S.) were beaten, the U.S. was still sending in a few thousand so-called "advisors," who were really military and C.I.A. police agents. They helped the Vietnamese vendidos organize their army and police to wipe out the people working for a better government. But the Diem government was so bad that more and more people started protesting against it and fighting it. Meanwhile, up in the north, the society built by Ho Chi Minh was growing stronger and better all the time. The U.S. sent in troops, and more troops, to help the vendidos in the South, until today there are about half a million.

We have to ask: Why do our boys go to fight in Vietnam? Why do they go into the armed forces at all? The people they are sent to fight are poor people, just like us. Why go to fight people who are in an even worse situation than we are? Is that what you want to become, a tool to kill and rob poor people? The rich have always used the Divide and Conquer method. They are using it now. They are using the poor people of this nation to go and fight with the poor in Vietnam and other countries.

And it could get even worse. Someday you might be sent to kill people even more like yourself—people who speak Spanish and eat tortillas and love their families. Even if you don't get sent to kill the Vietnamese, you may be sent to kill other poor people.



Mississippi Technique



The Black Man's Stake in Vietnam

By **ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**
Minister of Information

The most critical tests facing Johnson are the war in Vietnam and the Negro revolution at home. The fact that the brains in the Pentagon see fit to send 16 per cent black troops to Vietnam is one indication that there is a structural relationship between these two areas of conflict. And the initial outrageous refusal of the Georgia Legislature to seat representative elect Julian Bond, because he denounced the aggressive U.S. role in Vietnam, shows too, the very intimate relationship between the way human beings are being treated in Vietnam and the treatment they are receiving here in the United States.

We live today in a system that is in the last stages of the protracted process of breaking up on a worldwide basis. The rulers perceive the greatest threat to be the national liberation movements around the world, particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In order for them to wage wars of suppression against these national liberation movements abroad, they must have peace and stability and unanimity of purpose at home. But at home there is a Trojan Horse, a Black Trojan Horse that has become aware of itself and is now struggling to get on its feet. It too, demands liberation.

What is the purpose of the attention that the rulers are now focusing on the Trojan Horse? Is it out of a newfound love for the horse, or is it because the rulers need the horse to be quiet, to be still, and not cause the rulers, already with their backs to the wall, any trouble or embarrassment while they force the war in Vietnam? Indeed, the rulers have need of the horse's power on the fields of battle. What the black man in America must keep constantly in mind is that the doctrine of white supremacy, which is a part of the ideology of the world system the power structure is trying to preserve, lets the black man in for the greatest portion of the suffering and hate which white supremacy has dished out to the non-white people of the world for hundreds of years. The white-supremacy-oriented white man feels less compunction about massacring "niggers" than he does about massacring any other race of people on the earth. This historically indisputable fact, taken with the present persistent efforts of the United States to woo the Soviet Union into an alliance against China, spells DANGER to all the peoples of the world who have been victims of white supremacy. If this

sweethearting proves successful, if the United States is finally able to make a match with Russia, or if the U.S. can continue to frighten the Soviet Union into reneging on its commitments to international socialist solidarity (about which the Soviets are always trumpeting, while still allowing the imperialist aggressors to daily bomb the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam), and if the U.S. is able to unleash its anxious fury and armed might against the rising non-white giant of China, which is the real target of U.S. strategy the world over -- if the U.S. is successful in these areas, then it will be the black man's turn again to face the lyncher and burner of the world; and face him alone.

Black Americans are too easily deceived by a few smiles and friendly gestures, by the passing of a few liberal-sounding laws which are left on the books to rot unenforced, and by the mushy speechmaking of a President who is a past master of talking out of the thousand sides of his mouth. Such poetry does not guarantee the safe future of the black people in America. The black people must have a guarantee, they must be certain, they must be sure beyond all doubt that the reign of terror is ended and not just suspended, and that the future of their people is secure. And the only way they can ensure this is to gain organizational unity and communication with their brothers and allies around the world, on an international basis. They must have this power. There is no other way. Anything else is a sellout of the future of their people. The world of today was fashioned yesterday. What is involved here, what is being decided right now, is the shape of power in the world tomorrow.

The American racial problem can no longer be spoken of or solved in isolation. The relationship between the genocide in Vietnam and the smiles of the white man toward black Americans is a direct relationship. Once the white man solves his problem in the East he will then turn his fury again on the black people of America, his longtime punching bag. The black people have been tricked again and again, sold out at every turn by misleaders. After the Civil War, America went through a period similar to the one we are now in. The Negro problem received a full hearing. Everybody knew that the black man had been denied justice. No one doubted that it was time for changes and that the black man should be made a first class

citizen. But Reconstruction ended. Blacks who had been elevated to high positions were brusquely kicked out into the streets and herded along with the masses of blacks into the ghettos and black belts. The lyncher and the burner received virtual license to murder blacks at will. White Americans found a new level on which to cool the blacks out. And with the help of such tools as Booker T. Washington, the doctrine of segregation was clamped firmly onto the backs of the blacks. It has taken a hundred years to struggle up from that level of cool-out to the miserable position that black Americans find themselves in. Time is passing. The historical opportunity which world events now present to black Americans is running out with every tick of the clock.

This is the last act of the show. We are living in a time when the people of the world are making their final bid for full and complete freedom. Never before in history has this condition prevailed. Always before there have been more or less articulate and aware pockets of people, portions of classes, etc., but today's is an era of mass awareness, when the smallest man on the street is in rebellion against the system which has denied him life and which he has come to understand robs him of his dignity and self-respect. Yet he is being told that it will take time to get programs started, to pass legislation, to educate white people into accepting the physically impossible, to move as fast as the black man would live to move. Black men are deadly serious when they say FREEDOM NOW. Even if the white man wanted to eradicate all traces of evil overnight, he would not be able to do it because the economic and political system will not permit it. All talk about going too fast is treasonous to the black man's future.

What the white man must be brought to understand is that the black man in America today is fully aware of his position, and he does not intend to be tricked again into another hundred-year forfeit of freedom. Not for a single moment or for any price will the black men now rising up in America settle for anything less than their full proportionate share and participation in the sovereignty of America. The black man has already come to a realization that to be free it is necessary for him to throw his life -- everything -- on the line, because the oppressors refuse to understand that it is now impossible for them to come up with another trick to squelch the black revolution. The black man can't afford to take a chance. He can't afford to put things off. He must stop the whole NOW and get his business straight, because if he does not do it now, if he fails to grasp securely the reins of this historic opportunity, there may be no tomorrow for him.

The black man's interest lies in seeing a free and independent Vietnam, a strong Vietnam which is not the puppet of international white supremacy. If the nations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa are strong and free, the black man in America will be safe and secure and free to live in dignity and self-respect. It is a cold fact that while the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America were shackled in colonial bondage, the black American was held tightly in the vise of oppression and not permitted to utter a sound of protest of any effect. But when these nations started bidding for their freedom, it was then that black Americans were able to seize the chance; it was then that the white man yielded what little he did -- out of sheer necessity. The only lasting salvation for the black American is to do all he can to see to it that the African, Asian, and Latin American nations are free and independent.

In this regard, black Americans



Vietnamese-0

Black Man-0

Wall Street-1

have a big role to play. They are a Black Trojan Horse within white America and they number in excess of 23,000,000 strong. That is a lot of strength. But it is a lot of weakness if it is disorganized, and the overriding need is for unity and organization. Unity is on all black lips. Today we stand on the verge of sweeping change in this wretched landscape of a thousand little fragmented and ineffectual groups and organizations unable to work together for the common cause. The need for one organization that will give one voice to the black man's common interest is felt in every bone and fiber of black America.

Yesterday, after firmly repudiating racism and breaking his ties with the Black Muslim organization, the late Malcolm X launched a campaign to transform the American black man's struggle from the narrow plea for "civil rights" to the universal demand for human rights, with the ultimate aim of bringing the United States government to task before the United

government. They must let their voice be heard on these issues. They must let the world know where they stand.

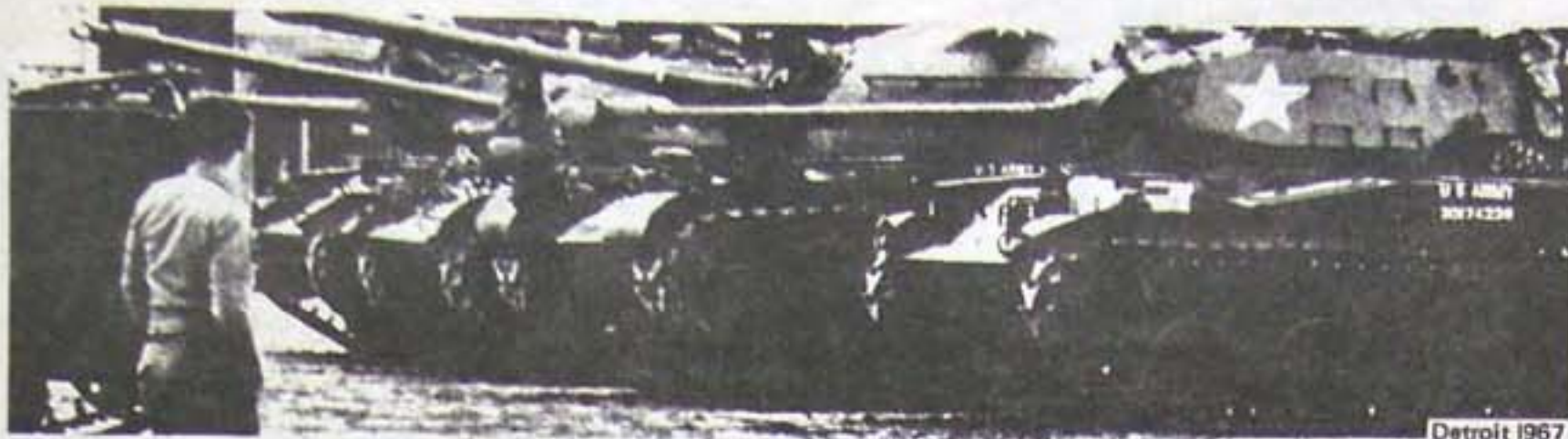
It is no accident that the U.S. government is sending all those black troops to Vietnam. Some people think that Vietnam is to kill off the cream of black youth. But it has another important result. By turning her black troops into the butchers of the Vietnamese people, America is spreading hate against the black race throughout Asia. Even black Africans find it hard not to hate black Americans for being so stupid as to allow themselves, to be used to slaughter another people who are fighting to be free. Black Americans are considered to be the world's biggest fools to go to another country to fight for something they don't have for themselves.

It bothers white racists that people around the world love black Americans but find it impossible to give a similar warm affection to white Americans. The white racist knows that he is the Ugly



Nations. This, and the idea of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, was Malcolm's dying legacy to his people. It did not fall on barren ground. Already, black American leaders have met with the ambassadors of Black Africa at a luncheon at UN headquarters. The meaning of this momentous event is lost on no one. The fact that it was the issue of Julian Bond, his denunciation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and the action of racist elements in the Georgia legislature which brought the leaders of black clearer recognition by black men that their interests are also threatened by the U.S. was of suppression in Vietnam. This dovetailing of causes and issues is destined to bring to fruition the other dream which Malcolm's assassination prevented him from realizing the Organization of Afro-American Unity, or perhaps a similar organization under a different name. Black Americans now realize that they must organize for the power to change the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S.

American and he wants the black American to be Ugly, too, in the eyes of the world; misery loves company! When the people around the world cry "Yankee, Go Home!" they mean the white man, not the black man who is a recently freed slave. The white man is deliberately trying to make the people of the world turn against black Americans, because he knows that the day is coming when black Americans will need the help and support of their brothers, friends and natural allies around the world. If through stupidity or by following hand-picked leaders who are the servile agents of the power structure, black Americans allow this strategy to succeed against them, then when the time comes and they need this help and support from around the world, it will not be there. All of the international love, respect, and goodwill that black Americans now have around the world will have dried up. They themselves will have buried it in the mud of the rice paddies of Vietnam.



Detroit 1967

U.S. ARMOR IS ON STAND-BY FROM WATTS TO DETROIT, FROM CHICAGO TO HARLEM, AND FROM ATLANTA TO CLEVELAND; IT'S BECOME ROUTINE FOR THE GHETTOS OF AMERICA. THE GROWING HUNGER FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AMONG AMERICANS--BLACK, BROWN, AND WHITE--HAS CAUSED A ONE-SIDED "ARMS RACE," WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE ALWAYS TAILING.



ALONG WITH THIS "ARMS RACE," THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL RULERS OF AMERICA HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR "PACIFICATION" PROGRAMS. UNDER THE GUISE OF A WAR ON POVERTY, THE BRAINS OF THE PENTAGON-WHITE HOUSE COALITION HAVE FILLED THE GHETTOS WITH DRILL TEAMS WHOSE MEMBERS WILL HOPEFULLY BE PROGRAMMED TO LOOK UPON THE UNIFORMS OF THE AIRBORNE, MARINES, AND SPECIAL FORCES WITH PRIDE, ENVY, AND EXPECTATION.



MUCH OF THE CURRENT DANGER TO THE DOLLAR GOD HAS BEEN CHanneled INTO AREAS OF PROFIT IN VIETNAM, LAOS, AND THAILAND. MANY WHO MIGHT POSSIBLY RETURN AND EXPOSE THE 8-14 YEAR OLD PUPPET TROOPS TO THE TRUTH ABOUT JOHN WAYNE AND THE "GREEN BERETS" WILL BE SPARED THE TROUBLE (THEIR TRIP WILL BE ONE-WAY). IN CASE CIRCUMSTANCES FORCE WITHDRAWAL FROM CURRENTLY LUCRATIVE AREAS, PROFIT-LOSS IS NOW BEING FIGURED FOR AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA.



THE MONEY-MAKING MACHINERY IS NEARLY PERFECT EXCEPT FOR A FEW "BUGS," THESE "BUGS" VARY IN SIZE AND DEGREE OF DANGER TO THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL PROFIT MARGIN. THEY MAY BE IDENTIFIED AS GANGS, THUGS, YOUNG PATRIOTS, YOUNG LORDS, LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA, HIPPIES, COMMIES, YIPPIES, DOPE-FIENDS, SEX-FREAKS, RADICALS, MILITANTS, PINKO'S, LIBERALS, NIGGER-LOVERS, DESERTERS, CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISTS, OR BLACK PANTHERS, THE LATTER ARE ESPECIALLY DANGEROUS AND ARE RECOGNIZABLE BY A DETERMINED WILL TO RESIST AND A PENCHANT FOR LITTLE RED BOOKS BY MAO TSE-TUNG.



CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK

THE POWER OF ARMS

From *Tricontinental* May - June 1969

by Amilcar Cabral

The experience that we had with our peasants allows us to state that to integrate the peasant masses into the struggle one must have a great deal of patience. It is necessary under our conditions that the countryside be mobilized initially by people capable of integrating themselves into the peasant milieu, and that starting from the first mobilizations, the peasants organize themselves and mobilize the rest. We can affirm that our peasant is not in any way a primary revolutionary element. The peasant is the principal physical force of our struggle, but he is not, he was not — above all in that moment — the principal revolutionary force. We found the principal revolutionary force in the urban milieu, as much among the petty bourgeois class which was conscious of the foreign domination in our country as among the salaried workers of the ports, the ships, the repair shops, etc. It was these who after many difficulties brought the peasant to consider himself part of the revolution.

On the other hand, we always gave greater importance to the most exploited strata, both in the countryside and in the cities. We proceeded to a deep analysis of the social structure of our people in order to know both how to place the strata in relation to the phenomenon of struggle and how to act with each of them.

Obviously our position hasn't been without errors; one of them was trusting too much in the national sentiment. We weren't very familiar with the problems of some strata; we trusted, for example, in the traditional chiefs (because the old chiefs had fought against the Portuguese) to again have a national feeling, to again have an interest in expelling the foreigners from our land. But it wasn't so. A significant number of them came over to our side, but those who were more traditional and who were more concerned with their own interests went to the side of the colonialists, because their only intention was to maintain their dominion over the peoples they controlled. That, of course, created new problems which we had to seriously tackle in order to advance the struggle in certain zones.

The policy followed by our Party in relation to the tribal problem gave us very good results. According to our conception the tribe exists and does not exist. As it is known, when the Portuguese came to our land the tribal economic system was already deteriorating. Portuguese colonialism contributed still more to that deterioration, although it needed to maintain some aspects of the superstructure. On our part it wasn't so much the economic base that led us to respect the tribal structure as a mobilizing element of our struggle, but its cultural aspects: the language, the songs, the dances, etc. We couldn't impose on the Balantas the customs of the Fulahs or of the Mandingas. We defended this to the utmost, but we also fought to the utmost all division on the political plane.

Initially, we mobilized the Balantas, the Mandingas and the Brafadas, etc., and to the extent that they became conscious of the struggle and accepted the Party we began to move them. We placed at the head those comrades who, according to the needs of the Party, should be there. From the first instant we avoided placing at the head of a group an individual from that same group, so as not to encourage manifestations of localism.

Another facet that we consider very important is the religious beliefs of our people. We avoid all hostility toward them, toward the type of relationship our people still have with nature owing to their economic underdevelopment. But we resolutely opposed all that would go against the dignity of the human being. We are proud of not having prohibited our people from using fetishes, amulets, and things of the sort which we call *mezinhas*. It would have been absurd — in fact, a completely mistaken conception — to have prohibited this to them. We let our people find out for themselves, through the struggle, that their fetishes are of no use. Happily, today we can say that the majority have come to realize it.

If at the beginning a combatant needed the aids of a *mezinha*, now he might have one near, but he understands, and he tells the people this, that the best *mezinha* is the trench. We can state that the fight has contributed on this plane to a rapid evolution of our people. This is very important.

That, in general, is the situation of the mobilization of our people. In 1963, when we were about to begin the struggle, our people already had a Party; not in the entire country, but at least in the south. Let's take the south as an example. In 1962, the Portuguese seized Nino, who was one of the agents of the mobilization and Party chief in the Cobucaré zone, which extends to Catió, capital of the south. After much trouble, the Portuguese seized him. They wouldn't believe that Nino, who was so young, could be a leader of the Party. Someone denounced him and they decided to arrest him and send him to Bissau. At that time there was an African policeman in the administration who was a Party member (because we had chiefs of military

Bissau, to the PIDE. That same night, determined elements of the people of that zone roused themselves, broke the doors of the prison, freed Nino, and they sent me a gift that I still preserve: the padlock of the jail. That gives an idea of the situation of our country before the launching of the armed struggle. I could cite innumerable examples like this one, showing the support of our people, because all our cadres were in the *mato*. In the villages, in all places, there have always been Party people mobilizing, organizing, and even working with the Portuguese.

This situation immensely benefited the development of our armed struggle. We installed the bases of the guerrilla struggle even before it began. In that period, material was introduced with enormous difficulty. Once it was in our land it was kept by a part of the people in our guerrilla bases. It was only after this preparation that we launched the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

Our bases in the south were in the zones of Cobucaré, Indjassan, Quinera, Gambará, Quitáfene, and Sususa. In the north, initially, we had two or three bases. That gives the general panorama of the situation.

We can say better that the armed struggle integrated itself into the population than vice-versa. This was because we had dozens and dozens of youths prepared for combat, but we didn't possess arms for them.

We began by creating autonomous guerrilla groups in the zones already mentioned. Each group was linked to the leadership of the Party. This was until toward the end of 1963. The struggle evolved very rapidly, much more so than we had supposed. (We recall that in August 1961, when we called for sabotage and asked the people to fell trees in the roads, the Party chiefs were surprised by the magnificent work that was done. Even in the area where the order didn't arrive, the people mobilized themselves and cut down trees to show that they wanted to participate.)

With these groups we found out that, given the total integration of the population with the guerrillas, some guerrilla chiefs became too au-

Secretary-General PAIGC



Amilcar Cabral

toward isolation originated, tendencies to disregard each other and not to coordinate action. In view of this we decided to hold our Congress in 1964, which marked a critical moment in our struggle. In this Congress we took a series of disciplinary measures, among them to detain, try, and condemn some guerrilla chiefs. We had to pass on to the collective leadership of the guerrilla, which fell under the direction of the Party committee.

There can be no polemics in relation to whether the Party or the armed forces would give the orders, because we understand that the Party and the armed forces are the same thing. We created zones and regions, each with Party committees, so that the leadership of the Party was at the same time the commandant of the guerrilla. Things improved immensely; they weren't perfect, but they were much better.

In addition to this, we decided during the Congress to mobilize a part of the guerrilla forces to create regular forces for the purpose of extending the armed struggle to new areas. In our opinion, it is not necessary to mobilize everyone for the armed struggle; it is enough to mobilize a reasonable part. After that, you can proceed with the armed forces and mobilize the rest.

Once our politico-military apparatus was restructured we organized ambushes, small attacks against the Portuguese, and other actions that were building toward the present level of development of our struggle.

With the creation of the regular armed forces we opened new fronts of the struggle; that of Gabú in the east of the country; those of San Domingos and Boé in the west. At that time we still weren't speaking of fronts, but of regions and zones of struggle, which conformed entirely with the regions and zones of the Party.

Afterwards, as the guerrilla advanced, the enemy was required to withdraw from the urban centers and fortify its posts. The enemy lives within a profound contradiction: if it wants to dominate, it has to disperse itself in order to control the populations, but in doing so it weakens itself; then we attack and force it to concentrate its forces, but when it concentrates, it is we who dominate the vast areas.

Later it was possible to create the true fronts of the struggle. At the beginning there were only the Northern Front and the Southern Front and then, with an advance in the struggle, we set up the Eastern Front.



Africa is headed for many "Vietnams"

posts, administrative secretaries, cipayas, and we had some soldiers serving in the Portuguese troops, who were members of the Party). He spoke with Nino, who asked him to tell us that he was being sent to

autonomous, not in relation to the leadership as such (because, really, they were linked to the higher leadership of the Party) but in relation to some chiefs who were in the area. Then, certain tendencies

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

RIOT CONTROL AGENT KILLS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

INDEPENDENCE DAY - 1969

Washington, D.C. (LNS)--The U.S. Army has bought enough CS gas for use in Southeast Asia since 1964 to cover every square mile of Vietnam with gas to spare. CS (chlorobenzylidene malononitrile) is a toxic

east-Asia only. The 1969 purchase of 6,063,000 pounds exceeds the 1964 purchase by 16 times. That's enough to cover 80,000 square miles, if dispersed by helicopter. The area of Vietnam is about 66,000 square miles.

Meselson, biology professor at Harvard and a consultant to the U.S. Arms Control Agency, says the widespread use of CS in Vietnam puts it in the category of chemical weapon, rather than a riot control agent. As such, he argues, its use is in violation of the international ban against chemical warfare.

The Army uses CS in a variety of ways: to spray down enemy tunnels; to spread over large areas by helicopter; and to pack into artillery shells.

The U.S. claims that CS is a non-lethal gas which has no harmful after effects, thus putting it out of the chemical weapon category. There is only a grain of truth in this argument: CS is not always lethal when used in certain concentrations. But in testimony before the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal in Copenhagen, 1967, Dr. Abraham Behar reported that CS can cause "death through acute inflammation and pulmonary edema at strong concentrations of 10 to 15 mg. per liter of air."

He testified that the concentration of the gas in tunnels and shelters often reaches the lethal level, and cited as an example the clearing of the hamlet of Vinh Quang in Binh Dinh province in September, 1963. The spraying of 48 toxic gas containers into the shelters there resulted in the death of 35 persons and the severe poisoning of 25 others. Of the 60 people, 28 were children and 26 women.

stitute a new government."

The desertion movement is an integral part of the movement for basic change in the United States, as well as part of the struggle of the Vietnamese people. While the military is the foremost tool of US imperialism in oppressing the Vietnamese people, it is now clear that National Guard, reserve, and even active army units will be employed to repress people at home under the guise of riot control. The war is being brought home in a very real sense, but the rulers of America can feel secure only as their army remains in their control. Their greatest fear is that the army, their first line of defense against the people, will desert them.

Already signs of weakness are showing. GIs are demonstrating against the war, refusing orders for Vietnam, refusing riot duty, protesting intolerable conditions within the military. And they are deserting. The Senate Armed Services Subcommittee reports that in fiscal 1968 there were 53,357 desertions--an increase of 30% over fiscal 1967. This means that someone deserts from the US military every ten minutes.

Why this big increase? More and more soldiers are beginning to see that the war in Vietnam, the oppression of the poor in the United States, and the ruthless repression of dissent in the military makes a shambles of what they were taught in school in America. They see that they were the ones who were given the worst jobs or

no jobs at all at home, then were drafted or forced to enlist, and now are being used to oppress the Vietnamese people as well as people at home.

In this situation, the existence of communities of deserter exiles in countries such as Sweden, France, and Canada, actively working to encourage and promote desertion, poses a severe threat to the establishment and provides an invaluable weapon for the opposition movement in the United States. We are first and foremost Americans, part of that movement, and dedicated to its success.

In Sweden, we have the support of the majority of the Swedish people, 80% of whom in 1966 took a stand for the immediate withdrawal of all US and allied troops from South Vietnam. The hollow threats of Secretary of Defense Laird to increase punishments for desertion and to sharpen control of deserters in Sweden are of no consequence to us. The government of the United States and from the peoples of the world, so much so that embassy officials in Sweden complain that they are rarely, if ever, called upon to speak as representatives of their government. On the other hand, deserters are constantly being requested to speak on desertion and conditions in the United States.

We greet Nixon's promise of complete withdrawal with the utmost scorn and scepticism. Should his promise by some unprecedented good chance be fulfilled, we would welcome this as a victory for

the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam. But there is no reason to expect fulfillment--look at the record of Nixon's first 100 days: he has sent an additional 3000 US and 1500 Thai troops; he has increased the average monthly tonnage of bombs dropped on B-52 raids from 115,000 to 129,000; he has more than doubled the monthly average of B-52 raids; and he has steadily increased reconnaissance flights over Hanoi and Haiphong. Intrusions into Laos and Cambodia by US marines supported by B-52s have been reported openly in the American press.

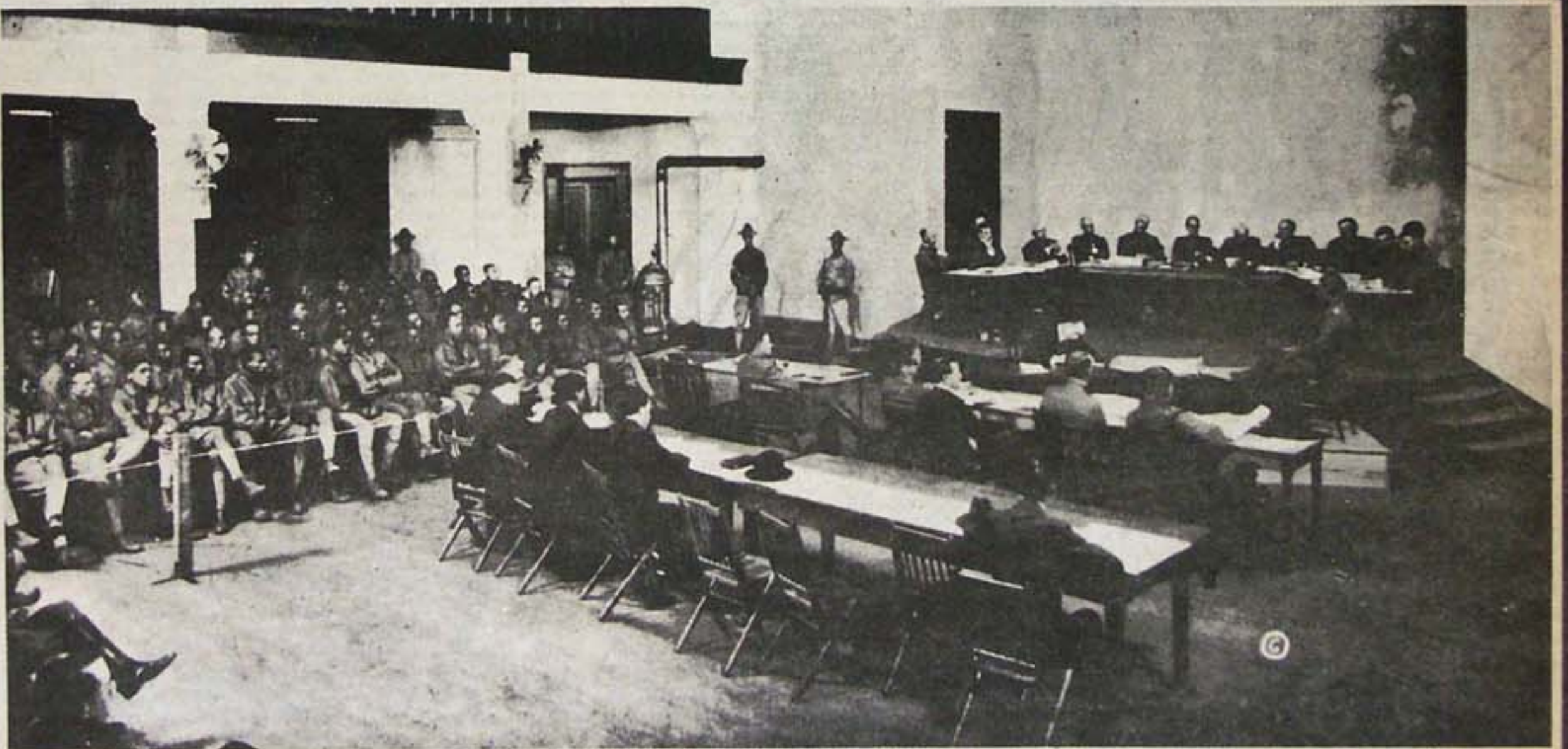
From these concrete actions, not from promises, we determine the true intentions of the Nixon regime. Until such time as all foreign troops are driven from Vietnamese soil, until the Vietnamese people are victorious in their struggle for independence, and until the American people are free in their own land, we shall continue to intensify our efforts in the struggle. When US imperialism abroad is completely crushed, and when the oppressive system at home is totally destroyed--only then will the peoples of the world have their chance to achieve independence, and only then will the American people truly possess the independence they celebrate on this day.

Stockholm: July 4, 1969
The American Deserters Committee



1 Foot 'CS' Shell

chemical which supposedly acts like tear gas. Biologist Matthew Meselson, calculating from figures in an Army field manual, reports that between 1964 and 1969 the Army purchased 13,736,000 pounds of CS, CS-1, and CS-2 for use in South-



Gift Chapel, Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

November 1, 1917

A NOTE FROM ARMY HISTORY

IN 1917 DISORDER BROKE OUT IN HOUSTON, TEXAS BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACK G.I.'S. A NUMBER OF BLACK G.I.'S HAD BEEN ATTACKED AND BADLY BEATEN, WITH THE RESULT THAT ARMY BRASS HAD DISARMED THE BLACK TROOPS. WHEN THE RIOTING HAD FINAL-

LY CEASED, SEVENTEEN WHITES HAD BEEN KILLED AND SIXTY-FOUR MEMBERS OF THE ALL NEGRO 24TH INFANTRY WERE COURT-MARTIALED. THE U.S. ARMY (CHAMPIONS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY) PROCEEDED TO STAGE THE LARGEST MASS MURDER TRIAL IN THE HISTORY

OF THE UNITED STATES. THE MILITARY COURT, PRESIDED OVER BY BRIG. GENERAL G.K. HUNTER, SENTENCED THIRTEEN NEGRO SOLDIERS TO DEATH BY HANGING, FORTY-ONE TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT AND OTHERS TO BE HELD PENDING FURTHER INVESTIGATION.

CONT. FROM LAST WEEK

Pig O'Brien..



[O'BRIEN'S TESTIMONY]

"I want to kill a nigger so goddamned bad I can taste it!"

MICHAEL O'BRIEN TOLD HIS OWN STORY earnestly and well. He'd had a few nips of the Red Mountain burgundy, it was true, but he wasn't drunk at all. He would never do a thing like threatening a girl with a long walk home—he was only a little put out because she had turned moody and was spoiling his "fun day."

When Baskett attacked him with a stick, he said, he tried to shoot him "between the knee and the thigh, but the gun clicked and didn't go off," so he thought it was empty.

"Here's this man with a club," O'Brien explained. "He made a real lunge at me. I backed away but he caught me across the right side of the head. I fell backward and hit the ground. As I'm falling backward the gun discharged."

The stick, he said, looked bigger in the alley.

And, when they told him in the police station that Baskett was dead, he said, "I couldn't talk any more. I was crying."

He also said that his "Gas Huey" tie clip (which he wore in the Hunter's Point ghetto during Huey Newton's trial) was only a gag. It didn't have anything to do with gassing Huey.

O'Brien was convincing, and the jury probably didn't pay all that much attention to the one serious use of physical evidence by Giubbini, who asked O'Brien to demonstrate what had happened.

When he demonstrated, his gun arm—inevitably—moved upward. Giubbini quietly pointed out that 1) the bullet that killed Baskett traveled downward, and 2) there were no powder burns on Baskett's clothes, as there would have had to have been according to O'Brien's reenactment. (A .38 police revolver will spray powder into clothing three feet away. It's hard to hit a guy over the head with a 23-inch stick from more than three feet away.)

Giubbini got in a description of another episode in O'Brien's life—when on a drinking spree at a Broadway topless joint called Pierre's, he took off after a topless waitress and chased her into her dressing room, waving his .38 all the way. O'Brien tried to say that it was a water pistol, then backtracked when Giubbini seemed to know what he was talking about. But after hearing it all, Karesh decided it was irrelevant and ruled the whole thing inadmissible.

The rest of the witnesses all supported the prosecution in one way or another, and several demonstrated that there was a conscious attempt to alter evidence in O'Brien's favor. But by then the jury had the message: black people lie; white people tell the truth, unless they're traitors to their race and belong to SDS and fraternize with Black Panthers, in which case they lie about that too.

Finally, nobody listened when Giubbini—who had started out in mild-mannered enough fashion, but who got increasingly incensed as he watched the Ehrlich-Karesh racism tandem—blasted the police department for the errors and omissions in its reports and investigations, and said that the original report (written without any black witnesses having been questioned) showed "some effort to . . . reflect what the lieutenant thought it should reflect, not what the facts were. . . We're talking," he told the jury, "about credibility in this case. We have to keep our eyes open."

But he was the only one talking about credibility. The others were talking about niggers.

[HYENAS]

JAKE EHRLICH SPENT SIX DAYS on his summation. Not preparing it—giving it. It was the longest defense summation in the history of San Francisco criminal law. It was also the most vicious, bigoted, nauseating, low and piggish performance any local courtroom has ever seen. Contrary to press suggestions, it was not racist; it was nothing that subtle. It is a disgrace to the Bar that the Bar Association did not meet the next day with censure and possible disbarment in mind; it is a disgrace to the bench that Joseph Karesh was not hounded out of his robes—and out of town as well—for letting it happen. Any Mississippi backwoods judge in the past ten years would have told an attorney making the same speech to tone it down.

Ehrlich started things off by referring to Brush Place as "a dentally" hellhole, with 200 hyenas in there."

He slashed at Alioto for "ordering" the trial because the mayor is "looking for the minority vote."

Banging on a lectern with the stick used by Baskett, he shouted, "Mike didn't do what I would have done. I would

have shot him then and there. But he backed away, remembering his policeman's training."

Mrs. Hawkins, he shouted, "should be in jail for perjury. The blood of Baskett is on her hands. I don't know how she can sleep at night."

He repeatedly returned to racism, and told the jury that the residents of Brush Place had manufactured "a false facade of lies, chicanery and trickery," and that Giubbini had "patched

up all these stories to make them fit one mold." The "litany of lies" was to be expected, however: "You must realize we're dealing here with people of little or no moral honesty or integrity."

Carl Hawkins, in Ehrlich's peroration, became "Mr. Holier than Thou," "Old Mr. Prayer Meeting" and, most often, "The Deacon," after Ehrlich said that Hawkins reminded him of "the old prayer meetings down home." Hawkins "manufactured" the story of O'Brien kicking Baskett, Ehrlich said, and was in any case "a sanctimonious little liar."

In the middle of the attack on Hawkins, Ehrlich suddenly said, "I'd better stick to the record; otherwise, I'll be accused . . . of being a racist or something."

"These people," Ehrlich told the jury, apparently relishing the hated phrase, "would have killed . . . O'Brien, and they would have killed you, too, if you'd been there. They have absolutely no respect for an oath, the truth or for common decency. They would just as soon sacrifice you as they did this boy here."

Otis Baskett, whom Ehrlich accused of "bobbing, weaving and double-talking," became "that big phony." And what David Anderson became was something else again.

"This boy is a member of SDS and hates police as sure as I'm standing here. He hates them and would shoot them if he had a chance. . . . [He] is a vicious young punk who wants to destroy our government . . . our homes, our children, 200 years of American democracy and the flag and all that stands for."

But it wasn't America that Ehrlich wanted the jury to see Anderson as betraying; that was incidental.

"I can realize our black brethren sticking together," the tiny lawyer intoned. "They do things I don't approve of, but I can understand. What I can't understand is Anderson coming apparently from a good home and selling his soul to prove his hatred for a policeman, what he calls a pig." (Anderson testified that he never uses the term "pig.")

Ehrlich called one or another witness "liar," "punk," "knucklehead," "little fool," "perjurer," "killer." He charged that Giubbini had deliberately implied that all 19 policemen who testified were liars and had "manufactured evidence," and he added, "This breaks my heart when I see it."

Finally, he wound up with an almost tearful plea for poor victimized Mike O'Brien, begging, "Don't sacrifice this boy on the altar of chicanery to get a few lousy, dirty votes. If you don't find O'Brien not guilty, there is only one answer—

protect their own" and so virulent in their racism that they assert a virtual license to kill; and the politicians and the legal system that go along, essentially granting that license. To understand the way the O'Brien case played itself out, one must see how the conditions that set the stage for it came about.

Thomas Cahill was lifted to the top echelon of the S.F. Police Department on a wave of reform that shook the department up in the mid-1950's. He was noted then for the integrity he had shown working in Senator Estes Kefauver's famous crime investigation in 1950-1951. And he was remembered even better for the case of Inez Burns, an abortionist who had offered him and his partner a quarter-million-dollar payoff. They turned it down. The partner was named chief in February 1956, and Cahill succeeded him when he died in September, 1958.

As the 1960's began, Chief Cahill started to feel the pressure of the rising consciousness of the civil rights movement fused with the insistence of its leaders that something be done to make the police more sensitive to the needs of the black community. In 1962, without much personal enthusiasm, he established the police Community Relations Unit (CRU). To head up the new program he chose Lieutenant Dante (Dan) Andreotti, a native San Franciscan and a man who had spent 21 years on the police force. Andreotti was directed by Cahill to go out into the community and "teach respect for law and order." For this task he was given one assistant. "I was naive," Andreotti now recalls.

Andreotti started out by holding meetings and giving speeches. But he found that that approach didn't work, so he started bucking for more men (he ultimately got 15) and set them not to talking, but to listening—and helping. "To be effective, we had to address ourselves to social problems that could lead to police problems. We had to be involved, get around, know what the order of the community was. We practically lived in the neighborhoods."

CRU men went along on job interviews with men who had minor police records, explaining to employers the meaning of the records and persuading them not to bar applicants from jobs. The policeman could indicate which offenses were minor, or where there were extenuating circumstances. In one case, a young man was under the impression he had been convicted of rape, which made finding a good job almost impossible. In checking his record, the community relations officer found out that the individual had been arrested and charged with rape, but that the charges were later dismissed. Andreotti's men would sometimes make court appearances for defendants, urging judges to parole people who could be found jobs. They would also try to have the arrest records of juveniles expunged or permanently closed. The CRU also raised money for things like a recreation center and for clothing for job applicants.

Any judge with any balls would have cut Ehrlich off right away. A member of the Bar is not allowed to make racist remarks." A reporter who was at many of the trial sessions said that Karesh's role in the entire trial was vital: "The judge practically turned into a defense attorney" (the same reporter also called Ehrlich "a racist of the Bilbo type" and said that "at times, the word 'nigger' slipped out of his mouth accidentally").

The jury reported itself deadlocked, ten to two (for acquittal, it turned out), but the judge sent them back. The jury asked for instruction as to whether they should give weight to O'Brien's police training—whether, in effect, they should expect more restraint from him than from an ordinary twenty-seven-year-

old kid with a gun and a jug of Red Mountain. The judge refused to give such an instruction (Giubbini wanted it, Ehrlich didn't); shortly thereafter the jury acquitted Michael O'Brien.

[HOW IT HAPPENED HERE]

"For two or three years there was wonderful rapport between the blacks and the police department. The police weren't shooting at people, and they weren't getting shot at."

—FORMER S.F. POLICE LIEUTENANT DAN ANDREOTTI

AFTER O'BRIEN WAS INDICTED, Reverend Hamilton Boswell said, "We hope you white folk mean business when you say law and order and equality for all." But the O'Brien incident and the trial reveal instead a case study of the distortions of justice that are produced by a pervasive crisis of authority in American cities: the growing independent power of the police, who are so determined to

HE killed George Baskett.



JAKE EHRLICH

Reprinted from RAMPARTS

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

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

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

2. We want full employment for our people.

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

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST 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.

IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

The major developments made at the end of the 19th century in steel, electricity, industrial chemistry and oil were known as the "Second Industrial Revolution". And indeed, a true revolution it could have been if the inventions and discoveries had been used to benefit the people, to feed, clothe, house, educate and keep in health all the people of the world. But instead, under capitalism, it continued and increased the suffering, starvation and ignorance in the world. It fed the money-hungry pockets of the businessmen. Steel rails and locomotives were used to transform local businesses into large, national industries. Electricity permitted more complete mechanization for mass-production and along with it mass exploitation of the people. Advances in chemistry created new industries. More oil was discovered and new techniques for refining it. Industries grew richer and the man who worked to produce this wealth remained poor. a "new imperialism" was born.

Imperialism is the control and exploitation of the people and natural resources of a poor, "underdeveloped" country such as those in Latin America, by a rich industrial country like the United States for the profit of big business.

There are many changes in modern imperialism.

1. Economic power is concentrated in giant corporations and banks.
2. The United States emerged from the Second World War as organizer and leader. Previously, a bloc of nations competed with another bloc for the smaller countries which were rich in needed raw materials. There was no one-nation leader.
3. The main task is no longer to divide up the world, but to keep that world from shrinking. There is no room in capitalism for people's governments. People's governments are good for people, but bad for business.

With wealth drawn from the labor of Bolivian Indians, Venezuelan oil workers, and Brazilians, to name but a few, the U.S. seeks to buy control of all governments. Foreign aid is poured into an "underdeveloped" country on "loan". Why is it then that improvements aren't made? Why is the average yearly income in Latin America \$253? Even this figure is not accurate as the majority of the population is far, far poorer. Some people live outside the money system altogether and barter what they can manage to grow on the poor unfertile land allowed them. Why do only 49.3% of Latin American children attend school at all? while only 17% finish grade school and 2% finish high school?

Only 1% get to attend a university. Why are 3/4 of Latin Americans constantly hungry? The foreign aid, not only does not improve the lot of Latin Americans, but makes matters worse by getting each country deeper and deeper into debt. The Nov. 1968 issue of Monthly Review reports: "During the years 1962 to 1966, the average annual service payments on the external public debt of all Latin America was \$1,596 million. During the same years, the average annual assistance from the United States to Latin American countries, in the form of loans and grants, amounted to \$1,213. Thus economic assistance from the Uniservice requirements of Latin America as a whole!"

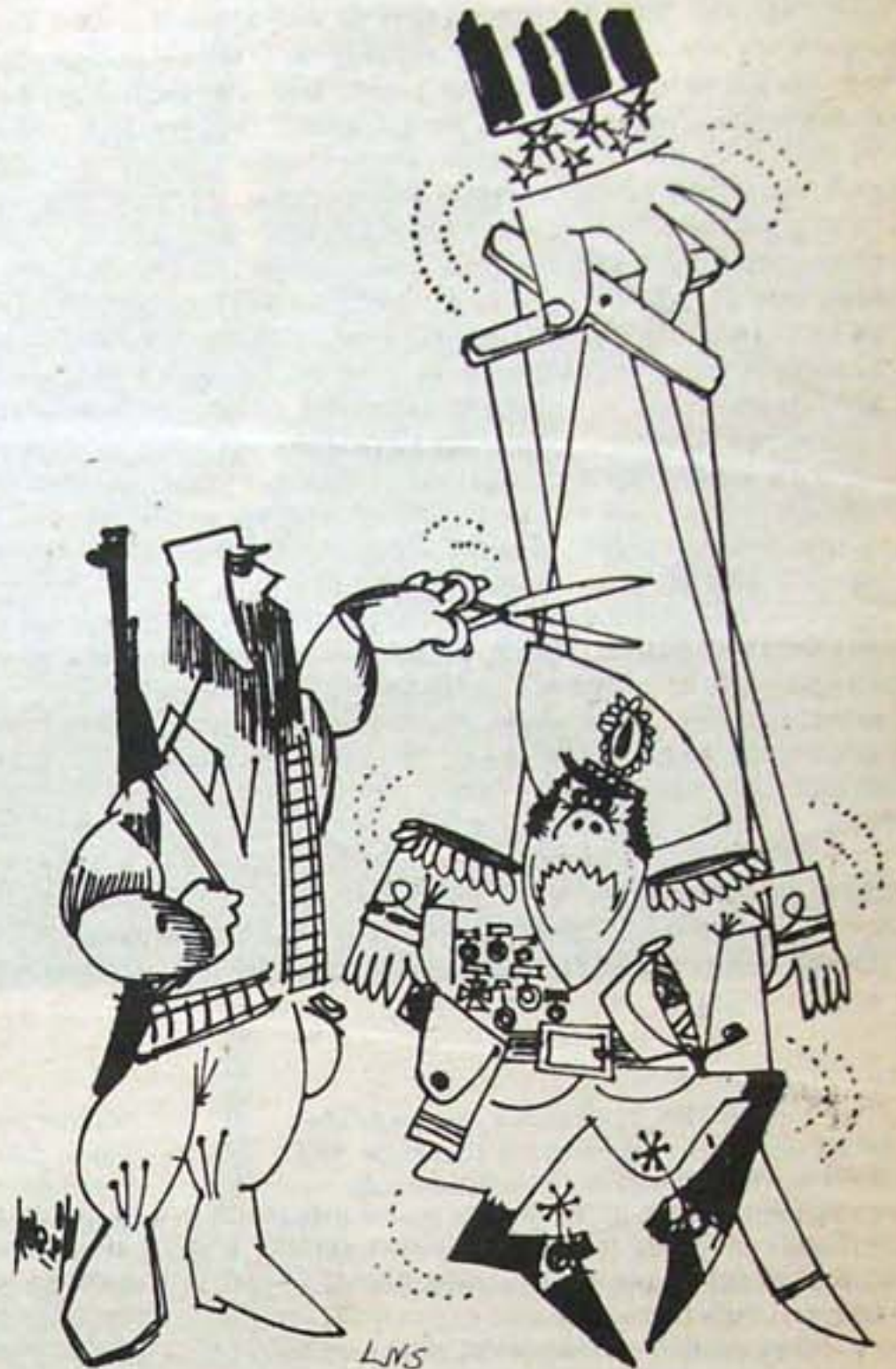
This would certainly be a hopelessly depressing picture of Latin America if we couldn't say, "But in one country, it's not like that. In one country, the people have won. In one country, illiteracy has been wiped out. 100% of the children go to school. Doctors come and hospitals are built in the remotest parts of the country where before, the people never heard of doctors. All our children have shoes now and clothing. All our people have food to eat. People live in houses now instead of shacks." And in one Latin American country this can be said, the small country of Cuba.

The Cubans have found a way and are building their people's government to protect it. But who would want to destroy it?

In April of 1961, the United States attacked the south coast of Cuba with anti-Castro forces. The Cubans fought for themselves, for the system that the people had formed. They drove the foreign invaders from the Bay of Pigs.

The United States has set up military training schools in Latin America with special courses in anti-guerrilla warfare. Money and arms are sent into Latin America in order to keep "sympathetic" governments in control, governments that will enable Standard Oil and bank of America to operate smoothly and send back health profits to the United States. It doesn't matter if the people are sick and in need. If they give any trouble a few minor reforms might quiet them, provided it doesn't cut too much into the profits. If that doesn't work, send the army. The capitalists are desperately trying to prevent another Cuba. They know that the people of Latin America look, not to the U.S. for inspiration, but to Cuba, not to Richard M. Nixon for leadership, but to men like Fidel and Che. The people are strong. Like the Cubans, they will fight and they will win.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE



LATIN AMERICAN STRUGGLES

TORTURE IN NICARAGUA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua (LNS) -- Anastasio "Tachito" Somoza, Nicaragua's dictator, admitted to journalists here that his agents wear hoods over their heads while torturing prisoners, so they won't be recognized later by revolutionaries and executed for their crimes.

Somoza, apparently a connoisseur of repressive technique, told reporters he prefers torture to "broken heads".

Meanwhile, Prensa Latina reported, a new group of guerrillas began operations near the agricultural colony of Nueva Guinez. The conservative Managua daily, La Prensa, reported that Somoza National Guard forces were flown into the area and that several farmers from the colony were arrested with their families under suspicion of cooperating with the rebels.

BRAZILIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

Sao Paulo, Brazil (LNS)-- Sao Paulo saw its 28th bank robbery of the year Aug. 6, as urban guerrillas stepped up their activities against the military regime. A trio of armed men liberated \$5,000 and

took off in a car. Prensa Latina reported that there have been 61 political bank robberies in Brazil in 1969, involving a total of \$717,800.

Also, five armed men attacked a printing supply house recently and carted off four printing presses worth a total of \$10,000, Prensa Latina reported. Police, noting that the tactics used were similar to the recent wave of bank robberies, said that the assailants were probably members of a "subversive organization".

COLUMBIAN GUERRILLAS

BOGOTA (LNS)--Columbian guerrillas engaged a unit of the Colombian Army in battle August 6, leaving one officer and six soldiers dead, according to an official communique. No mention was made of losses by the guerrilla fighters, Prensa Latina reported. The action occurred on the banks of the Guayabero river in Antioquia province, where the anti-guerrilla unit was ambushed by members of the Army of National Liberation.

⑦ FREE ★
LOS SIETE





1956 vino y se acabó y no habrán elecciones como prometido al pueblo de Vietnam. El Presidente Eisenhower dijo que harían elecciones, es posible que 80% del pueblo le harían votado por Ho Chi Minh--el supuestamente terrible jefe comunista en el norte. Puffs--no elecciones.

Ho Chi Minh era el jefe del pueblo contra los franceses. Ayudó disciplinar muchos muchachos y muchachas para la lucha de resistencia. Fueron cogidos de las fuertes familias campesinas, con el estómago, nervos y maneras revolucionarias tan fuertes como el acero.

Como Burchett nos dice, fueron preparados ir y vivir entre la gente tribal, si fuese necesario, por lo demás de sus vidas. Se llamaron Vietnamese o núcleos "Viet Minh". Habrá mucha gente tribal en Vietnam. Viven casi en la manera de los indios aquí. Nombrar unos tribus: los Rhade, los M'ngong, y los Jarai. Esta gente no confiaron en nadie, ni siquiera otros tribus. Una causa fue que les consideraron salvajes y les maltrataron. Es lo mismo aquí en los Estados Unidos, donde les trataron a los indios como salvajes y la cultura y la tierra han sido robado del pueblo por su valor monetario. En las películas siempre se llaman a los indios "salvajes".

Los "Viet Minh" fueron disciplinados respetar al punto de vista del pueblo, a sus costumbres y su modo de vivir. Si el tribu limaron los dientes hasta la cuña, los núcleos debran hacer lo mismo. Si adoraron los ídolos de piedra o suplicaron a la mesa, los núcleos lo hacían lo mismo. La gente tribal empezó a simpatizar y respetar a los núcleos, como si fueran en la misma familia. Era porque por la primera vez en sus vidas les trataron como iguales por ajenos. Los núcleos Vietnamese fueron disciplinados nunca criticarlos en una manera mala, sino cuando fuese tiempo, enseñarles y mostrarles lo malo en su modo de vivir. Les enseñaron también a los núcleos muchas cosas buenas, como el uso de armas y trampas.

Burchett nos da ejemplos del mostrar a los tribus lo malo en sus vidas. En una de las aldeas después de la estación de cultivo, todo fue comido después de una fiesta. Entonces vino el recaudador de contribuciones y recaudaba el arrendamiento. El pueblo tribal creyó que los dioses les querían que sean esclavos y que xsean infelices. Decían "Es el deseo del Dios que somos así". Los núcleos les explicaron que no fue el deseo del Dios, sino el deseo primeramente de los franceses y después, de los Estados Unidos que les causaron pagar todas sus ganancias en impuestos.

Al principio era muy difícil persuadir al pueblo de esta verdad. El tiempo pasaba, revolvió la gente y empezaba a pedir muchas preguntas. Después, regresó y enseñó lo que decían los núcleos. Al fin, vino el día cuando resolvió a los núcleos y dijo, "Es la verdad. Lo que dicen es la verdad". Lloraba y después se anojaba y dijo, "Nuestro bosque está lleno de elefantes, nuestra tierra está buena, nuestra loma está rica, nos vestimos de viejas pampañillas rotas, debemos vivir mejor". Entonces decían, "Mira como nos engañan por nuestro trabajo del mes. Los

frances nos dan una camisa vieja o pantalones gastados. Para un gongo de bronce debemos darles un elefante o búfalos. Los diemistas de los Estados Unidos nos dan una botella de perfume o un jabón para el trabajo duro de un día y les dan a nuestras mujeres unos abolaríos y pedacitos de pano por muchos puercos y búfalo.

El pueblo tribal es muy hermoso, (como dijeron los núcleos). Cuando se da su promesa se muera o sufran torturas pesimas en vez de estar infiel. Su pensamiento es honesta y puro y a la gente muy generosa. Se mueran antes de traicionar a un amigo.

Otro ejemplo de los núcleos era después del calamiento de "napalm" en las aldeas de los aeroplanos. "Napalm" es un gas jaleado que se lanzan de aeroplanos, y cuando le golpea no se puede removerlo. Lo más que trata, lo peor se hace. Se quema por el piel como ácido y lo mata o lo deja lisiado permanentemente. Los operativos locales decían que los aeroplanos fuesen "Kim Phiar" (el dios que es un ave de fuego) y que este dios les castiga a la gente tribal por su disobediencia por no vendiendo sus tierras ni sus cosechas. La gente tribal lo creyó basta que los núcleos N.L.F. tiraron unos aves de fuego (aeroplanos) y la gente descubrió unas pilotas de los Estados Unidos o vendidos vietnameses dentro de ellos. La mayoría de la gente tribal sostuvo a los "Viet Minh" y ahora los N.L.F. totalmente. Su consigna es "anti-titere, anti-imperialista" y esto la gente tribal sostiene con toda su alma.

En la guerra contra de los frances se apoderaron de mucha tierra de los ricos hacendados ausentes y lo daron a los campesinos sin tierra. Cuando Diem ascendo al poder, el y los Estados Unidos hicieron pre-

paraciones para recobrar la tierra. Después que la recobraron, quisieron que la gente viviendo en la tierra les pagaran arrendamientos abajos. La gente negó dar sus impresos del pulgar documentos para la tierra. Cuando lo hizo y rehuzo pagar arrendamientos abajos, la policía y el ejército fueron a las casas de la gente para molestarles. Al fin la gente se fatigaba tanto de las deudas y desmayabas hasta que huyo al junglo para edificar nuevas aldeas y un nuevo modo de vivir donde no se molesten.

Son familiares a ustedes estas tácticas? La misma manera del robo de la tierra de nuestros antecesores por el gobierno de los Estados Unidos? Nos pertenecian los bosques una vez. Y que lo hagan ahora? Ganando biliones de dolares con la madera y minerales y lugares de esquiar hechos de NUESTROS bosques. Estas tácticas me sueñan tan familiares, especialmente como se engañan nuestros antecesores hasta que se firman con un "X" (no el empresa del pulgar) en sus documentos y les haga n creer que se firmaron por un cosecha de frijoles o credito en una tienda. Me da cuenta de que se este gobierno se pueda enganarse a su propia gente, es posible hacerlo en otros países también.

No podemos separar la lucha por los Vietnamese en contra de los franceses y cuando empezó a luchar en contra de los Estados Unidos, porque en casi todos modos es la misma guerra excepto que el pueblo pelea en contra de dos países diferentes--sino por la misma razón. No podemos decir como se envolvió tan profundamente nuestro país.

Sabemos que después de la derrota de los franceses (ayudados por los Estados Unidos) ya envíamos unos miles de "consejeros" que en realidad eran militares y operativos de la policía "C.I.A.". Ayudaron a los vendidos Vietnamese organizar a su ejército y policía para quitarse de la gente trabajando por un gobierno mejor. Pero el gobierno del Diem fue tan malo que más y más personas empezaron a protestar y pelear en contra de él. Entretanto, en el norte, la sociedad construida por Ho Chi Minh, crecía mas fuerte y mejoraba. Los Estados Unidos enviaron soldados y mas soldados para ayudar a los vendidos en el Sur, hasta que hoy día hay mas o menos de medio millon.

Tenemos que preguntar: "Porque van nuestros muchachos a luchar en Vietnam? Por que van al ejército? La gente para que se envían a pelear con pobres, lo mismo que nosotros. Por que va a pelear a personas en una situación peor que lo suyo? Es eso lo que quiere usted ponerse, un utensilio para matar y robar a pobres? Los ricos siempre usan el metodo de dividir y conquistar. Lo usan ahora. Les usan los pobres de este país para luchar a los pobres en Vietnam y en otros países.

Y es posible y agravarse. Un día se enviaran usted a matar a unas personas aun mas como si mismo--personas que hablan espanol y comen tortillas y aman a sus familias. Aun si no se envían a usted a matar a los Vietnamese, es posible que se envíen a matar a otros pobres.





HERMANOS: ¿QUIENES SON ESTAS PERSONAS?

POR VALENTINA DE EL GRITO DEL NORTE
ESPANOLA, NEW MEXICO

No supe nada de esta guerra. Personas decían "la guerra en Vietnam" y sola era otra palabra; decían "guerra no declarada" y no supe yo aun lo que quería decir, sino sabía yo que mucha gente que yo conocía estaban yendo a pelear esta guerra. No supe nada de esta guerra excepto lo que nos dijeron del combatir el comunismo. Entonces leí un libro muy interesante nombrado "Vietnam: La Historia De La Guerra de Guerrilleros", por Wilfred Burchett, y un otro, "Vietnam, Vietnam", por Felix Greene. Estos dos libros me dieron realidades de la Guerra en Vietnam.

Ahora, cuando oigo de un muchacho de nuestra Raza, un muchacho pobre, un muchacho que no sabe nada de la Guerra en Vietnam, ha sido reclutado, o se enrola, me enoja, siento terrible. Me digo: Por que, por que vas a combatir en esta guerra?

Es por que es la única manera en que puedes ganarse la vida? O, es porque estas fatigado con tu pueblecito y tus parientes y quieres "ver el mundo" O quizás tienes miedo de que tus amigos y amigas te llamen cobarde?

Y también es porque no sabes nada de la guerra?

Cuando escribía su libro, Burchett pasó diez meses entre los guerrilleros N.L.F. tras nombrado por el gobierno la prensa aquí "Viet Cong Vietnamese Communists". Su vida estaba en peligro muchas veces pero cuando un reporter quiere que la gente sepa la verdad no le importa la vida. Es lo mismo como una persona que lo da su vida a la Causa. No le importa si lo maten si al fin lo darán justicia, liberación, y la verdad a la gente. (al pueblo)

Como y por que nos entramparon en esta guerra injusta? De repente, nos despiertan y estamos entrampado en una guerra. Están despachando a nuestros hermanos y primos a una guerra de la que sabemos nada. Miren Uds. lo que nos dicen Burchett y Greene.

Ya hace mucho tiempo que pelea la gente de Vietnam en contra de opresión e imperialismo. (Hay imperialismo cuando un país grande, como los Estados Unidos, explota al pueblo y a las riquezas naturales de un país mas pequeño) Antes de pelear esta guerra en contra de los Estados Unidos, peleaban en contra de los imperialistas franceses y antes de esto, en contra de los japoneses. El dinero impuesto del pueblo de los Estados Unidos pagó 80% de los gastos de la guerra francesa. Por que lo hizo este país? En una oración en 1953 en Seattle, el Presidente Eisenhower dijo que 400 millones de dolares para ayudar a los franceses no era un programa sin ganancias, era solamente la manera mas barata de prevenir algo terrible sucediendo a la seguridad de los Estados Unidos, y su poder y habilidad obtener ciertas cosas (como estano y tungsteno) de las riquezas de la Asia del sureste. Eso es el razon porque nos envolvieron en Vietnam al principio.

Entonces los Vietnamese derrotaron a los franceses en Dien Bien Phu, y los soldados franceses partieron y concordaron en una conferencia de paz en Geneva, Suiza. Todos los poderes mayores firmaron el Concierto de Geneva en 1954, a excepción de los Estados Unidos y los gobernantes de Vietnam quienes eran vendidos a los franceses. Prometieron no violar concierto por fuerza o por amenaza de fuerza.

Estos fueron los puntos mayores del concierto:

1) Todos concordaron en que la separación del Vietnam en dos partes - norte y sur - no era arreglo final. (Esta división lo hicieron para permitir que se reunan los franceses en el Sur y se salgan del país, y lo aceptaron de buena fe por los Vietnamese quienes habian peleado en contra de los franceses por tanto tiempo.



2. Tomarían elecciones dentro de dos años para asegurarse de que se reunan el país.
3. Mientras tanto, ni el Norte ni el sur hara alianzas internacionales ni recibir ayuda militar de otros países.

Naturalmente, los franceses quisieron tratar de mantener alguna influencia en Vietnam y los Estados Unidos quisieron asegurarse de que el gobierno se quedo en su mando. Así, sin ninguna consultación con la gente de Vietnam, los Estados Unidos dirigieron que un hacendado rico viviendo en los Estados Unidos, se pusieron como Presidente. Se llamó Ngo Dinh Diem.

Muy pronto Diem le mostro que era el dictador pesimo con represión salvaje a su oposición. Solamente doce días después de la firmación del Concierto de Geneva, pasó un incidente en Saigon. El pueblo hizo una demostración inmensa principalmente celebrar la firmación del concierto, con mucho aplauso. También presentó demandas para la liberación de prisioneros políticos de la guerra contra los franceses. Diem fué en contra de esto, porque conocía que los prisioneros querían un gobierno mejor que lo suyo. Su replica a las demandas del pueblo vino en una descarga de balas. Una mujer preñada fue fustigada por el estómago y otras personas fueron matados. Mostró al pueblo el caracter de la regimen de Diem. Las fuerzas militares de Diem circundarían a los aldeas después las investigarían, las invadirían, arrestarían, torturarían y matarían a cualquiera persona en contra de los ricos en el poder. Mucha gente que no habia hecho nada les hacian victimas. Quiso Diem borrar ideas o experiencias de la primera resistencia contra los franceses. De una vez quiso hacer una lista de personas tomando parte en la resistencia, pero fue imposible porque casi todos capaces hombres, mujeres y niños, participaron - desde los viejos hasta los niños bastante grande para tomar un mensaje o paquete.

Diem empezó una campaña para denunciar a los comunistas. Si una esposa había participado en la resistencia, ella y su esposo fueron forzados divorciarse y casarse otra vez para probar su sinceridad. Unos esposos fueron forzados divorciarse y casarse otra vez para probar su sinceridad. Unos esposos fueron al carcel sin esperanza de revolver. Unas familias se fueron llevados al carcel y nunca les supieron de ellos otra vez. Ni tomaron juicio. En esta manera miles y miles fueron matados.





LA RAZA STUDENTS SHUT DOWN SAFEWAY



Once again the people have shown how great their power can be. September 15, day of Mexican national liberation, was celebrated by Raza students in San Francisco by walking out of schools, by going back into the community to close down the most blatant symbol of our people's oppression, Safeway, well known for its treatment of the farmworkers, was chosen as the target for the people on Independence day.

The day started with ceremonies at Dolores Park, across the street from Mission High School, honoring Miguel Aleman, ex-President of Mexico, and now director of the Mexican National Tourist Bureau. He was joined by Mayor 'Mafioso' Alloto in placing wreaths on the statue of Father Hidalgo, hero of the oppressed Raza of Mexico for his role in the liberation. But the people were not allowed to participate in the ceremony. There were many dozens of police all over the park and the area, stopping and threatening students and anyone who looked like a student. They had provided a navy band to accompany the farce and the park was sprinkled with undercover placas. This is an annual event to fool the people, convince them that we are lucky to be living in this 'democracy'.

When the pig's thing was over, the people's ceremony began. Raza students from Mission High School

gathered together in front of the school around 12:15. The placas were everywhere, trying to intimidate the students. A line of march was formed going straight to the nearest Safeway, 21st and So. Van Ness. Led by red flags and escorted by the Tac Squad, the people, hundreds strong, hit and closed down the store. Next door, at the grammar school, the ninos were cheering and clapping. They too got signs and posters and joined in the chanting.

About 1/3 of the crowd went on to the 30th and Mission Safeway and 1/3 to the one at 24th and Potrero, leafletting and singing all the way. The 24th Street group pulled in people as it went and the escort kept up with us, stopping all 'suspected criminal types' in the line. At the Safeway, a cheering crowd waited along with 5 full carloads of riot-equipped pigs and all the favorite plainclothesmen. After about one hour of 'Free Los Siete' and 'Squash Grapes' the pigs moved in, arresting two of our people, Martin Montemayor, from Mission High, and Michael Ohta, from Galileo, on typical placas charges, to try to get the crowd agitated. But the people stayed together, kept the Safeway shut down and got legal defense working for our carnals.

The line broke off but the struggle will continue as long as the Raza is oppressed in this country and in our homelands.

FIGHTING FOR SELF DETERMINATION

On September 16, hundreds of students walked out of the oppressive Mission High School in San Francisco, leading marches to four pig Safeway stores in the Mission district, with flags and banners and love for their brothers. Demonstrations of support for and solidarity with striking farmworkers were highly successful in their basic goals of educating the community and stopping business at the pig Safeways. In this, their first action of this school year, Mission students for the first time have laid a foundation for unity with all oppressed and exploited people. While the police, fearful of this growing unity among the people, carried out provocative pig actions (17 arrests) against the walkout and demonstrations from start to finish, they were unable to destroy the united demonstrations of the people. Safeway's profits were hurt. And the movement of brown people in the Mission has grown to a new level.

Because the demonstration was so close to the start of school, preparations were necessarily limited. Several days of leafletting students, and one day of massive leafletting throughout the com-

munity, consisted of the preparation. There was not enough time to talk with enough of the students to get all of them out--especially the black and white students. Many students, because they didn't fully understand the action, did not participate. But the 300-400 who did walk out, who did demonstrate learned valuable lessons. They learned, first, the power of organized actions against the enemy; together, they were able to stop most of the business of the pig Safeways in their community. From the encounters with provocative pigs, they learned about tactics, they learned about the necessity of unity and organization. A thousand days in school have not taught as much as a single day in struggle. We must educate all our people to the fact that the pig wants to keep us apart and the only way to fight them is with unity and organization.

September 16, 1811 is the date of Mexican liberation from oppressive Spanish rule. September 16, 1969 is the date when all brown people have entered a new stage in the liberation struggle against the bloodthirsty giants of American imperialism. You will not be able to forget it.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE LOS SIETE
DEATH TO THE SAFEWAY

Richmond Walkout

Over 400 Chicano and other students walked out. The first walk-out took place at North Campus. The students then moved to Downen Jr. High. At Downen the pigs had locked all the gates in order to keep the kids in but the students stormed the fences to join the brothers and sisters waiting outside. The brothers and sisters then passed by North Campus again and picked up more strength. They then moved on the Safeway at 23rd and MacBride. Bursting into the store they destroyed all the grapes. They then began to march on South Campus. After picking up more students at South Campus, they began moving up MacDonald Avenue to another Safeway. About 2 blocks from the Safeway the pigs arrived, 6 cars, 1 wagon, and began making arrests. Everybody split in different directions and some people made it to the Safeway which was closed. The pigs busted about 75 kids for truancy, including one Brown Beret, who was riding with a Richmond city Human Relations officer observing the arrests; the pig stopped the car he was in and he was arrested.

Safeway was dealt with in a correct fashion. We must make it clear that La Raza will tolerate neither scab grapes nor oppression.
RICHMOND BROWN BERETS

LA RAZA FEEDS HER CHILDREN

La Raza in its struggles against the oppression put on the people of the Mission community by the racist big businesses of our community.

We, running the Children's breakfast, the peoples program already functioning at two locations in our community, feeding 150 children a day because of the strong need to feed our hungry children, pay tribute to Los Siete de La Raza.

Los Siete de La Raza are brothers involved in the same struggle as we are in meeting the needs of our people. Before their arrest they were involved in the need that our people have of getting into the racist school, the College of San Mateo. A need that they felt so great and worked at it so much that they were framed and are now charged with the murder of one of the well known torturers of our people. You may ask, "why were these seven brown men trying to get their people into a school which did not want them in the first place?" This is an argument that has been put on the minds of the people by the rich men of this country, in just one method of keeping those people who cannot afford the luxuries of keeping this society thinking backward. If we are to follow the thinking set down by the rich man (whose big-business is exploiting us in the first place) then would not the only place where there is a strong demand for not only brown people, but all poor people, be the U.S. Army? Ask yourself, "What future is there in death?" Are you not able to see that they need the poor who have nowhere else to go to fight the wars of big business? Are you not able to see that there is no future for what this country calls "uneducated people"? Uneducated be-

cause they keep us uneducated by not allowing us into the colleges, and therefore benefitting from us not having anywhere else to go but into the army. Their Army.

Los Siete are creating alternatives for the oppressed people. An alternative that would mean they could finally get into the colleges and bring back into the community what could help oppressed people to get out of that oppression. The police, being tools of the big-businessmen were put into action in stopping these seven brothers, and as you have already read from the big-business newspapers, decided that these seven brothers were punks and hoodlums and to top it all that they were murderers. Have the courts decided whether they were murderers or not?

With the trials not even started, how could this be so? What thinking are you now going to take, that of serving the people or that of the big-business, and exploiting the people? There is no middle.

We in the breakfast already are presenting a problem (from the big-business point of view) to this racist establishment. First, we who do not have the billions of dollars this government has, are able to feed our hungry children. This is something which shows the people that they can start meeting their needs without having to come under the welfare type attitude which this government does when it throws a few dollars into any oppressed community.

At the same time that this government (run by the big-business) cuts back on the welfare recipients the little they do have, it is able to spend billions of dollars sending men to the moon and still have three (3) billion dollars in surplus and not know what to do with it. Are you not able to see some sort



of contradictions in this? If this is incorrect, are you going to correct it? Perhaps dying serving the people? Perhaps being framed like Los Siete are being framed because there is a need for poor people to be able to go to college instead of our men having to die in wars which will not better their future, but instead end up taking from others so that the rich will get richer and the poor get poorer?

So I say again, we present a problem to the big-business because people are able to see the contradictions in this society, as well as they can organize themselves around their needs and create programs that will benefit them. Whether it be setting up day care cen-

ters in every block so that parents can be able to go out and at least have a chance to look for a job, or just to be able to work. Having their children being taken care of in a people's day care center, something they will feel proud of because it is something that they created and have been able to run the way they want it to run. Is there not a need to have something like this in our community? If yes, what will you do about it? Go out and get together the people of your neighborhood to create something like this? Or sit back, and just have this idea that could be a benefit to the people, and you being too lazy to in-

roduce it to the people? Are you all sitting back while these seven brothers are being tortured because they wanted to see our children be able to go to college, because they too loved you so much that they wanted to stop those who are oppressing you?

We, who love our children so much that we have created something for them as the free breakfast, support Los Siete and ask that you too stand up and fight the injustice.

ALL LOVE TO OUR CHILDREN
FREE LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA

Jose Delgado



LIBERATE LA RAZA SCHOOLS

On Sept. 16, La Raza demanded that the racist school systems begin meeting the needs of its youth.

In every barrio in the country similar conditions exist.

The buildings are almost always ugly and unsafe. There never seems to be money for our schools but the schools the children of the rich go to never seem to lack funds.

But ugly, unsafe buildings are only a minor part of the problem.

When a young brother or sister first enters the schools, chances are he doesn't speak English too well. For this, racist teachers put him down, he is held back, and in some areas, placed in classes for the mentally retarded. They know our youth could learn fine in Spanish, but by denying him the right to learn in his native language, they hope to convince him he is stupid, his language and culture are inferior, and to crush his spirit.

Because we are brown, and our parents are not rich, Raza youth are put into special "tracts" whose purpose is to either make us drop out (and into the army) or to channel us into the hands of the big companies. These "tracts" teach us nothing of our history, nothing of the struggles our people have fought and are fighting. The only things we learn are what the big corporations want us to.

If we look around at all the brothers and sisters who have been forced out of school, we can see that the schools are not serving us. Who are they serving? The only people who benefit by "tracts" denying us our language, culture and hiding our history, are those wealthy people who control the large companies. They need work who won't fight. They know if the youth were to receive a real education, there wouldn't be any more bosses.

"This day comes to us with a new dispensation. Are you ready to receive it? Will you make an effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers 300 years ago?"

With these words Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla called upon the oppressed people of Mexico to rise up against their Spanish masters. The date was September 16, 1810.

The people Hidalgo was calling upon to revolt were the masses of Indians and Mestizos who suffered under the colonial rule of Spain. Another group of people, the creoles (Mexican born Spaniards) wanted freedom from Spain also, but only so they could get all the wealth that was taken from the people. When faced with a choice between the Spanish and a revolution of the masses, they choose the Spanish.

Under the leadership of Father Hidalgo, an army of some 50,000 peasants began to capture town after town. On Nov. 26, this army entered Guadalajara, and began to establish a new government structure. Hidalgo issued a series of decrees which made owning slaves a capital crime, abolished the tribute Mestizos and Indians paid to the

Spanish, and reserved certain lands for the Indians.

On January 13, 1911, Hidalgo learned that the Spanish were moving on him. Rebel troops went to engage them on the banks of the calderon River.

As the two armies clashed, it was clear that the Spanish had the best weapons, but this didn't stop the rebels. For the first few hours the Spanish were on the verge of being routed.

Then a cannon ball struck the rebel ammunition wagon, which exploded killing hundreds. The flames quickly ignited the dry grass which covered the area. The wind drove the fire and smoke into the midst of the rebel army, killing thousands and sending the rest in flight. In six hours the liberty of Mexico was delayed 11 years. Shortly after this defeat, the Spanish caught Hidalgo and executed him.

But an enslaved people will not rest until it is free. Thus Morelos and de Iturbide who freed Mexico from Spain, Zapata and Villa who led the peasants against the rich, and even now we hear of peasants picking up the gun in Sonora and Yucatan.

Why is it that a middle class school (schools in middle class areas) have such an outstanding record while a practically Third World school (Black, Red, Yellow, Brown, and White, poor people of the world) have such a miserable one?--Such as Mission High----

Why is it that poor peoples' schools the students don't have any say so in the running of the schools and if they try to they get kicked out?

Is it because Third World people are ignorant. NO! It is on purpose! It is no accident; the rich in power want it that way. The rich need laborers to do their work, any they know that college graduates don't pick up trash. They want us to be kept ignorant of our situation. When their consciences hurt the rich can simply say, "we are too 'ignorant'".

The day must come when all can be taught to help themselves and their brothers. Ignorance must be overpowered by the people. The people learn to help themselves and help their brothers and not work for one man that does not help him but keeps him down. Students must learn to ask for what we want and help in getting things done. Stop falling into the trap of the tracking system. Force the rich to give us back what they so long have stolen from us! We must find out about ourselves, stop fighting with each other and fight the man that has kept us apart and down.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



TO ALL BROWN BROTHERS

IN NAM:

Do you actually know what you are doing there? I can remember when I was in the suck-ass service. The lifers would tell me and the rest of the brothers that we were in the service to preserve freedom and to stop Communism over in the Nam. I fucken really ate that shit up until I started to look into these so-called words and really find out the true meaning of these words. Freedom is not being able to buy a car or being able to walk down "The Boulevard". That is the basic right of all people, just as it is a basic right to have the power to determine your own destiny or any other peoples basic right to determine their own destinies.

Don't you ever wonder who sent you there? Some fucked up senator or congressman who is sitting in some air-conditioned office picking his nose but still he has the power to tell you when to give up your life. I know some of you dudes just want to pull your time and get back to your broad and the block. I was that way. I would have really dug it if someone would have written me about that insane bullshit war.

The Vietnamese vato knows why he is fighting there because he is fighting for his country not just to pull his time because if he loses, where is he going to go? His pad and his broad are there and not at home low-riding somewhere in the States.

In the service it's fucking S.O.P. to keep your head fucked up about the war and to keep you fighting for the man. F.T.A. for any army that is not serving the people's interests. The Vietnamese war is not serving the ordinary worker here in the states. It is only serving the rich who are making the profit from the bombs, planes, and all the rest of the war equipment.

Write and ask your folks and friends how they feel about the war. It's not only the hippies who are protesting the war, but all people who are interested in you brothers over there.

We have enough worries here at home as you know. But still we are sent over there telling people how to get straight when, in reality, we are not even half straight here at home. What a fucken laugh!

VENCEREMOS
POWER TO THE PEOPLE



photo/Nacio Jan Brown

INDUSTRIALISTS vs PEOPLE

Rich men make decision and Brown people get laid off their jobs, get evicted from their homes, get beat up in the streets by racists cops. Decisions are made as if Brown people don't exist, by men in plush chairs behind long mahogany tables, men who know nothing about Brown people except that they are a cheap source of labor power. The masses of Brown people are not to be owners of property or businesses, but the poorest class of laborers, to be used for the hardest jobs: picking cotton in the Southwest, working in garment factories and steel mills.

This has always been true. The copper companies of Arizona, from 1875 right through the 1940's, carried Mexican employees on the payrolls under a special heading of "Mexican Labor" and paid them less for the same labor. In Texas, the Shell Oil Company had two rates of pay for the same work: a "white" rate for Anglos and a "non-white" rate for Brown and Black people.

It's worse today, even though the politicians have done their best to cover up with Poverty Programs and welfare. A good example of how politicians lie to the people is Mayor Alloto's "Mini-Park", an effort to smooth over the fact that the Mission District falls 65 acres short of the minimum requirements for parks, set by the City of San Francisco itself for minimum human existence. And Alloto's "Mini-Park" is getting even "smaller" as even more new families are crowded into the Mission.

Fewer and fewer jobs, higher and higher prices; where is this going to end? Well, take a look at where the problems begin--where the decisions are made.

Every four years, 500 or so of the world's most powerful businessmen meet to decide how to get the most profit out of the people and natural resources of the world. These men sit on the Boards of Directors of U.S. Steel, Bank of America, Standard Oil, and other huge banks and corporations that have offices and industrial plants all over the world. This year, on September 15 through 19, these men will be meeting at

the International Industrialist Conference in San Francisco. To get an idea of what they'll be talking about and planning, look at what they've planned in the past:

First of all, they have decided that it doesn't pay to have factories in San Francisco anymore. It's much cheaper to pay workers in Latin America and Asia to make commodities they sell. In Latin America the standard of living is so much lower, so the big businesses don't have to pay the workers so much. People work for a dollar a day and less. So, a factory in Latin America is much more profitable than one here in San Francisco. Ford now has factories in Brazil and Argentina. Kodak makes photographic paper in Mexico. As a result, workers in San Francisco and Fremont are being laid off. U.S. corporations are making more than 3 billion in profits every year from Latin America, while 2 million people die of starvation and curable diseases there and unemployment is going up drastically here in the U.S. This is called imperialism.

But what does imperialism have to do with the people in San Francisco and the Mission District? Everything.

Because it's not profitable, there's almost no industry left in San Francisco anymore. If you don't have an expensive education, it's almost impossible to get a decent job. Unemployment in San Francisco is going up; it's at 11% for the general population and 18% for Brown men.

As industry is moved out to Latin America and Asia, it's necessary to do all the paper work back here near the Port of San Francisco, to keep track of all the money. Look at all the new banks and insurance and investment companies. San Francisco is being transformed from a factory to an office building for United States imperialism. So, there's now a big demand for white collar workers to man the office. Mission people don't get the education for this kind of work, so they just aren't needed anymore.

The big businesses need the kind of skilled workers that live on the Peninsula. So, they're building BART, Bay Area Rapid Transit, to get these workers back and forth.

It just so happens that Bechtel Corporation, the largest construction outfit in the world, is building BART, making millions in profit, while working people pay taxes to build BART. Steven Bechtel and Steven Bechtel, Jr., will be at the International Industrialist Conference this year, of course.

BART will have two street-level entrances on Mission Street, at 16th and 24th Streets. This does not mean just two holes in the ground; Mission Street is going to be unrecognizable pretty soon. No more small stores, no more old flats. In a few years there will be huge cement plazas along Mission St., complete with huge fountains and trees, surrounded by super-modern high rise office buildings. Big, modern department stores will replace our homes, expensive, high rise apartments will be built where only bank executives can afford to live.

In short, the men who are raking billions of dollars in profits from their investments in Latin America, Asia and Africa, don't need Mission people anymore and they are WIPING US OUT. The same thing is happening to black people in the Fillmore, Chinese people in Chinatown and white workers all over the city. It's easy to see why the people of Vietnam are fighting to kick the U.S. out of their country, and why the people of Latin America rioted when Nelson Rockefeller dared to visit their countries. At the beginning of this article we asked, "Where do our problems end?" The people of Vietnam and Latin America know that their problems will end with the end of imperialism.

People in San Francisco are starting to fight too. There will be demonstrations during the week of the IIC (International Industrialist Conference). Nobody expects the Bank of America or Bechtel Corporation to listen, but what we have to do is let all poor and working people know about what the men at the IIC are doing to them. We have to let people know that it's not "crime in the streets" that's causing our problems, as Nixon and Reagan would have us think. It's the crime of imperialism that we must fight in any way we can.

INDUSTRIALISTS vs PEOPLE



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LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA


SEND LETTERS
TO
LOS SIETE BROTHERS

Danilo 'BeBe' Melendez
Nelson Rodriguez
Jose Rios

Jose Mario Martinez
Rodolfo 'Tony' Martinez
Gary Lescallet

MAIL TO: ROOM 700, 850 BRYANT STREET
SAN FRANCISCO

Comments and Articles
for print
may be sent to:



BASTA YA!
P.O. BOX 12217
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



**UNO DE
LOS SIETE--
TO ALL BROWN
SISTERS**

I wrote this poem in honor of all my sisters in the cause, as a tribute to them for they have always been, are and will be there to help our movement whenever the necessity arises.


MY BEAUTIFUL BROWN WOMAN
To you who has suffered in this continent of ours since early to modern times, at the hands of the oppressor--
Who rode across the seas only to dishonor and rape your virginal pride
To you, my beautiful bronze queen, the loveliest queen of all
You, who has picked up the fight after your man has died--To defend your culture and land
Although you have suffered you have always had time to heal my wounds and to bear my child
And lastly to you, the pride of our hearts
Who we know will always be there to strengthen our fight
That if I wasn't to have
I would prefer to have died.

Much love from a brother in the cause
TONY MARTINEZ



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