

THE BLACK PANTHER

25
cents

Black Community News Service

VOL. IV NO. 10

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1970

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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



HAPPY BIRTHDAY HUEY

The Genius Of Huey P. Newton



"An unarmed people are slaves or subject to slavery at any given time."

HUEY P. NEWTON
Minister of Defense,
Black Panther Party

In order to truly understand the contemporary situation of the Black man in ameriKKKa life it is important to understand the history of mankind in general. One basic or primary drive in the history of man is the desire to be free of all external controls, and our basic premise is that man wants to be free. However, a man living in modern society is characterized by his subjection to both external (sociological) and internal (psychological) forces which control him and thereby thwart his desire to be free. Freedom will require men to gain control of these forces which determine his existence and behavior.

The internal forces which influence and determine behavior were recognized by Freud as subconscious forces. He realized that many people become ill because they feel driven by subconscious forces to do things while at the same time they feel another subconscious repulsion from doing these same things. Feeling they have no control whatsoever over their behavior they become mentally ill. To free man from these inner forces psychoanalysis attempts to make him aware of these unconscious energies on the assumption that such awareness is the first step toward controlling them, rather than be-

mate of capitalism -- where a group of owners have men enslaved simply for his own profit motive. We have moved away from this feudalistic land-centered economy in this country to a factory-centered production-economy. Yet the same relationship exists between the private owner and the worker because the factory is only a replacement of the farm. It is now the center of production and the factory owner is not interested in production for use but production for profit. Such a relationship negates the whole freedom of man. Thus it is extremely necessary for the people to seize the means of production in order to gain the freedom. People everywhere want to eliminate the slavemaster (private owner) in order to gain that sacred freedom.

People must be involved in the decision-making process so they will be in control of the decisions which affect them. The things that we commonly use and commonly need should be commonly owned. We will collectively decide exactly what we need and share fully in the wealth that we produce. The whole administration of the government should be subject to the dictates of the people.

Until we reach this freedom the country will be in a state of chaos. It will suffer much unrest and surely a revolution will occur. Such a revolution is inevitable when we realize that man must free himself from the subconscious and external forces which control him. When man is not in control of himself there are automatic problems which take many forms. Among these forms are the mental stresses which leads to physical action--either total withdrawal or total aggression against the obstacles to freedom. This would be revolution, and this understanding helps to explain some of the present uneasiness in the country. Blacks have suffered from a lack of freedom more than anyone else. Granted no one in the country has the freedom deserved by man, the natural dignity of man is not respected in the country because of the capitalistic society.

III

The Black Panther Party is the people's Party and we are primarily interested in freeing man--freeing all people from slavery--so that man will be his own master. We can only do this by having collective ownership, and then the people will decide what they are going to produce for their own use--not for specific classes or for profit. This brings us to the present struggle and the present demand for self-determination from both an ethnic and also an international level. The Black Panther Party feels that in order for ethnic minorities to be free in the country we will have to have administrators who are responsive to the needs and desires of the people. They will be in office solely for the purpose of answering these needs, and the people will be in a position to make the final decision of what will be done domestically and internationally.

Progress may come from the fact that we are suffering under an administration that could be fairly called a doomsday machine because it is forcing the country and people in the direction of destruction. The Black Panther Party chooses life instead of death. Because we do choose life we are searching for ways of (avoiding) destruction in the country so the people may live. We are absolutely certain that if this administration is not forced into some new direction, the people of the world will be destroyed.

At the present time there is talk of Black capitalism to parallel White capitalism. A part of the Black bourgeoisie seems to be committed to developing or attempting to develop capitalism with the Black community--or the Black colony as we call it. This would merely trade one master for another and a small group of Blacks would control our destiny. This bourgeois middle class groups represent a small proportion of Black people but they would make decisions for the majority of Black people. This is reminiscent of our history when we also had Black slavemasters. A small number of free Blacks owned slaves and they were part of the bourgeois class of that time. They did nothing to alleviate the situation which caused slavery. These Black slave owners gave the Black masses Black capitalism because they were interested in their own profits and well-being. They were not interested in the well-being of the people.

Black power is a much more relevant solution to the people's problems. So far as Black capitalism is concerned, most of the Black bourgeoisie cannot be said to own any means of production. They do have bourgeois middle class ideas. They have many of the ideas of the White capitalist class and they have illusions that someday they will be owners. Such is not the case. There is no more free enterprise in ameriKKKa. There is only monopolistic capitalism where a few people have industry under their control and they will not give up this control. They will not share their profits with anyone unless the person proves to be of some aid to them in further exploitation of the people.



ing controlled by them. Such a man then experiences a feeling of freedom. This is in keeping with the primary drive of man's history -- the desire to be free and have the power to create --or the power to productive creativity.

Marx realized the same thing: that man has a basic desire to be free of the external forces which determine his behavior and put these forces under his control. Marx analyzed the situation and concluded that the external environment influences the life of man through his relationship to production. As he gains freedom from the dictates of coercive institutions then he is in a position to experience the power of productive creativity, and this is the godliness and holiness of man to man, and man to the Creator.

Man's drive to reach this plateau of freedom in a class or capitalistic society is a historical fact. Under capitalism the private owners who are interested only in making profits for themselves are in control of society. The people who are subjected to them and have to rely upon them for a living are slaves to the owners. Since the owners are only interested in profits they use the people as tools to increase their riches, with little consideration of the effect this has upon man, i.e., an obstruction of man the creator. This makes it necessary to destroy the private ownership of the means of production because it has such a great effect upon all people. Everyone has to live, and in order to live he must produce. In a capitalistic society, however man does not produce for use he produces for profit. This is a slave situation.

II

It is a historical fact that Blacks were brought to this country as slaves for capitalistic reasons -- the profit motive. The ruling class at that time were the owners of the land and they needed laborers to till the land for them and produce profits from it. Not only did the owners have labor, they had FREE labor and this was the ulti-

This does not exist at this time. At the present time in ameriKKKa the owners of the military and industrial complex, for example, have found war very lucrative. They are producing more and more war machinery. Furthermore they are involved in a "cold war" which keeps the country on a war footing so that the people will then be willing to produce equipment which is not for their own use, but only so owners of the military-industrial complex can make a fortune. This has been happening for the more than two decades since the end of World War II and the military-industrial complex now presents such a problem to the national economy that many people now question the legitimacy of the governmental administrators. Administrators should be for the purpose of administering the people's desires, and the people should have the ability to eliminate those who do not serve their interests. In other words, if war is not in the interest of the people then the country should not engage in war, cold war or any other kind of war. But at the present time people have nothing to say about the matter. They are constantly brainwashed and indoctrinated with such fears that they will work and produce only what they are told to produce. The country is now so involved in a war economy if we were to change to a peace economy there would be mass unemployment. It is thus necessary to have a planned socialistic economy to make the switch to a peace economy. The administrators are very reluctant to even engage in discussion on planned economy because they would then have to take the wishes of the people into consideration rather than the wishes of the owners of the military-industrial complex. Our administrators are not willing to take the people into consideration for this is not in their best interests so far as the profit motive is concerned.

The Blacks are in a unique position as a national minority in the United States because of our unique heritage of being totally deprived of the freedom to determine our destiny. Partially free for a century we now demand to be totally free and structure our communities so that we make the decision about what kinds of institutions will be in our community in order to perpetuate our culture. In the capitalist society the owners are not interested in any national minority because it has no profit value to them. When the profit motive is eliminated from the society this will be the first step in Black people coming to grips with self-determination. Self-determination can only work in a socialistic context. We realize that not only are we kept in a slave situation but all persons in the country will have to be free for all of its citizens.

Functional Definition Of Politics

By Huey P. Newton

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed. Politics has its particular characteristics which differentiate it from war. When the peaceful means of politics are exhausted and the people do not get what they want, politics are continued. Usually it ends up in physical conflict which is called war, which is also political.

Because we lack political power, Black people are not free. Black reconstruction failed because Black people did not have political and military power. The masses of Black people at the time were very clear on the definition of political power. It is evident in the songs of Black people at that time. In the songs it was stated that on the Day of Jubilee we'd have forty acres and two mules. This was promised Black people by the Freedman's Bureau. This was freedom as far as the Black masses were concerned.

The Talented Tenth at the time viewed freedom as operative in the political arena. Black people did operate more educated than most of the Whites in the south. They had been educated in France, Canada and England, and were very qualified to serve in the political arena. But yet, Black Reconstruction failed.

When one operates in the political arena, it is assumed that he has power or represents power; he is symbolic of a powerful force. There are approximately three areas of power in the political area: economic power, land power (feudal power) and military power. If Black people at the time had received 40 acres and 2 mules, we would have developed a powerful force. Then we would have chosen a representative to represent us in this political arena. Because Black people did not receive the 40 acres and 2 mules, it was absurd to have a representative in the political arena.

When White people send a representative into the political arena, they have a powerful force or power base that they represent. When White people, through their representatives, do not get what they want, there is always a political consequence. This is evident in the fact that when the farmers are not given an adequate price for their crops the economy will receive a political consequence. They will let their crops rot in the field; they will not cooperate with other sectors of the economy. To be political, you must have a political consequence when you do not receive your desires--otherwise you are non-political.

When Black people send a representative, he is some-what absurd because he represents no political power. He does not represent land power because we do not own any land. He does not represent economic or industrial power because Black people do not own the means of production. The only way he can become political is to represent what is commonly called a military power--which the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE calls Self-Defense Power. Black people can develop Self-Defense Power by arming themselves from house to house, block to block, community to community, throughout the nation. Then we will choose a political representative and he will state to the power structure the desires of the Black masses. If the desires are not met, the power structure will receive a political consequence. We will make it economically non-profitable for the power structure to go on with its oppressive ways. We will then negotiate as equals. There will be a balance between the people who are economically powerful and the people who are potentially economic-

ally destructive.

The White racist oppresses Black people not only for racist reasons but because it is also economically profitable to do so. Black people must develop a power that will make it non-profitable for racist to go on oppressing us. If the White racist imperialist in ameriKKKa continue to wage war against all people of color throughout the world and also wage a civil war against Blacks here in ameriKKKa, it will be economically impossible for him to survive. We must develop a strategy that will make his war campaigns non-profitable. This racist United States operates with the motive of profit. He lifts the gun and escalates the war for profit reasons. We will make him lower the guns because they will no longer serve his profit motive.

Every man is born, therefore he has a right to live, a right to share in the wealth. If he is denied the right to work then he is denied the right to live. If he can't work, he deserves a high standard of living, regardless of his education or skill. It should be up to the administrators of the economic system to design a program for providing work of livelihood for his people. To deny a man this is deny him life. The controllers of the economic system are obligated to furnish each man with a livelihood. If they cannot do this or if they will not do this, they do not deserve the position of administrators. The means of production should be taken away from them and placed in the people's hands, so that the people can organize them in such a way as to provide themselves with a livelihood. The people will choose capable administrators motivated by their sincere interest in the people's welfare and not the interest of private property. The people will choose managers to control the means of production and the land that is rightfully theirs. Until the people control the land and the means of production, there will be no peace. Black people must control the destiny of their community.

Because Black people desire to determine their own destiny, they are constantly inflicted with brutality from the occupying army, embodied in the police department. There is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the occupation of our communities by the racist police. The armies are there not to protect the people of South Vietnam, but to brutalize and oppress them for the interest of the selfish imperial power.

The police should be the people of the community in uniform. There should be no division or conflict of interest between the people and the police. Once there is a division, then the police become the enemy of the people. The police should serve the interest of the people, and be one and the same. When this principle breaks down, then the police become an occupying army. When historically one race has oppressed another and policemen are recruited from the oppressor race to patrol the communities of the oppressed people, an intolerable contradiction exist.

The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of Black people, or face the wrath of the armed people.

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party



The Spirit Of
The People
Is Greater
Than
The Man's
Technology



Interview with DAVID HILLIARD



DAVID HILLIARD, CHIEF OF STAFF,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

By Jeff Gerth

February 17th is Huey P. Newton's Birthday. The passing of one year finds Huey still in jail, and much more. Bobby Seale is also incarcerated, Eldridge is exiled in Algeria. Dozens of Panthers have been murdered. Over 350 Panthers have been arrested on major charges, though hardly any of them have been convicted of anything. And of course the Panthers have had their offices raided, their newspaper vendors harassed and just about anything else the FBI/Justice Dept./CIA could dream up to smash the Panthers.

But, of course the Panthers have not been smashed.

David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, talks in this interview about some of the recent developments in the Party. His weariness at the time of the interview seemed to reflect both the attempts of the pigs to put him away along side his brothers and the tremendous amount of energy David devotes both to the Party and to the people. Yet the strength and optimism he imbued as the interview progressed proved more than ever that you can jail a revolutionary but you can never jail the revolution.

INTERVIEWER: What has happened the last couple months since Chicago and L.A., and how does it relate to Huey's birthday and upcoming appeal?

HILLIARD: The first thing to talk about is our newspaper, which is not only a national but also an international newspaper and that people who read our newspaper can stay tuned to what's happening with regard to the Black Panther Party in particular and also get an inside view to what's happening inside the Black community.

As far as Huey's birthday celebration, as you know; since Huey's been imprisoned in Los Padres, each year in the month of February, we have national activities to bring to the attention of the ameriKKkan people Huey's imprisonment so that we are driving this year with the same unyielding demand that Huey must be set free. And we're going to have that not only here in the U.S. but we're expecting some international support for Huey also. On the 17th (Huey's birthday) we should have some good news from some revolutionary countries that are in support of the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party.

I think also that Fred Hampton and Mark Clark had put into the minds of a lot of Black people the reality of the onslaught of fascism that is taking place in this country. The Party has been on top of that. There has been a coroner's inquest in Chicago, but of course their decision was pig's justice. They came down with a decision of "justifiable homicide". We didn't have any faith in that particular body so we're still keeping a very sharp eye on all these investigations that are going on,

and we're conducting our own investigations in the Black community, with the jury being members of the Black community and that way we're being sure we can get justice.

As far as L.A. since December 8--four of the nineteen people arrested have been bailed out of jail. The other fifteen remain in jail. The preliminary hearings took place a couple of weeks ago and the judge said they have enough evidence to keep the people in jail. The most unreasonable ball was imposed upon the leader of our L.A. Chapter, Elmer Pratt (Geronimo), his bail is still \$165,000. The brothers and sisters have definitely displayed the kind of resistance which as Eldridge says has shot us back into the liberation struggle. It was because of the invincible spirit of the Black Panther Party that the brothers and sisters came out of that planned attack alive. We respect those brothers and sisters, they truly set some examples for the rest of the revolutionaries in this country to follow. Both of these incidents, the one in Chicago and L.A. proves that the Black Panther Party is definitely in the forefront of the liberation movement in this country.

INTERVIEWER: What about the recent opening of the trial of the Panther 21 in New York? Does that militant tone indicate anything for the future and how does the trial relate to the community support for the Black Panther Party in New York?

HILLIARD: The support in and around the 21's trial has been tremendous. People are definitely moving with the same concern and spirit that was seen throughout Huey's trial. It will be a miracle if the trial continues in the atmosphere that exists now. The brothers and sisters there are showing, just like we've always said, that the oppressor has no rules which the oppressed is bound to respect. So I think what we are witnessing now is a new trend in fascism in terms of bringing young Black men and women into courts, having them sit up peacefully and accept the crucifixion and torture that's been perpetrated against Black people for so many years in this country. The only way that the trial will possibly be able to last under the kind of conditions that are being displayed now is to put those individuals in a glass cage which will show the ameriKKkan people, again through example, that the courts are run by fascist pigs, judges and D.A.'s, and this will most certainly spell the downfall of the so-called judicial system in this country.

INTERVIEWER: A recent survey in the Wall Street Journal found widespread (over 60%) support for

the Black Panther Party's goals and methods in the Black community. Do you think the recent murderous attacks on the Party in L.A. and Chicago has helped build that base of support?

HILLIARD: The Black Panther Party as a national organization is truly the only Black organization that backs up its demands with resistance--the self defense power that Huey Newton always talks about in his writings.

Our Party has definitely gained widespread community support on the national level resulting from both the attack in L.A. and the vicious murdering of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. This teaches us that one of the greatest weapons at our disposal is the ignorance and barbarity and abrasiveness displayed by these pigs. This serves as a very powerful example in the sense that it educates the people to the fascist tactics that these pigs are so used to using against Black people.

INTERVIEWER: How are the various programs of the Black Panther Party, such as the Free Breakfast Program for Children and Health Clinics progressing?

HILLIARD: Our Breakfast Programs are very successful, because first of all Huey has always taught us that if a man is born therefore he has a right to live and eating is the first basic necessity for human life so that people very definitely take to the Breakfast programs.

As of now we have a mobile health unit in L.A. that's in the community and we're building the Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter Health Clinic and we hope it will be operating in another month. Also we have a successful Health Clinic in Seattle. We have the Spurgeon "Jake" Winters Health Clinic in Chicago. That Health Clinic has been harassed. The government has already moved on it, charging the doctors with some kind of illegality--dealing with Medicare Cards--saying that if the Health Clinic is supposed to be free that the doctors are in violation of some law for honoring medicare cards. I'm not real sure of all the information in that area, but the point is that they are beginning to attack the Health Clinics.

INTERVIEWER: About the program for Community Control of Police--recent developments in the Bay Area, such as the drastic lowering of residency requirements for S.F. policemen, budget requests for 400 additional pigs in S.F. and requests in Berkeley for the purchase of a helicopter--seem to relate directly to the B.P.P. and the efforts of the pigs to smash it.

HILLIARD: To paraphrase Bobby--in every community across the country where there's a large concentration of Black people the police forces have doubled, tripled and quadrupled. Of course there is another manifestation of the ameriKKkan manifestation of fascism. Historically people relate to fascism in the guise of Nazi Germany. But the characteristics of fascism in this country identify and materialize themselves in the massive population of pigs in our communities. So, of course, this is another level of trying to offset the B.P.P.'s program for Community Control of Police, which is the only defense we have against the many attacks on Black people in our community. The only security we can come up with as to our daily survival. I would be content to say that this is an attempt to try to torpedo our petition campaign which is being circulated very successfully--right here in Berkeley.

INTERVIEWER: The Panthers have always taken a strong internationalist perspective. Many of the pig media have been frothing at the mouth lately about Panther exchange programs with Al Fat'h. Could you clarify the Party's position with respect to the Palestinian struggle as well as the struggle of the North Korean people and their leader, Kim Il Sung?

HILLIARD: As far as Panthers training in Palestine, that question can be taken up with our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. I know that in our last conversation three days ago he didn't mention anything to me about Panthers going to Palestine for

any "training". I would like to say that Eldridge appeared at a conference with the leader of the Al Fat'h movement, Yassar Arafat, and out of Eldridge's speech came some very important statements that give clarity to our position in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian question. Of course, the B.P.P. support the Palestinian people in their just struggle for self-determination. We take a revolutionary position in solidarity with the Arab people against Zionist expansionism. We don't have to go all the way to Palestine or Israel to condemn Zionism. You have your own Zionists right here in this country manifested in Julius J Hoffman, the Zionist that sentenced our Chairman Bobby Seale to four years in jail for merely trying to stand up and represent himself in a fascist court.

We recognize our role in this revolution and we're a part of the link in the chain of worldwide revolution and it's our duty to spell out the reactionaries from the revolutionaries. We want to make it very clear that we support all those who are actively engaged in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism, which means to us racial supremacy.

As for the question of the B.P.P. and the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea--we have recently shown through our newspaper, solidarity with the Korean people and their leader Marshal Kim Il Sung. Our thinking was channeled in that direction again by the Minister of Information of the B.P.P. after his appearance at the journalists' conference in Pyongyang, Korea. Kim Il Sung's thinking and the implementation of their system of "juche", which means self-reliance and the opposition to flunkeyism. We have accepted Kim Il Sung's analysis of Marxism-Leninism because Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but rather a guide to action and it is the most powerful weapon if it's applied very concretely and in conformity with your own conditions in your own country. So we have always used Marxism-Leninism and put our own test to it. Our definition of our program--when we say that our program is the historical experience of Black people in this country transmitted via Marxism-Leninism--explains very concretely our affinity with the thought of Kim Il Sung. Comrade Kim Il Sung has definitely expressed, with his most recent telegram, reprinted in the B.P.P. newspaper, the quintessence of revolutionary internationalism. So, we respect the Korean people not only for their verbal support to the B.P.P. but because of their relentless demand to reunify their country and to fight an unyielding struggle against U.S. imperialism.

INTERVIEWER: What about Third World groups in this country and other groups the Panthers have had working relationships with--such as Los Siete, the Young Lords, and Patriots. How do you see these relationships developing in the future?

HILLIARD: First of all--Los Siete is participating in Huey's benefit here Feb. 15 at the Berkeley Community Theater. Oscar Rios will speak that night. Also the trial for Los Siete starts Feb. 16 and we plan to work very actively to bring out as many members of the Black community and help them in any other way we possibly can because we can see the struggle in the Latin ameriKKkan communities as being an intricate part of the struggle in the Black communities.

Our relationship with the Young Lords Organization has been somewhat inconsistent; by that I mean, the last contact we had with some members of the Young Lords was when Cha Cha Jimenez was here on the West Coast. I was in New York during the time when they made an appearance one night during the occupation. We haven't had too much contact with the Patriots. They're considering sending a member of their central staff here to the West Coast to work in our Ministry of Information in order to get some training for their Ministry of Information. We're looking forward to that.

Beyond that, the struggle is progressing. We take the position now that the White community has definitely got to stand up and begin to do a little more than traditional peace movement activities. We take a long distance view of them

on the one hand, demonstrating and advocating peace in this country and not really coming out against the disturbance of the peace projected against members of the Black community. We see some contradictions there but I think that the February 21st actions planned around anti-repression can definitely straighten out a lot of contradictions between the Black and White movement.

INTERVIEWER: The relationship between the Black Panther Party and White radicals has been one of constant change. How does Kim Il Sung's preaching of self-reliance abate the Panther's attitude towards the White movement. For example, the weathermen have said that Blacks can make the revolution by themselves.

HILLIARD: One thing we definitely have to place primary emphasis on is the reliance of our own people. Of course, that's not rejecting solidarity with any people, all that is saying is that our revolution isn't hinging upon the support of another people. We couldn't reject any assistance from the White community, as a matter of fact we welcome that assistance. We need the activity of the White community in order to put together a more broader force to meet the repressive system. We definitely represent the movement. The White community is an integral part of the revolution we are trying to make, the revolution that Huey, Eldridge, and Bobby talk about and categorize as the ameriKKkan Revolution. As far as our liberation is concerned there is no other people that can speed it up. It's our own people and it is dependent upon the resistance and the cooperation of the Black people. We draw that analysis from the Vietnamese people who do not have another people fight their liberation struggle for them. It's been stated that your own liberation will have to come from within, from your own people. So I don't think we will have any arguments about that. We are very optimistic and very concerned about the way things are happening, not only in our community but the world. So that it's necessary that we tighten up our alliances with White revolutionaries

INTERVIEWER: It seems that some Black revolutionary organization such as Republic of New Africa seem to be moving in the direction of recognizing the need for White support. How do you view these developments?

HILLIARD: I think Huey made very clear in his message to R.N.A. printed in the newspaper and which will also be in a pamphlet which will be circulated by his birthday--that there was not that much ideological difference between the Republic of New Africa's position for separation and our position spelled out in our ten point program. If we got a popular opinion that Black people wanted to secede from the union and have a separate state, then we would be subjected to the will of the people, so you can see very clearly that their line for separation is just one of premature projection. It's not that much in conflict with our program. We just don't stand up and assert that this is what Black people want if this is what they want is should be recorded and documented.

As far as some of the other Black organizations -- we've learned that nationalism is an issue to organize people around. The one distinction we make in nationalism is that our nationalism doesn't mean national chauvinism. It's not the brand of nationalism projected by the Germanic race of people, or the Japanese imperialists. Our nationalism is only that which will serve as a means to organize our people around certain issues. The most outstanding issue in their country today is racism.

INTERVIEWER: The Federal Grand Jury in San Francisco has been harassing people in connection with the Black Panther Party and just recently indicted twelve Alameda City sheriffs for their role in the People's Park rebellion. How do you regard these actions?

N.Y. 21 ON TRIAL



AFENI SHAKUR - N. Y. 21

The week of February 2-5 marked the beginning of what will probably be one of the best satires on ameriKKkan justice in the history of fascism. The plot, scenes, and characters of this mock trial are described below.

Three members of the New York Twenty-one are under eighteen years old. For ten months defense lawyers have been trying to get those bloods tried as youthful offenders. All three are minors and have no prior record, and were high school students at the time of their arrest. Eddie (Jamal) Josephs is 16 years old; Lonnie Epps and Alex (Katarra) McKiever are 17 years old. All lived at home with their parents, yet Murtagh (consistent reactionary that he is) saw fit to consider only Jamal and Lonnie youthful offenders. The significance of this is that under the oppressor's law a defendant who is treated with Y.O. status cannot get anymore than four years if found guilty--no matter what the charge (s). This is only one of the contradictions being brought out in this comedy of Canines. Let us look at scene two: When the 21 were kidnapped on April 2, all were abducted from their homes, except two--Lonnie Epps surrendered at pig headquarters and Lee Berry was snatched from a hospital bed at Veterans' Administration Hosp. Lee was medically discharged from the mercenary army because he was 70% disabled (via epilepsy obtained during Vietnam "duty"). Attorneys had been trying to get Lee into a hospital since his capture on April 4. Each time either Phillips (DA) or Murtagh (judge) would say the blood was not ill. During this time, you may remember, Lee was beaten up by prison pigs while he was having a seizure. Murtagh and Phillips still refused to acknowledge that the blood's condition warranted even an investigation.

About three months ago, Lee Berry was admitted to Bellevue Hospital's prison ward; his condition has wavered from critical to fair since that time. Monday, Lee was severed from the trial because he is not physically fit (at the time of this writing he was listed in fair condition).

Scene three: Motions have been made throughout the week to have Murtagh either voluntarily disqualify himself from the case, or (2) be removed by court order because he is biased against members of the Black Panther Party. Murtagh denied those motions and at the same time he chastised the people's lawyers for such weird things as (1) being incompetent (2) being unethical (3) inciting defendants to think (4) inciting defendants to recognize his racism and partiality. He ended his monologue with an assurance that "the defendants will receive a fair and impartial trial". Here is the contradiction. One of the detectives who participated in the capture of the defendant Michael (Cetewayo) Tabor, was Detective Halloran of the DA's office squad and Murtagh stated in court that

Halloran's wife is his (Murtagh) private secretary. When asked by defense council (Bill Crain) if he had discussed the case with his wife, Halloran answered "yes I have".

Scene four: During this "fair and impartial trial" processes, Dharuba, Lumumba and Cet, were educating the people to the contradictions that exist in that racist courtroom. Murtagh got uptight because the bloods did not recognize his "authority" to govern their lives, because he is such a puppet, he couldn't deal with the 21's revolutionary zeal so he began to attack their lawyers again. The people, ever watchful of his repressive tactics, have begun to call upon the dude to be cool. Mary Weissman got up and asked the creep who judged his conduct. "Who is that woman" oinked Murtagh! "My name is Mary Weissman and I have a right to speak out against injustice." Well, Murtagh didn't feel like he wanted to hear her anymore and ordered her removed from the court. Dharuba relayed the people's will to Murtagh, saying, "if she leaves, if you put the people out, then we're leaving too, punk!" And, of course, they began to leave. Simultaneously, the pigs moved on Mary Weissman and Lonnie Epps (who was sitting next to Mary) and the New York 21. In the next fifteen minutes, the following casualties were reported: Lonnie Epps - rearrested, two charges of felonious assault and resisting arrest. The blood's face showed the contradiction! It was swollen twice its size and both eyes were black. The pig he is accused of attacking, was in Beekman Downtown Hospital, but he had come in from sick call to testify in this case. He came into that courtroom with one lung. His condition was listed as good!

Robert Moore (Dharuba) has a swollen eye with lacerations, lacerations on both legs and the neck. Def. Attorney Gerry Lefcourt observed Dharuba lying on the floor with a pig kneeling over him--black jack in hand. Dharuba demanded that the oink be arrested for felonious assault with intent to kill. He was ignored by Murtagh.

Lumumba Shakur: Knocked over the head when he tried to aid Dharuba. One mercenary had a small opening on his fist which came from hitting Lumumba in his mouth. Lumumba was given a charge of assault. He also called for the arrest of the criminal. Murtagh continued his mechanical frown and commended the pigs for such an excellent job at "maintaining order in a court of law". In this play of fantasy, the bad guys are good and the good guys bad. It is a very lengthy play, though well worth watching (for its educational content alone) Act two will be reviewed in the next edition of the only newspaper in Babylon that deals with the complete reality of ameriKKKa.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Afeni Shakur N. Y. 21)

ANOTHER FORM OF DEMAGOGIC POLITICS

Outlandish trickery employed by the court system to dupe the people into thinking that they--the fascist, racist judges are doing us a "favor" by granting so-called bail reductions is just another form of demagogic politics.

In total, the bail for the remaining 14 brothers and sisters of the LA 18 who are currently incarcerated--the total comes close to \$250,000 when you add the 10% bondsmen's fee and the 25% penalty assessments per person.

Geronimo, our Deputy Minister of Defense, originally had his ransom set at \$162,500. It is now set at \$50,000. I ask you, what's the difference? This is a brother off the streets of racist Babylon who is being held for this ransom simply because he is the deputy Minister of Defense of Southern California and was caught while asleep. This is the price he has to pay.

Geronimo's wife originally had her bail set at \$50,000. Now it is \$5,000. For what? She happens to be his wife; (could be) the only answer. She was also found sleeping and happens to be a Panther. Those are the charges against her.



GERONIMO

The remaining brothers and sisters have their bails set at \$5,000 for one and \$10,000 for the rest except one brother whose ridiculous bail (ransom) is set at \$30,000 because of his age. He is 41 years of age. These insane bails are set on these brothers and sisters because they refused to allow themselves to be murdered in their beds and defended their homes and their lives by any means necessary. This is one of the first laws of nature.

The only thing that any of us plead guilty to is being "Black" in fascist, racist Babylon. We will not accept tokenism in any form and we recognize these ridiculous bails for what they truly are. Black people in Babylon own no property and have no money--therefore, be it \$10,000 or \$100,000, I ask you--what's the difference?

Sharon (LA 18)

TO THE RACIST TIMES PUBLISHERS, EXECUTIVES AND EDITORS

I, as a mother of one of the Black Panthers (political prisoners of the N.Y. 21) would like you to know that Panthers have not stolen anything from anyone or killed anyone. Any murders they're charged with were done by your law-abiding, corrupt, graft-taking police force. The Black Panthers are not "romanticized darlings", as you've stated in your editorial, but young Black men and women, who for the most part were raised in ghetto neighborhoods and know the plight and oppression you racists are putting us through. My only regret is that I and those of my time, who were brought up in this "democratic society", didn't put a stop to these fascist lies and ideas. You're the only ones who've killed in order to obtain what you wanted all through history. I was raised and raised my son, to love everyone, but you're the ones causing the Black man to hate. You taught us hate and gave us reason to hate.

Due to the fact that the Black Panthers were invited to the Bern-

steins' home to give the liberal Whites a chance to hear their views and philosophy, you put to print (in your fascist paper) a nauseating piece of trash. I know it hurts you, but these young men (God bless them) believe in the truth of what they are doing; you can kill them, but you can't kill their ideas. I have young children growing up, and believe me, I will teach the Black Panther philosophy to them until they're grown. This I promise you, and many Black parents will do the same. This racist, fascist society your kind is running will be no more.

And always remember that Martin Luther King was a Black man, so this garbage about mocking the memory of him is ignorant. The Panthers came with good intentions, and you were the ones to write cruel and worthless things about them. You can stick with your Mafia, Minute Men, Ku Klux Klan and Birch Society; we will stick with our Black Panthers. And they are BEAUTIFUL.

Mother of Richard Moore
(Political Prisoner, N.Y. 21)

FACT SHEET ON N.Y. 21 TRIAL

"Twenty-one members of the Black Panther Party were indicted on charges of plotting to kill policemen and to dynamite city department stores, a police station and a commuter railroad right of way." The New York Times, April 3, 1969

Most of what the world believes and almost all that the courts think about those 21 people is what the District Attorney of New York County says about them.

What else ought we to know? First:

Thirteen of them have been held since their arrest on bails, which in most cases of \$100,000, (since all are paupers) could as well be no bail at all. The eldest of them is 33. Ten are younger than 26. Two are women, 22 and 20. If the charges against them are sustained, to know the age of each is to be able to estimate the number of years he will have to spend in prison.

Second:

They will come to trial after 10 months of isolation, unable to speak for themselves and, for a long time, inhibited from free communication with the lawyers who must otherwise speak for them. They are sealed away and then required to defend themselves against an enemy with every weapon at his disposal. Every handicap these indigent defendants carry into court is increased by the crushing burden that their case is notorious and their bearing defiant.

Third:
The description put upon them by District Attorney Hogan in a

press conference announcing their indictment is the description accepted by the newspapers and assumed by their judges. They are still to be tried for a violation of the law; yet they have effectively been convicted and are serving a sentence for the crime of reputation. Fully 25% of the Grand Jurors who were summoned to indict them conceded that they came to the panel prejudiced against these defendants by what they had heard about them. Asked if he believed that these persons had conspired to blow up a store, one prospective Grand Juror answered: "I assume it was true; otherwise they wouldn't have printed it".

The District Attorney who will try their case repeatedly described them as terrorists. And the judge who set their bails accepted this view of their characters as readily as if it were established by a jury after trial, instead of merely being charged by a prosecutor and trumpeted on television.

Their keepers in the Department of Correction treat them as the vicious and dangerous persons described by the District Attorney. Even the motions made for them by their attorneys were kept from them by the Department of Correction. To this denial of basic right, there have been added denials of so many of the most minor amenities that their defense had to resort to the federal courts to bring the least easement in their treatment under confinement.

The Black Panther Newspaper Faces Conspiracy Frame-up

San Francisco, Jan. 17 -- A federal Grand Jury probe here is threatening the Black Panther Party with possible indictments under a federal conspiracy law or under the Smith "thought-control" Act.

On Jan. 14, three Black Panthers, Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, managing editor of the Black Panther newspaper, John Seale, the paper's production manager and brother of BPP Chairman Bobby Seale, and Samuel Napier, the paper's circulation manager, were called before the Grand Jury to testify on their activities in publishing the Panther's weekly newspaper.

San Francisco attorney, Charles Garry, who has been the Panthers general counsel for the past two years, said he advised his clients to neither testify nor to produce the records sought by the government. All three Panthers took the fifth amendment and were dismissed until Feb. 11 when the grilling will continue.

The federal Grand Jury probe, which is being handled by a team of lawyers from the Justice Department's criminal division in Washington, has been conducted since at least April 1969.

At that time the government announced they were looking into possible violations of the Smith Act. This act permits imprisonment solely for the advocacy of ideas. It provides a maximum penalty of 20 years imprisonment and a \$20,000 fine.

In addition, the investigators are looking into possibilities for indicting the Panthers for "mail fraud" involving contributions to the party and its several defense funds and for interstate travel for "violent" purposes.

The Panthers and their lawyer, Garry, have vowed to fight these additional pernicious attempts to crush the Black Panther Party. The greatest possible support is needed to carry out this fight.



KIM IL SUNG

"Whatever the adversity we should protect our mimeographs and other printing equipment and materials even at the risk of life..."

COMRADE KIM IL SUNG, the leader of the 40 million Korean people.

THE YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION ON THE MOVE

On Saturday, February 7, I rapped with Rafael Viera who is the Chief Medical Cadre of the young lords organization, a predominantly Puerto Rican revolutionary organization that is trying to Seize the Time.

ROLAND: Would you run down what the Young Lords Organization is all about how you got together, where you are going, etc?

RAFAEL: The Y.L.O. (Young Lords Organization) started in Chicago in 1956 as a street gang, but they came under so much pressure and were tired of being beaten up by the White people in the area that they had to reorganize on another basis. Before that it was just the hustle and bustle of the gang days. They would go out and kill White brothers one day, then they'd go out and kill Black brothers the other day, then they'd go out and kill Asiatic brothers the next day, and then when they didn't have anybody else to kill, they'd kill each other--that's what they were about at the time. Then in 1967 Cha Cha Jimenez, who was the president of the Y.L.O. at that time, reorganized the whole organization. It became political and changed its name from the Young Lords to the Young Lords Organization. They took over a church which they still have right now. They started community programs to help people in the streets and they just related to serving the people--which was their motto at the time.

when the Y.L.O. got organized in N.Y. We then had to think of something to let the people know that the Y.L.O. was there, not only there, but there to serve the people of East (Spanish) Harlem. And so the thing that we thought of, and this where our creativity came in, was the GARBAGE OFFENSIVE. We were out in the streets for three Sundays sweeping the streets. We would take the garbage and put it into garbage cans, cover up the lids and wait for the garbage men to come, but the garbage men never came. The people saw this and they said, 'what's happening.' On the third Sunday the people got out into the streets and we put the garbage in the avenues. We piled it up and overturned cars that were abandoned on the streets as well as baby cribs and everything else we could find, and we blocked-off the traffic. You know how it is in 90 degree weather when all those businessmen want to go home, they were mighty upset. We did this two Sundays in a row and on the third Sunday they were going to lay for us. There were repercussions all along, like the pigs did vamp on people and people were throwing bottles and stuff. On the third week we took care of business on a Friday. The pigs came down with guns in their hands, ready to shoot anybody and so we would put the garbage in the streets, then we'd leave and when they came we had taken off our berets and we'd be standing on the corner asking 'what's happening.' That was our first offensive.

ings in Harlem are from the 19th century and they should have been torn down a long time ago, but they're still there.

ROLAND: Is your base primarily among the East Harlem lumpenproletariat?

RAFAEL: Yes! The people who live in East Harlem are from the lumpenproletariat. But we do have a small group of Puerto Rican people who have 'made it' up the so-called 'ladder' and who are supposedly assimilated into the system, but they really aren't. Our people must remember that they are Puerto Ricans no matter what and that they should be out in the streets doing their stuff for their Puerto Rican people.

ROLAND: Is the Y.L.O. primarily a Puerto Rican organization?

RAFAEL: Yes, it's predominantly Puerto Rican, but we also have Black brothers, Asiatic brothers and some Chicanos. We refuse White people admittance into the Y.L.O. for the purpose that we are out there to serve the community, the Puerto Rican community. If White people want to serve their community then there is the Young Patriots in Yorkville or other respective organizations. Unlike us, our people are still hung up on this thing of believing that it's not the system but that it's the White man who is oppressing them. It takes time and effort to teach people it is not the White man but it's the system that oppresses them.

ROLAND: Is the Y.L.O. based primarily in N.Y.?

RAFAEL: No. Our National Headquarters is in Chicago. We have an office in N.Y., Puerto Rico, one opening up in Hayward, Calif., one opening in 'Philly' and a new one that just opened up in Newark. So we're expanding.

ROLAND: What kind of solutions does the Y.L.O. offer to the problems that confront Puerto Rican people in this country?

RAFAEL: We're getting down to the needs of the people, no matter how little they may be and no matter how big. The main problems right now are food and clothing. We've got four breakfast programs going. When a mother comes up tous and says that her children are hungry and they need shoes on their feet, we can't pull out a Red Book and say Mao says this, this, and this, cause the lady is going to close the door in our face or maybe laugh at us. So we go out and we tell them, 'you and I together, we can put food in your children's stomach and we can put shoes on your children's feet, if we join together. You alone can't do it and we alone can't do it, but both of us together can do it.'

ROLAND: Is there a group similar to yours in Puerto Rico and have any of your members recently arrived from or gone to Puerto Rico?

RAFAEL: We've got some brothers who are in Puerto Rico right now. I just got back a few months ago and I'm going back there next week. They've got a lot of small organizations going in Puerto Rico. There is a group called LIBERATION that is organizing a lot of the grass roots people--JIBAROS. These are the people that all of us stem from. Jibaro is the man who would be cutting sugar cane, picking coffee, his coffee and his sugar. Felipe Luciano, our N.Y. State Chairman, has a poem that reads:

Coming home with the smell of sweet sugar on you
You don't need no perfume and no cologne
to bathe yourself in



RAFAEL VIERA, Y.L.O.

And your woman loves you-- Jibaro.

murder charges. My trial starts March 2 in Detroit.

The biggest thing in Puerto Rico is the ARMED COMANDOS FOR LIBERATION, who, in the past year and a half, have torn up \$35 million worth of ameriKKKan enterprise. This organization is not underground, it's just people who represent the military fraction of the Puerto Rican liberation movement. They have done some beautiful things, but they have jumped one step ahead of the people. They started engaging in armed struggle before the people were educated to the need for arms. That's where organizations like LIBERATION come in, they educate the people.

ROLAND: Are any demonstrations planned in Detroit or elsewhere?

RAFAEL: What we're trying to do is organize a whole month of demonstrations for all political prisoners throughout the month of March. A lot of brothers and sisters are on trial now and their trials will be running all through March; the Panther 21, Rap Brown's trial will start in March, the Brooklyn 19 trial will start in March, Huey's appeal comes up this week which might run for a while, Los Siete de la Raza's trial starts February 16. We are going to try and organize around all these trials. The reason all these trials are in March is so they could split up the support into different factions. We want a month long demonstration to support all political prisoners.

ROLAND: Are a lot of brothers and sisters from Puerto Rico still coming to Harlem in large numbers?

RAFAEL: I would say that more are going back now. The people who came up from Puerto Rico looking for milk and honey found that the milk was sour and that there was no honey.

ROLAND: Before we close would you run down some of the things the Y.L.O. plans to do in the future?

ROLAND: Would you run down some of the specifics relating to your recent bust.

RAFAEL: I was arrested March 29, 1969, in Detroit for the alleged murder of a policeman in Detroit, 147 of us were arrested after the attack upon the church. We were later released by Judge Crockett of Detroit. A week later I was re-arrested stemming from information given by a 'concerned citizen.' This 'concerned citizen' was David Brown, Jr., from Compton, Calif, who is a 19 year old 'Mod Squad nigger'. He said that he saw me shoot the policeman, but all the evidence is completely contradictory in itself. I spent five months in jail and I'm out now on \$5,000 bail, pending second degree

RAFAEL: We plan to try and get our church back, plus we are organizing hospital workers and hopefully soon we are going to take over a hospital. That's most likely our next offensive.

One of the main reasons Rafael came to the West Coast was to raise funds to help defend their political prisoners, all contributions may be sent to:

The Young Lords Organization
1678 Madison Ave.
New York, New York 10029

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
SEIZE THE TIME

Roland Young
Community News Reporter



IN PUERTO RICO, STORE BLOWN UP BY REVOLUTIONARIES

ROLAND: Was it just the motivation of one cat that brought about the change or was it a lot of different cats?

ROLAND: What are the conditions in East Harlem and how do they compare to the conditions with the rest of Harlem?

RAFAEL: A lot of various cats had a lot of different experiences together and they finally woke up. They said, 'we're out here killing each other and we ain't even dealing with the system that's really messing us up.' So they got it together and organized around that main base, that is, they stopped killing each other. That was around the time when the Black Stone Rangers became political and other started getting it together.

RAFAEL: The conditions are the same. The rats are so big that they pay rent, the cockroaches are hump-backed because they don't have room to move around. The buildings are completely messed up. Our children are dying from all types of diseases. One of the biggest problems is lead poisoning. Inside the apartments of Harlem, they painted them with cheap lead paint until a year ago when it was outlawed. Our children tended to take the peelings off of the walls and eat them, this caused lead poisoning which would kill them or cause them permanent brain damage. We went out in the streets and started doing something about that. This was our second offensive.

We went from door to door checking the children's urine and we organized a great deal around that. I'm the Chief Medical Cadre for the Y.L.O. and we've got doctors, nurses and medical students who would go into the streets and from door to door serving the people.

The oppression is there, the people see it but they don't know what to do about it, so that's why the Y.L.O. is there. We have people in East Harlem who live fourteen to a room and who have been denied public housing. The build-

In January, 1969, the Y.L.O. started in N.Y. (New York). There was an organization in N.Y. named after Pedro Albizu Campos (he was a nationalist-socialist revolutionary who started the first armed revolutionary struggle in Puerto Rico, twenty years ago). They were a group of college students and a lot of them had been going back and forth from Chicago digging what the Y.L.O. was doing and decided to start a chapter in N.Y. At that time they went out into the streets and started rapping with 'street brothers', because that's where it's at. They got the support of a lot of dope fiends, hustlers, pimps and everything else, and these street brothers started a period of transformation, of transition. That was

17 YEAR OLD YOUTH MURDERED IN SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

It is becoming clearer each day that FASCISM is a living reality and that it is beginning to consolidate itself on a day-to-day, nitty-gritty basis.

Daily, one can read in the newspaper, listen to the radio or look at television and witness accounts of systematic murders being perpetrated against Black people in particular and Third World people in general. And today, even Whites are beginning to feel the encroachments of FASCISM.

GENOCIDE against Black people has been a systematic policy of ameriKKKan beastiality ever since Blacks were first forced upon this land in the 17th century.

We must never lose sight of the fact that things in ameriKKKa have

always been bad for Black, Third World and poor White people--always. The oppression that one can witness today is no different from the oppression, brutality and murder of Black slaves of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries; nor is it different from the treatment of Japanese refugees of the concentration camps of World War II nor the treatment of workers during their militant struggles of the 1930's. People are still being oppressed, brutalized and murdered by the gestapo henchman (uniformed pigs) of the ruling class, and the people still need a revolution (which means power put into the hands of the powerless and the

CON'T ON PAGE 7

PRESS INTERVIEW IN AMSTERDAM HOLLAND

Big Man; The Black Panthers won't be wiped out

Big Man, a big, well built Black Panther, is serious and doesn't laugh. Why should he? The war which the ameriKKkan police is fighting against the Black Panthers is escalating. Last month two Panthers were shot to death in Chicago (putting the number of murdered Panthers at twenty-eight), and a Panther headquarters in Los Angeles was transformed into a ruin during a siege by a large, heavily armed police force. These events have caused great indignation both inside and outside ameriKKKa; nevertheless, Big Man was certain that the violent suppression of the Black Panthers would go on.

"The suppression will continue. After these incidents, Hoover (from the FBI) said once again that the Black Panthers form the greatest

bullet holes in order to reinforce their demand of heavy punishment for Newton. Those are the pigs that we know."

But after the events in Chicago, the Negro police did protest against the killing of the Panthers. Are they not good policemen?

Big Man: "The pigs in Chicago are controlled by Mayor Daley. We will be able to see from the result of their protest if it was forceful enough. But they should refuse to further serve the system which fights against the Vietcong in Vietnam and against the Black masses in ameriKKKa."

Big Man (real name: Elbert Howard) is managing editor of the party weekly "Black Panther" and was invited to come to the Netherlands by recently founded Black Panther Solidarity Committee of

president of the Netherlands Solidarity Committee. The very fact that a solidarity committee has been founded shows that the Netherlands are sympathetic with the Panthers.

Why did you become a member of the Black Panther Party?

Big Man: "I was born in the South, in Tennessee, where I was quickly confronted with racism and suppression, with the torments of Black people. I became inspired by Malcolm X, and I could not agree with Dr. King's nonviolence. I could not become active in that movement in which the demonstrators didn't do anything when they were exposed to police cruelty with dogs and clubs. I like to fight back, you see. After military service, I went to California, where I saw Huey Newton and Bobby Seale and where I heard what they were preaching. They did not talk about turning the other cheek; they talked about the laws of the land, which were made to protect us. They talked about the lawful right to own a weapon for self-defense. Malcolm X said that the best thing we have on earth is our life, and we don't give that up so easily. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale let me see how the pigs who had sworn to protect us actually suppressed us. Inspired by the words and attitude of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, I became a member of the party."

What do you think of Martin Luther King and his successor Ralph Abernathy?

Big Man: "We do exactly the same thing as they do. What King did is exactly the same as we are doing. He also went to the people. He too exposed police cruelty. He and the Black Panthers talk about the same things and have the same goal. Proof of this is that Abernathy spoke during the funeral of Fred Hampton (the Black Panther from Chicago who was killed by the police). But when Abernathy comes to our community, we protect him in the same way that we try to protect everyone in our community against pigs."

Big Man: "Everyone who fights against racism, fascism, and capitalism in his own land helps us, because that is the same thing that we do. That way people will come to understand what we do. But we can also use money. There have been almost 30 Panthers killed. Most of them have left a family behind whom we are supporting. There have been 300 Panthers kidnapped. They are now in prison, and we have to support their families too. Tremendous sums of money are demanded for bail in the case of a Panther. Beyond that, we foresee in the primary needs of our folk. We have centers where free medical help is given. We have free breakfast programs for school children, so that they don't have to sit at school with an empty stomach. We need much money for all this."

Do the Panthers expect much support from the Netherlands, whose former slave transports have done much to contribute to the present misery of the ameriKKkan Negro?

Big Man: "Those were the deeds of the ancestors - not this generation. If that were not so, I could not walk freely on the streets here. But we were very kindly received by people like Peter Schumacher,

To Black America, repression is not a new phenomenon. Hundreds of years of American history have been disgraced by the systematic genocide of third world peoples. The latest blatant attacks upon the Panthers have been a continuation of such policy, and are also intended to intimidate all those now challenging the present power structure.

The coordinated raids and killings of Black Panthers ment, they seek to suppress the forces of struggle.

have been reported as isolated instances (like Songmy), when, in reality, quite the opposite is true. Over 20 members of the Panther Party have been murdered by police, dozens more forces into exile or jailed. It is imperative that members of the antiwar movement recognize that the struggles for self-determination are one, and an attack on one is an attack on all. The SMC offers its cooperation and support to the defense of the Black Panther Party in any way possible.

Later for Dirty Tricky Dick

Tricky Dick Nixon is trying to run a new type of con game on Black people here in ameriKKKa. He actually thinks we're as stupid as he wants us to be. Old Dirty Tricky Dick recently made a statement to members of the Black colony asking for a favorable response from the Black colony based on his deeds as opposed to his words. I wonder what deeds he is talking about? Old scheming Tricky Dick, with a pig-gish smile upon his face went as far as to denounce his words and to admit that he is capable of running a game on us (that's what he thinks) and admitted that he knows all the schemes, tricks and treacheries to continue to fool us and keep us in the dark, while in the same breath he attempts to use this sametrickery and treachery to run a new game on us. Later for you pig. We see and understand what you are trying to do. Tricky Dick is telling us about there being a performance gap within the ameriKKkan pig governmental society. We knew that all the time. As far as Black people are concerned there has always been a gap, BIG gap!

Tricky Dick has not nor is he now telling us that he has tried to close this gap, we know better, but what he is doing is asking us to peek under his blood stained carpet and into the cracks and crevices of his filthy administration and materialize or more than likely invent some type of achievement, (he doesn't know of any either) so that he can play off of that. He knows that we in the Black colony have been using his words to prove to the skeptics just what a lying little snake of a pig he really is. He knows that we have been using his words against him. He realizes that the Black colony's become uptight to his words and so he has said 'later for the words' now, 'dig on my deeds'. Tricky Dick is trying to use reverse psychology of us. He is trying to fool us into fooling ourselves! We must say to Tricky Dick that neither his deeds nor his words are worth

anything. We must make it known that we realize that the deeds of the administration of Pig Nixon do not nor were they designed to relate to the masses of Black people. We must not fail to recognize that the deeds of Tricky Dick have been little different than the deeds of Hitler, only Hitler was overt where Nixon is covert. We must say that there is not a thing that Tricky Dick has done that is even worth assessing. Tricky Dirty Dick is still murdering the Vietnamese peoples, he is still using punk Agnew to cause disruptions and disunity around the world as well as here in Babylon, he has still cut our welfare (rotten to the core) checks to offset the raise we receive in social security benefits. Black people are no better off than we were under old prune faced lynch and burn Johnson, we still don't have a thing, we are still a colonialized people, we are still shot dead by fascist power hungry, crazed, fanatic, puppet pigs and an even greater effort is being made to destroy the Black Panther Party. We are still not free in any sense of the word. So what is there to assess? The only assessment that we can make as Black people is that Tricky Dick is still trying to run a game on the people. We as Black people realize the only relevant action, effort or deed today can be nothing less than revolutionary, that is to say, designed to aid the revolution or to meet a revolutionary goal. We know Tricky Dick will never do this and so we say later for Tricky Dick! We say to Tricky Dirty Dick that we realize that the gap is still there and as soon as possible we are going to see that you fall in it.

LATER FOR YOU DIRTY DICK!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
SEIZE THE TIME

Leonard R. Francis
Washington, D.C.

YOUTH MURDERED

oppressed).

Another example of GENOCIDE, sanctioned by the pigs, occurred last Saturday (2/7/70) in Sacramento, Calif. A 17 year old youth was shot to death by a White man, 25 year old Frank Rhodes, who claimed that the youth, David Armstrong, and his Black male companion, 20 year old Charles Jennings, were fleeing from his home after they had, allegedly, stolen his Doberman pinscher. Rhodes claims that while attempting to apprehend Armstrong and Jennings he fired three or four shots, one or two of which were supposedly "warning shots," at them. One of the shots hit and fatally wounded Armstrong. The pig report claims that it was a shot in the "buttocks" that proved to be fatal.

Rhodes was not arrested because the pig investigation classified the murder as "justifiable homicide." Jennings, however, was arrested and booked on charges of burglary and murder. The murder charge is a result of a California law that indicts, as guilty, any party who was engaged

in a "crime" that resulted in the death of another person who was also engaged in the "crime." For instance, if the pigs vamp on a Panther office and they murder a Panther, another Panther can be charged with the murder since it was "the fault of the Panthers for engaging in a criminal act (being a Panther) and causing the pigs to have to engage in murder." This, purely and simply, is a law that is used to "justify" and "legalize" a policy of GENOCIDE, proving once again that the people have no rights which the pigs are even thinking about respecting.

We must get hip to the fact that laws sanctioned by the pigs are designed as mechanisms to insure and justify their scurvy anachronistic rule. There are more PEOPLE than there are PIGS, let's get on with the BAR-B-Q.

SEIZE THE TIME
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Roland Young
Community News Reporter



DEFEND THE PANTHERS

The Student Mobilization Committee condemns the attacks of the American government upon the Black Panther Party. We recognize that the government does not tolerate liberation struggles of any kind--be they abroad in Vietnam, or at home, in Black America. By murder, exile, and imprison-

FREE MONTAE



Also, the judge admits that Montae was less involved than the other two and worse yet, the judge admits that Montae and the so-called victim were friends. This sentence is fascist "justice".

Councilman Foglietta's recent racist attack on the Breakfast Program in South Philly didn't stop the feeding of hungry children; therefore, RIZZO, TATE and CO. resorted to KIDNAPPING Montae. You can jail the Breakfast Coordinator but you cannot jail the Breakfast Program! This crime of the power structure is part of a national conspiracy to exterminate the Black Panther Party and all other progressive forces for meaningful change. Excessive bail and unreasonably long sentences are the tactics of this overt repression.

Support Montae and all other political prisoners! The appeal of Montae's case will require large sums of money. The Defense Committee for Political Prisoners has been formed to raise funds for legal defense and to awaken the community to blatant injustices such as that perpetrated on Rolando Montae Hearn.

**FREE MONTAE!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

Send your contributions to the:
DEFENSE COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS
4710 Warrington Ave., Phila., Pa.

AmeriKKKan "justice" once again exposed its fascist nature on Thursday, January 29th, when Rolando Montae Hearn, Coordinator of the statewide Breakfast Program, established by the Philadelphia Branch of the Black Panther Party, was sentenced to six months to ten years on a false robbery charge. His real crimes were conspiracy to feed hungry children and inflicting hot nourishing breakfasts on thousands of Black, Brown, White etc. children. The railroad job took place in City Hall. Everybody in the courtroom could see the injustice in jailing Montae. This injustice is obvious as the two other men already convicted of the same supposed robbery, neither of them Panthers, were put on probation.

Panther asked to "Sell-Out"

by Aubyn Lewis

On January 21st of this year after eight long, arduous months of imprisonment under the most deprived of conditions, Frances Carter (of the New Haven 14) was told she would be released on bail because the evidence thus far presented was insufficient to detain her any longer. Supposedly it was jointly agreed upon by the prosecution, the judge, and the defense; and all that was left to finalize the agreement was some incidental paperwork. As it turned out Frances Carter was released for one day and a half, if that. For in the U.S. of A., as we will see, the price of freedom can come quite high.

In order for Frances to remain out of jail she was told to testify against her brothers and sisters who were also on trial, and as a result be granted immunity or if refusing, be judged in contempt thereby revoking her bail. Frances' decision was to reject the "bribe". Despite the fact that she would be separated even longer from her newborn child, among the many other hardships that such a decision would bring, Frances did not waiver. Frances wasn't trying to be noble or dramatize the insidious injustice being done her, for that was all too obvious. Frances simply could not permit herself to become a contributor to the corrupt manure-pile which occupies the condemned halls of American justice.

The following is Frances Carter's statement word-for-word. Read on and find out how strong a Black woman can be...

"I decline to answer the question.

I have been advised by my lawyer that if I answer this question I will have waived my right to refuse to answer other questions. Thus although this question may seem unimportant I will refuse to respond.

I do this because I feel that any answer I might give would be an infringement of my rights to privacy, to freedom of association, to freedom of speech and thought.

To the extent that my answer might in some way tend to implicate others, might be a link in a chain



FRANCES CARTER

of evidence for these charges against my sisters and brothers. I also refuse to answer on the grounds that to do so would degrade and humiliate me.

Finally I invoke my right not to give evidence against myself.

In view of the statements of others in this courtroom I want it quite clear that I in no way fear for my life or health. At least I have no such fears from sisters and brothers with whom I have always stood in the fight for human dignity.

In sum I decline to answer on the grounds of the First, Fourth, Fifth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and Sections 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 14 of the Constitution of the state of Connecticut.

Finally I want to note that I do not feel that I have had enough time to consult with my attorney about anything as momentous as this and that I am therefore being denied my rights to counsel in violation of the 5th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and Section 8, Article 1 of the Constitution of this state."

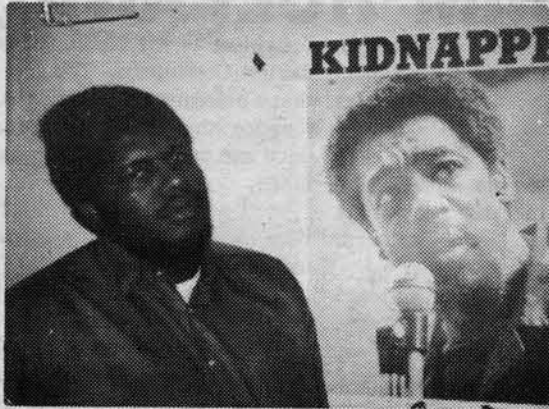
Of course if Frances Carter had been tried according to the legitimate application of Constitutional law then the entire situation would have never occurred. But due to the perverse nature of this country's legal system as it relates to Blacks, Frances Carter knew that justice could only be had for a price, and in this case the price was too high to pay.

Black Panthers Jailed. , 3 Held On

\$85,000 Bail

Go Year

Without Trial



RALPH COBB
POLITICAL PRISONER

Three Black Panther party members, Isaiah Rowley, Charles Hicks, and Victor Perez have been framed on the charge of machine gunning a police station in 1968. They have been denied their civil liberties and have been locked in the Hudson County Jail, often in solitary confinement, for over a year. There has been no trial, and the original bail was raised to an impossible \$85,000.

Rowley, the most prominent of the prisoners, is a community leader of considerable skill, highly respected by Blacks and by many Whites in the city. He is an articulate spokesman for his people. All three men have families and roots in the city, and all three have worked on community Panther programs such as the breakfast program and the liberation School.

Ralph Cobb, a fourth Black Panther, has been falsely charged with "kidnapping, assault, and extortion". Cobb says that his real "crime," as with the other Panthers, is campaigning for the complete freedom of Black ameriKKKans. He is out on bail awaiting trial.

In the early morning hours of Dec. 6, 1969, Isaiah "Duberry" Rowley was arrested. The order was given by Mayor Thomas Whelan of Jersey City and executed by his brother, George Whelan, police director for the city. The charge: allegedly machine-gunning a police precinct. Though the original report

stated that "four White men" were seen leaving the scene of the attack, Isaiah and two other Black Panthers Charles Hicks and Victor Perez, were arrested.

Following their arraignment, bail was set at \$7500. After receiving a hurried phone call, however, the judge escalated the bail to \$85,000. Due to political pressure, no bailbondsman would take the bail. The three Panthers have now been in jail, often in solitary confinement for over a year, and no trial has been held.

STORY OF A LEADER

Just who is this Isaiah Rowley, the 24-year old native of Jersey City who now faces life imprisonment? He is a man long familiar with the ways of this small city--with the poverty of its Blacks and with the corruption of its politics.

As a youngster, Isaiah proved that he was well-named when he offered leadership to black youth. Later, he spent three years in prison for robbery. Upon his release, he went to St. John's Episcopal Church for a job, and became a community organizer. His dedication to his people, coupled with his creative organizing genius, produced a fighting tenants group and the first welfare rights group in the city.

ORGANIZING THE PEOPLE

Late in 1966 he drafted a program for the rehabilitation of men released from prison. Project Anti-

Recidivism was formed, and it was funded by the N.J. Council of Churches. Isaiah himself worked in the program, and the project received high praise from the entire community.

But the brothers Whelan were looking for a means to scuttle the P.A.R., and to quench the spirit in the Black community that grew out of the project. The ax fell when Isaiah concluded that a basic change in the Black community could come about only by organizing the people for political change, and when he accordingly organized the Black Panther Party in the city and throughout the state.

Isaiah and other Party members began to accompany local police on their patrols in the Black community, in order to report any incidents of police harassment or brutality. It soon became apparent that the police wanted Isaiah off the streets, and that they were not above employing various unlawful harassment techniques to prove their point. Mayor Whelan stated early in the fall of 1968: "the Black Panther Party is through in Jersey City!" Then came the machine-gunning.

With Isaiah's arrest, Project Anti Recidivism collapsed in Jersey City. But Mayor Whelan's statement on the Panthers was premature; Isaiah Rowley is not forgotten and the Black Panther Party here continues to feed 125 children a day, and to serve the many other needs of the Black people in Jersey City.

Black Panther Party Perseveres In Jersey City

With the arrest and jailing of Isaiah Rowley, Charles Hicks and Victor Perez, Mayor Whelan thought he had seen the last of the Black Panther Party.

New leadership appeared however, determined to continue and broaden the work of the Party while the defense of the arrested leaders was undertaken. The Constitutional Law Center of New York sought an injunction against the authorities to prevent further harassment of Black Panthers.

A free hot breakfast program for children in the ghetto (patterned after the nation-wide Panther break-

fast program) was launched with success because of wide community support. A Liberation School was established to bring the rich history of the black people to members of the community. The authorities struck again.

Ralph Cobb, a Panther, was arrested and charged with the crimes of "kidnapping, assault and extortion." What Cobbs says about himself and his party reveals why he was selected as the fourth political prisoner:

"I am an officer of the N.J. Chapter of the Black Panther Party. The party has a policy and pro-

gram of struggle for complete freedom of black Americans, for the advancement of their interests and for the defense against official persecution, among other specified political goals. Our staunch fidelity to our program has led to widespread jailing of our members, and especially our leaders, on trumped-up charges in many jurisdictions. It will be part of my defense in this case that the charges against me are false and unfounded; that they are political in inspiration, and that they are part of a nation-wide campaign of persecution against the Black Panther Party."

NOTICE TO THE COMMUNITY

Melvin "Lucky" Jenkins has been expelled from the Black Panther Party for failing to comply with the principles and rules of the Party. Jenkins was working out of the San Francisco Black Panther Party office at 1336 Fillmore Street.

February 6, 1970

Mr. Melvin Jenkins
c/o Black Panther Party
1336 Fillmore
San Francisco, California

Dear Melvin:

When I last spoke to you on the

phone, I told you that the court failed to issue a bench warrant for your arrest when you did not appear on the day of trial. A check of the courts records, however, reveals that at some time other than when I was present in the courtroom, a warrant was issued.

I am confident that we can still



dispose of your case without a trial if we can return your case to the calendar before too much time elapses. Please contact me in this regard.

Very truly yours,
Jerry A. Green
Attorney At Law

THE PEOPLE VS THE LANDLORDS

Tuesday, January 27, 50 people from the South End community picketed at 81st and 85 Waltham St. against property owner, Richard Maher.

The demonstration was held to protest the termination of the restraining order which was served against Maher previously. The restraining order which terminated at 10:30 a.m. on the 27th was to allow tenants to relocate themselves.

Maher has been trying to evict the tenants unsuccessfully since October of 1968. Since that date he has made eight proposals to the tenants, none of which were accepted. He even went so far as to offer old rundown dilapidated housing in the South End which is just about ready to be demolished.

On Dec. 16, Maher and his goon squad went to 81 Waltham St. (one of his 30 houses), turned off the heat and water (also doing the same thing at 85 Waltham St.) stuffed the tenants' clothing into bags and nailed their doors. That night Maher and his goon squad of 15 attempted to evict the tenants but changed their plans when the people came on the scene. However, they succeeded in smashing the boiler at 81st which Maher first said "might have been destroyed by angry workers who wanted to get started on the rehabilitation of the house." He later replied that he had "no comment".

The tenants have been organizing other tenants to get Maher to remove all building violations (poor heating, etc.) and have taken their case to federal court.

Maher's game is--the federal government allots money for land owners to build or renovate housing into low income housing and return the housing to their previous tenants at low rent which the tenants can afford. Maher intends to buy up the housing in the South End (he owns 30 houses in that area), evict the tenants, renovate the housing luxuriously, raise the rent to \$175 - \$250 a month (which has been done) and rent to the liberals, "hippies", and elements of the bourgeoisie: this is indicative of the situation in the South End.

The South End is a poor community on the edge of the Black community which contains almost every ethnic group (Puerto Ricans, Blacks, poor Whites, Indians, and Chinese). The Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) along with its lackeys, who have the same things in common, have been buying up all the property in the South End as quick as it is humanly possible.

In 1968 the deal with the BRA began. The people of the South End went to City Hall to negotiate with Pig Mayor Kevin White. The people of the community de-

manded that they (the people) have the power to decide what type of housing is to be built and how the housing will be planned. In other words, the people demanded the power to determine the destiny of their own community. The mayor told the people that he could not give the people that power and told them that the best he could do was to give them the power of review--the fascist game of trickery and deception. White had no intention whatsoever of allowing the people to decide what type of housing was suitable for the people of the community. (But because the people understood the true nature of the pig's plan, they refused this offer.) The people then went out into the community and chose their own candidates from the community and held a people's election from June 26, 1968 - July 3 in which approximately 14,000 people turned out to vote. The qualifications for candidacy were (1) you must be 16 years of age or over and (2) be a resident of the South End.

The mayor, seeing the strength of the people and his steady loss of ground with the people, organized his own election--a pig election July 28-30 for which very few people turned out. Those elected out of the mayor's election formed a committee called S.E.P.A.C. (South End People's Action Committee) which is run by all White slumlords and two tenants. These "slumlords" own slum housing in the South End. The issues discussed by this so-called committee are: whether or not to have gas lamps or if brick sidewalks should be built. S.E.P.A.C. has the only legal voice with the BRA and the mayor.

The people of the South End have been fighting these slumlords persistently since 1965 and have met with much resistance from the mayor and his lackeys, the BRA, the courts and the private greedy landowners who don't care what happens to poor people and their struggle to survive in this decadent society.

The people, because we have no economical power or own any land or the means of production, have no means at our disposal to demand our human rights other than that of political power which delivers a consequence to our tormentors for their part in the genocide of our people. We mean by this that the oppressor must have no sleep, he must be harassed by day and night. He must return to us what is rightfully ours or face the consequences. He has no rights.

REVOLUTION IN OUR LIFETIME
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Boston Chapter



Point No. 4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

THE PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO DECENT HOUSING

For the second year in a row, the tenants of 1374 and 1378 College Ave in the Bronx are looking forward to a cold, hard winter (freezing outside and inside).

On Monday evening of this past week the boiler in 1378 went on the blink. Expecting that it would be repaired the following morning no one seemed to be terribly excited about the lack of heat or hot water. Tuesday brought another day of the same and telephone calls to the agent and building dept. of the city of New York voicing complaints. No results! Finally, a visit from the city in the form of a building inspector who promised that something would be done that same day. A couple of men did show up to look at the boiler. And the last one (who was a serviceman of the agent's fuel dealer) was told not to do anything by the agent, but to let the city repair

the boiler. Thursday, Martin Luther King's birthday, we were again without heat. Tenants called the agent and the complaint bureaus receiving run-arounds and nothing else. The agent said, "someone is on their way now" while the building dept. said, "this all takes time." On Friday, still no heat. A group of tenants paid a visit to the agency's office, where upon the agent resigned. However, the repairman did show up on this day, supposedly fixed the boiler and the tenants were once again with heat and hot water.... But not for long. About an hour after everyone had gotten comfortable, washed dishes and started to run water for a bath (after 4 days)...the sound of fire engines and alas, a fire in the boiler. No heat again! No agent! And who in the hell knows where the land lord is or even who he is. Who to call, who to see, what to do?

Eventually it was decided that the tenants would have to get the boiler repaired themselves and pay for it with the money normally spent for rent. Fortunately the super of the building was able to secure a friend of his who did the repair. At the present time we are lucky enough to have what would be considered one of the necessities of life--heat, but for how long, nobody knows, in as much as we now need a new boiler and a new landlord. If the landlords will not give decent housing to our community, then the housing and the land should be made in to co-operatives so that our community, with government aid can build and make decent housing for its people.

RIGHT ON!
BARBARA CURRY
TENANT

FOR \$79, \$89, \$99 A MONTH.....!!

"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." (Point No. 4 - Black Panther Party 10 Point Platform and Program)

The Black Panther Party was invited to take a guided tour of the Belfield Court Apartments at 5335 Belfield Ave. Our section leader, Clarence Peterson, went to check the situation out and these pictures speak loudly of what he saw. What they don't show are the roaches, rats and mice that live side by side with the tenants. Neither do they show the doors hanging half-way off their hinges, dark hallways that make it easy for any



perverted and troubled person to mug someone, nor the electrical shortages in the building.

In one sister's apartment, the water from the basement's washing machines backs up into her kitchen sink with the results shown in the photograph. Another apartment was completely burned out due to a slipshod electrical stringing together of wires some fool had the nerve to call "wiring". The former occupant of the apartment suffered a total loss to his belongings, caused by the pig landlord's ignoring the housing violation which led to the disastrous fire.

Naturally, these conditions evidence a total disregard for human life and welfare on the part of the owner of the building therefore, we smell a funky pig on the scene. To add insult to injury, this pig, Ruth Elkins, (excuse us, this pig, Ruth Elkins, has the gal

to charge rent for these sub-human conditions and it's to the tune of \$79.00 monthly for two rooms, \$89.00 monthly for three rooms and \$99.00 for four rooms of pure unadulterated squalor. The tenants rarely see this pig's face (she dare not show her snout too often), because she deals with her tenants estate agent, Walter Bell, or Jim Burns, a racist punk from Neighborhood "renewal". The foul creatures conspired to keep the tenants in a state of abject misery. In cahoots with them is the Pig Fire Department who told the tenants after the fire that the cause was unknown. (All the walls were burned out, you dig, and before the fire the apartments were scorchingly hot; yet they were unable "to determine the cause of the fire".) That there has been some sort of hanky-panky going with the Department of Licenses and Inspections is apparent from the

fact that these criminals are not in jail.

In an attempt to discourage the righteous struggle of the people of Belfield Apartments, the owner, in a completely reactionary act of intimidation, threatened the tenants with eviction for refusing to pay the monthly extortion charges. But the people's spirits are high and the fight for decent housing goes on. The people and the Black Panther Party demand decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings. THE SKY WILL BE THEIR LIMIT!

If you are having similar problems with your slumlord contact:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
1928 W Columbia Ave.
CE6-3358

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Philadelphia Branch

I remember once during the trial of Huey P. Newton, a lawyer stopped me in the hall of the Alameda County Courthouse. He was very nervous, and he said, "They are crucifying Huey in there--they are turning him into another Jesus." And I remember almost instinctively replying, "Yes, Huey is our Jesus, but we want him down from the cross."

The tendency to look upon Huey as being above and beyond others, to view Huey as being different from everybody else, I think this is something that happens; I know that it happens to members of the Black Panthers, and it happens more and more to Black people who have an understanding about Huey, and who know a little about his leadership of the Party and some of the very courageous stands that he has taken.

When you think of Huey, along with his followers, out on the streets of Oakland at night, in alleys, on dark streets, confronted by racist pig cops who are known to be very brutal, very vicious and murderous in their

approach to Black people, you cannot help but be amazed and fascinated by his seriousness, by

his willingness and readiness to lay down his life in defense of the rights of his people, and his own rights, his human rights and his Constitutional rights.

I cannot help but say that Huey P.

Newton is the baddest nigger ever to set foot inside of history. Huey has a very special meaning to Black

people, because for four hundred years Black people have been wanting to do exactly what Huey Newton did, that is, to stand up in front of the most deadly tentacle of the White racist power structure, and to defy that deadly tentacle, and to tell that tentacle

that he will not accept the aggression and the brutality, and that if he is moved against, he will retaliate in kind. Huey Newton

is a classical revolutionary figure. His imagination is constantly at work, conjuring up strategies and tactics that apply classical revolutionary principles to the situations confronting Black people here in ameriKKKa.

Much has been written about Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, but most of what has been written, it seems to me, obscures his essential character;

as it fails really to show Huey in motion. The man who knows Huey perhaps better than anyone else is Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, who along with Huey, organized the Party. Bobby has known Huey Newton for approximately eight years, dating back to their days at Merritt College in Oakland. He has

had a chance to observe Huey under varying circumstances and in various situations, and he has the kind of appreciation and understanding of Huey that come only from careful observation, that become a fixation on what makes this man, Huey Newton, tick.

Because Bobby united with Huey and, in a very real sense, placed his life in Huey's hands, he had very good reason for checking out Huey very closely, and he arrived at the conclusion that it was a proper and safe thing to do. I would say that, knowing Bobby and Huey, and knowing the relationship that exists between the two of them, Bobby had no choice, and felt compelled to

INTRODUCTION TO THE BIOGRAPHY OF HUEY P. NEWTON





PRISON, WHERE IS THY VICTORY

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY, U.S.A. October 26, 1968

When a person studies mathematics he learns that there are many mathematical laws which determine the approach he must take to solving the problems presented to him. In the study of geometry one of the first laws a person learns is that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts." This means simply that one cannot have a geometrical figure such as a circle or a square which in its totality contains more than it does when broken down into smaller parts. Therefore if all the smaller parts add up to a certain amount, the entire figure cannot add up to a larger amount. The prisoner cannot have a victory approach to the prisoner and assume if they have the whole body in a cell that they have there all that makes up the person. But a prisoner is not a geometrical figure and an approach which is successful in mathematics is wholly unsuccessful when dealing with human beings. In the case of the human we are not dealing only with the single individual, we are also dealing with the ideas and beliefs which have motivated him and which sustain him even when his body is confined. In the case of humanity the whole is much greater than its parts because the whole includes the body which is measurable and confineable, and also the ideas which cannot be measured and which cannot be confined. The ideas are not only within the mind of the prisoner where they cannot be seen nor controlled, the ideas are also within the people. The ideas which can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are. As long as the people live by the ideas of freedom and dignity there will be no prison which can hold our movement down. Ideas move from one person to another in the association of brothers and sisters who recognize that a most

evil system of capitalism has set us against each other when our real enemy is the exploiter who profits from our poverty. When we realize such an idea then we come to love and appreciate our brothers and sisters who we may have seen as enemies, and those exploiters who we may have seen as friends revealed for what they truly are to all oppressed people. The people are the idea, the respect and dignity of the people as they move toward their freedom is the sustaining force which reaches into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea which is their dignity and their beauty.

The prison operates with the idea that when it has a person's body it has his entire being--since the whole cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. They put the body in a cell and seem to get some sense of relief and security from that fact. The idea of prison victory then is that when the person in jail begins to act, think, and believe the way they want him to then they have won the battle and the person is then "rehabilitated". But this cannot be the case because those who operate the prisons have failed to examine their own beliefs thoroughly, and they fail to understand the types of people they attempt to control. Therefore even when the prison thinks it has won the victory there is no victory.

There are two types of prisoners. The largest number are those who accept the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. They wish to acquire the same goals as everybody else, money, power, greed, and conspicuous consumption. In order to do so, however, they adopt techniques and methods which the society has defined as illegitimate. When this is discovered such people

are put in jail. They may be called "illegitimate capitalists" since their aim is to acquire everything this capitalistic society defines as legitimate but in a manner which the society has defined as illegitimate. The second type of prisoner is the one who rejects the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. He argues that the people at the bottom of the society are exploited for the profit and advantage of those at the top. Thus the oppressed exist and will always be used to maintain the privileged status of the exploiters. There is no sacredness, there is no dignity in either exploiting or being exploited. Although this system may make the society function at a high level of technological efficiency, it is an illegitimate system since it rests upon the suffering of humans who are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer. Thus the second type of prisoner says that the society is corrupt and illegitimate and must be overthrown. This second type of prisoner is the political prisoner. They do not accept the legitimacy of the society and cannot participate in its corrupting exploitation, whether they are in the prison or on the block.

The prison cannot gain a victory over either type of prisoner no matter how hard it tries. The "illegitimate capitalist" recognizes that if he plays the game the prison wants him to play he will have his time reduced and be released to continue his activities. Therefore he is willing to go through the prison programs and do the things he is told. He is willing to say the things the prison authorities want to hear. The prison assumes he is "rehabilitated" and ready for the society. The prisoner has really played the prison's game so that he can be released to resume the pursuit of his capitalistic goals. There is no victory, for the prisoner from the get-go accepted the idea of

real sense, placed his life in Huey's hands, he had very good reason for checking out Huey very closely, and he arrived at the conclusion that it was a proper and safe thing to do. I would say that, knowing Bobby and Huey, and knowing the relationship that exists between the two of them, Bobby had no choice, and felt compelled to place his life in Huey's hands. You could almost say that his admiration and respect for Huey is a sort of worship, and I don't mean this in any religious sense, but in the sense of Newton as a man who is motivated by a deep and burning preoccupation and concern with the plight of Black people, who is seeking solutions to the problems of Black people, and who recognizes that it is going to take a very fundamental action on a revolutionary level to cut into the oppression and to motivate people, Black people, to take a revolutionary stance against the decadent racist system that is oppressing them.

Having myself joined the Black Panther Party, and accepted Huey P. Newton as my leader, I find myself sharing with Bobby Seale the same attitude toward Huey--the same willingness to place my life in his hands, the same confidence that Huey will do the right thing at any given moment, that his instincts are sound, and that there is nothing to do but follow Huey and back him up.

the society. He pretends to accept the idea of the prison as a part of the game he has always played.

The prison cannot gain a victory over the political prisoner because he has nothing to be rehabilitated from or to. He refuses to accept the legitimacy of the system and refuses to participate. To participate is to admit that the society is legitimate because of its exploitation of the oppressed. This is the idea which the political prisoner does not accept, this is the idea for which he has been imprisoned, and this is the reason why he cannot cooperate with the system. The political prisoner will in fact serve his time just as will the "illegitimate capitalist". Yet the idea which motivated and sustained the political prisoner rests in the people, all the prison has is a body.

The dignity and beauty of man rests in the human spirit which makes him more than simply a physical being. This spirit must never be suppressed for exploitation by others. As long as the people recognize the beauty of their human spirits and move against suppression and exploitation they will be carrying out one of the most beautiful ideas of all time. Because the human whole is much greater than the sum of its parts the ideas will always be among the people. The prison cannot be victorious because walls, bars and guards cannot conquer or hold down an idea.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

THE PATRIOT PARTY SPEAKS TO THE MOVEMENT

The Patriot Party is a revolutionary Party for poor and oppressed white people. We recognize that the struggle here in Babylon is a class struggle; the have against the have nots; the oppressed against the oppressor and the exploited against the exploiter.

For some time now, the so called white "movement" in this country, has failed to recognize or support the Patriot Party - this includes: radical groups and radical papers. The Patriot Party is not playing; we're drawing that clear line of demarcation between our enemies and our friends, so the "movement" had better make up its mind which way its going to go. The Patriot Party is moving too fast to be concerned about those holding the people back from their freedom.

The Patriot Party is dealing with the survival of our people - the poor and oppressed white people/ We're sick and tired of certain people and groups telling us "there ain't no such thing as poor and oppressed white people," that's where the Patriot Party comes in - we're that "no such thing" - we're people from all over Babylon - north, south, Appalachia - where our children die at four because of starvation and indecent housing - the poor and oppressed white people. The so called "movement" better begin to realize, that - first of all - we're human beings, we're real; second - we've always been here, we didn't just materialize; and third - we're not going away, even if you choose not to admit we exist.

The "movement" seems to be more interested in Class-Clown, Abbie Hoffman, than kids getting food in their stomachs, or medical needs. They are more interested in Abbie Hoffman - the actor, making his film debut in "Prologue." Well, we've got something for Abbie Hoffman - he'd better turn that money over to the people. That's what we've got to say to Abbie. He talks about Revolution for the fun of it. Well, this is no game. We've got 30 class brothers killed already. 32 to be exact. When we talk about Brothers being killed and murdered, we're talking about Panthers, Patriots and Lords - the oppressed people's warriors being killed. And if he thinks this is a revolution for the fun of it, he's either a fool or a pig.

Abbie Hoffman and the rest of the Conspiracy 6 now get paid to speak about their famous trial. Well, we have something to say to the rest of them too; those

defendants who stood by and watched the Chairman of the Black Panther Party be handcuffed and gagged in that courtroom. If there were Patriots at that trial with the Chairman, they would have had to gag and chain 8 of us down. We're talking about Brothers and Sisters who stand in solidarity, who go down together - not make fool movies about it. Nobody calls us Brother unless they can take that step - that's solidarity! We know damn well if there were Patriots

participation. The "movement" doesn't even recognize that we exist. They are racist toward oppressed white people. The Patriot Party comes from the people who have been down, and when you're down, the only place to go is up toward freedom, and anybody who stands in our way, and tries to stop us, is the enemy.

The Patriot Party grew out of the old Young Patriot Organization in Uptown Chicago. We split from the Young Patriot Organization be-

rather relate to some old bar-room friends than the masses of the people. So, a few of the Y.P.O. members said "we've got to move with the people. We can't relate to old friends that are actually hurting our people." We knew that a revolutionary Party could not tail behind the people, but has to lead, and show the people by example. So we left the Y.P.O. and formed the Patriot Party. Let it be clear that we did not leave the people of Uptown Chicago, only



SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE PATRIOT PARTY

at that lynching (trial), they would have had to shoot us. We would have gagged that fascist Hoffman, and all his lackeys and, while we would have been gagging them, we would have been educating the people. The only educating that came out of that trial was by Chairman Bobby. The rest of the defendants didn't educate, they made a circus out of it. They showed that the only leader was Bobby Seale because as soon as Bobby left the trial, the only ringmaster was Fascist Hoffman. The seven defendants had never been so honored in their lives than to have Bobby Seale in the same courtroom with them, and they'll never be so honored again. That's what the Patriots have to say to them.

Most of the so-called "movement" states that they recognize our Brothers and Sisters of the Black Panther Party as the Vanguard Party - however, they do not follow their ideology or practice. The Patriot Party recognizes the Black Panther Party as the Vanguard by our practice. The people learn by observation and par-

cause they were concerned with old friendships, individuals, rather than the masses of People in Uptown. They would rather be friends with a few people and indulge in drinking than listen to the community's cry for help. These old friends were holding the people's party back, and they became more important than the masses. The Young Patriot Organization was guilty of extreme liberalism - "For the sake of peace and friendship, when things have clearly gone wrong." A few programs were started by the Y.P.O. in Uptown Chicago. However, the People were not being educated to the struggle, so they had the effect of being reformist programs. People all over the country were calling for the Patriots; the People in Richmond, Va. were calling for us; the people in Carbondale, Ill. were calling for us, the people in Eugene, Oregon were calling for us; the people in Cleveland, Ohio were calling for us, and the people in New York, N.Y. were calling for us. Yet the Y.P.O. would

the organization, that is misleading and confusing the people. Uptown Chicago is the home of our people, and we will serve our people's needs.

The Patriot Party has become a National Party with over five branches already functioning, and others in training. We don't relate to "Serve the people," "Power to the people," only in words, we are putting these terms into practice. Our programs range from Free Breakfast for Children to the Free Lumber Programs (in Eugene, Oregon - for the people's stoves in the mountain areas). The Patriot Party is working in oppressed communities.

In New Haven, Conn., the Patriot Party is now serving 30-40 children breakfast per day, and they're moving on a medical clinic already. Its heightening the contradictions and making the people aware of the system's faults. They're practicing Socialism. We recognize that this is the last thing the pigs want to see, and we know that we're educating the white com-

munity around the trial of our brother, Chairman Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party. The pigs are uptight about that too, the white community coming out in support of Bobby Seale. Then they couldn't use racism to separate the people. When we say white people coming to support the trial, we don't mean the usual crowd of hippies with helmets, they're always there. We're talking about the community people - people nobody's ever seen before being moved and beginning to scream til they release Bobby Seale, because they understand by class oppression how Bobby's being framed, the same way they see Tom Dostou, our Field Marshal, as their white brother being framed. They see Bobby Seale being framed as their black brother. So we know the pigs in New Haven are uptight, so we're going to make them more uptight.

As Fred Hampton said, "come down from that mountain top into the valley with the people." What we're saying is that "movement" people better stop fooling around, because we ain't fooling around. If they're serious about revolution, if they're serious about change, well then come on down. You dig? The Chairman of the Patriot Party calls what they're doing petty bourgeois arrogance - all along, they've had all the education, they had all the schooling and put all that smoke in their brains. They made their pea brain grow into a watermelon you dig? And now that watermelon is confused because the people who never had the education, those who kept their pea brain, are now teaching them revolution. They can't dig that. They can't dig their own white niggers teaching them about Class Struggle.

So, Brothers and Sisters, we must get together. We have Chairman Bobby Seale facing a murder charge. Do people realize that? That he's on trial for his life in New Haven, Conn.? But, he ain't going to go, we'll tell you right now - you can quote the Patriot Party on that.

If Chairman Bobby is not set free - that's it! That's it as far as the Patriot Party is concerned. We say - ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE OR ELSE. Bobby Seale is going to be set free, or else. And that goes for any of our leadership- Panther Party or Patriot Party. We're not taking it any more, they're not ripping off our leadership anymore. If any more of our leadership gets ripped off, there are going to be some political consequences, or physical alienation of the Problem.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE - OR ELSE

PATRIOT PARTY
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1742 Second Ave.
New York

WAGE GARNISHMENTS RULED UNCONSTITUTIONAL Statewide Effects

The California Supreme Court ruled Friday that all persons whose wages have been attached by creditors are entitled to their money back until their cases are tried in a court of law.

In a suit brought by the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, the high court ruled that attachment of wages without first giving the debtor an opportunity for a hearing is unconstitutional. The court determined that all money being held under attachment must be refunded to the debtors until their cases are decided. The plaintiff was Robert McCallop, who had \$96 attached from his earnings at Blue Shield of California.

Before the court ruling, a creditor could have the local sheriff attach a debtor's wages before going to court. If the court eventually said it was a valid debt, the sheriff would turn the attached

funds over to the creditor.

Last June the United States Supreme Court, in a Wisconsin case, ruled that this procedure was unconstitutional because it failed to give the debtor a chance to be heard in court before losing the use of his wages. The present case followed this high court ruling.

San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation Attorney Michael Zola stated, "No longer will creditors be permitted to coerce payment of disputed claims by the threat of wage attachment before judgment. Now a defendant can be heard in court without fear of losing his job because his employer does not like to process garnishments."

For further information Contact Micheal Zola, Esq. (626-3811)

SPIRO "lap dog" AGNEW VISITS BALTIMORE, MD.

On January 30, 1970 'Lap Dog' Agnew visited Baltimore, Maryland to talk about nothing. This is nothing unusual for Agnew to do. This fascist fool will talk about everything, but the real problem facing the poor toilers here in Babylon. While the masses of my people are suffering, hungry and constantly living in a state of misery, this Lap Dog Agnew is sitting down at a table with a \$100 plate dinner in front of him. This proves beyond a doubt that this Lap Dog does not have any respect whatsoever for the masses of oppressed people here in amerikkka.

Agnew is a cold-blooded racist. He endorsed the brutal killing of Orlando Jones that took place here in Baltimore in the early morning of January 16, 1970. He endorses the mass genocide that is

being committed against the courageous Peoples Republic of Vietnam; he endorses the overflow of narcotics that is being shipped into our community, and he also endorses the extermination of the Black Panther Party, simply because the Black Panther Party is not afraid to expose this fascist nation for just what it really is-- a nation decaying, crumbling away, like soda-cracker when one squeezes it in the palm of his hand. Babylon is falling fast- the capitalist, imperialists, parasites' "values" are no longer being worshipped by Third World toilers. We see only the destruction of his values, because his values represent only oppression in the highest form. Agnew should be placed in the hands of the toilers in order to cure him. This Lap Dog is sick, he's got to be

sick in the head or a fool. The brazenness of Agnew to come to Baltimore where there are thousands of oppressed people hungry with no food and be on T V eating a \$100-a plate dinner, smiling. How long must this be allowed to continue? Just how long is this system going to be allowed to continue? ... a system that sucks our blood, a system that eats away at our very life, a system of death.

Agnew is a murderer, brutalizer, a terrorist, and, above all, a practitioner of mass genocide, a liquidator of human life, not only here in Babylon but throughout the whole world. The cry for "revolution" is being heard all over the world, because op-

CON'T ON PAGE 17



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

An Ethiopian Blow To Eritrean Sovereignty The Eritreans Declare Revolution

On the 14th of November 1962 the Ethiopian government announced the final incorporation of Eritrea into the Ethiopian Empire using for a pretext a resolution which it claimed had been passed by the Eritrean Legislative Assembly. This Assembly had never represented the Eritrean people since it had been formed under the provisions of the unconstitutional British Declaration No. 121 and Emergency Law No. 1, 1955.

Celebrating the occasion, the Emperor of Ethiopia declared: From now on there shall be only one nation, Ethiopia. The federation, imposed by circumstances, is gone to no return. By annexing Eritrea to Ethiopia, the Emperor did not only defy the United Nations Federal Resolution but also violated every promise and undertaking he had made to safeguard the federation.

The people of Eritrea strongly protest against the Ethiopian government's illegal measures which run against the wishes of the population. They urge the General Assembly of the United Nations to act without delay in accordance with the statements of the U.N. Commissioner to the effect that, "If any of the provisions foreseen by the Resolution cannot be fulfilled, it will be for the General Assembly to consider the resultant situation". They also urge prompt intervention on the basis of the views of the Panel of U.N. Legal Consultants that "If the Federal Act were violated, the General Assembly could be seized of the matter".

The people of Eritrea demand that the United Nations Organization grant them their legitimate right of self-determination through a U.N. supervised free plebiscite. They have long been denied the exercise of this legitimate right.

The resort to violence by the peace-loving people of Eritrea came only after the failure of peac-

eful means to safeguard their freedom. The armed revolution which broke out early in September 1961 under the leadership of the Eritrean Liberation Front was the expression of the indignation of a people whose rights had been so horribly and flagrantly violated. In the six years that have passed since the Eritrean struggle has developed into a wide spread popular resistance movement that has reached every corner of the land, from hit and run skirmishes, the fight has become a widescale liberation war embracing the entire territory.

Reports about the people's struggle and the Ethiopian atrocities and massacres have found their way outside Eritrea despite the iron curtain imposed round the country by the Ethiopian occupation authorities. The Chief Editor of the Swedish Magazine, Kvallsposten, Mr. Lars Braw, described the situation in Eritrea as a "bloody reality." He had seen 22 gallows in the public square of the city of Keren alone. An Italian journalist, Mr. Franco Pratico, writing in the Italian daily, Paese Sera, spoke of the massacres perpetrated by the Ethiopians against the Eritrean people:

"Our trip had practically ended the previous day amongst the ruins of recently burnt Eritrean villages. Here and there fires continued to rage. Unfortunately the sight has become all but familiar; the supports of burnt down houses, huge carbonized circles -- the hot remains of what once served as fences -- burnt furniture in a sea of ashes, and a twisted sewing machine. The man who had served this land is now a fugitive in his very land. The plain itself, once of many a colourful hue, stands now naked and desolate extending to a depressing horizon. In the village of Ad Sharbot, the Ethiopians, having set fire to the village, opened fire on cattle and men alike. Those of the inhabitants who had managed

to flee their homes could see from a neighbouring hilltop the flame eating into their houses and possessions, and hear the painful cries of those of their relations besieged by the raging fires. Thousands and thousands of old men, children and women crossed the most difficult and dangerous of terrains in order to find refuge in the Sudan from Ethiopia's vindictive reprisal raids. How I wish the world would consider how costly this forceful eviction has

been to these poor people. And assuming that they find refuge, one can imagine what kind of life awaits them deprived of land, livestock, work and above all, of the fathers, brothers and husbands who once supported them but now lay under the ashes of what once served as shelter and home."



The flight of the refugees was also reported by the British Broadcasting Corporation which, on the morning of March the 8th, 1967, had this to announce: "The Sudanese Minister of In-

terior has announced that 20,000 Eritrean refugees have crossed into the eastern Sudanese province of Kassala where they have been offered all assistance possible. Their flight, the Minister declared, was the result of fierce fighting in areas close to the Sudanese borders between the Ethiopian army and Eritrean Liberation forces."

The plight of the Eritrean people under Ethiopian domination was best expressed by Sheikh Karrar Saleh, a leading Eritrean refugee,

possessions and livestock. They have come to witness their women raped, and their sons murdered. They have on occasions been denied permission even to bury their dead. Ethiopia today uses aircraft and artillery in its genocide campaign against the Eritreans whose villages and farms are often burnt to the ground. Looting is wide-spread and stories of jewelry pulled off women's ears and noses are all too familiar. Many an Eritrean woman has gone hysterical on witnessing the murders of her child before her very eyes.

THE WASHINGTON POST, in its issue of April 30th, had this to report:

"The Eritreans have undergone Italian domination, the war, and British rule, but never have they suffered the hardships they endure under Ethiopian rule today. They are deprived not only of security and work opportunities but also of their very means of living. Things moved to worse when campaigns against individuals turned into collective persecution which affected the Eritreans in their

CON'T ON PAGE 17

REVOLUTION ERUPTS IN INDIA

(Reprinted from SPARK, January, 1970, VOL. I)

Spikakulam, (Free India)- That heroic bastion of revolution in the early forties, has once again become the center of a widening ripple of peoples revolution in India.

More than 100 small guerrilla detachments are now operating in the Srikakulam mountains in Andhra Pradesh. Peoples court, comprised of landless peasants, have executed 25 landlords, and distributed lands of 23.

Likewise, an armed peasants struggle extends along a "front" of 100 miles in a jungle area of Midnapore district in South-west Bengal.

Here also guerrillas dealt revo-

lutionary justice before peoples court and executed 12 big landlords and big businessmen in the region.

Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Mysore, Madras, Kerala--a similar revolutionary fervor has gripped the peoples.

"The presence of 3500 armed special police force (in Srikakulam) has achieved nothing," cries the monopolist mouthpiece, the Statesman of Calcutta.

"We must act now..." cries a frightened Indira Gandhi, the monopolists' spokeswoman.

Peasants know: it's the bullet that matters now!

END POLICE KILLINGS OF BLACK PANTHER LEADERS

The Communist Party of Canada in company with all democratic Canadians is deeply shocked and angered by the brutal campaign of physical extermination against the leaders and members of the Black Panther Party unleashed by the Administration of President Nixon.

The murderous violence being perpetrated against this Black militant organization which fights for the rights of the Black people in the United States is of the same genocidal pattern as the Mai Lai massacres carried through by U.S. armed forces in Vietnam.

The December 4, 1969 murders in Chicago of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark brought the total police killings of leaders and members of the Black Panther organization since January of 1968 to 28. It is reported that in the past six months alone 40 leaders and 125 members of the Black Panther Party have been arrested. Many

have been charged, simply on the word of police informers, with major crimes including murder. Bobby Seale, national chairman, has been sentenced to four years in prison on the relatively minor charge of contempt of court.

This outrageous wave of murders and arrests have been set in motion by the same reactionary, racist, exploiting monopoly interests whose policies are responsible for the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people, that lurk behind the political murders of President Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Medger Evers, Robert Kennedy and United Mine Workers' leader Joseph Yablonski, his wife and daughter.

The Communist Party condemns these illegal police killings, brutal persecution and wholesale arrests of Black Panther leaders and members as a most outrageous expression of genocidal policies spawned

by big monied interests in the United States against the Black people of that country.

We Canadian Communists wish to express our solidarity with the just struggles of the Black people of the United States who, more than a century after the liberation from chattel slavery, are forced to struggle militantly in that land of boasted affluence against inhuman conditions arising out of widespread unemployment, slum housing, poverty, hunger and sickness.

We urge all democratic Canadians, political parties, trade unions, farm organizations, all popular organizations of the people and all public spirited personalities to speak out now against these police crimes against Black Americans by the U.S. Justice Department, FBI and the police of

CON'T ON PAGE 17



STATEMENT BY MINISTER *Mme*
 NGUYEN THI BINH, CHIEF OF
 THE DELEGATION OF THE
 PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY
 GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
 OF SOUTH VIET NAM

AT THE 46th PLENARY SESSION
 OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON
 VIETNAM

Please acknowledge receipt of this material to the following address: Mrs. Pham Thanh Van 49 Avenue Cambacere, 91 Verriere le Buisson FRANCE

In the face of the mounting anger of public opinion which denounces the mass murder of civilians in Son My village as well as the crimes perpetrated by the U.S. throughout South Viet Nam, the Nixon administration seeks every means to deny and evade its responsibility. At his press conference on December 8, Mr. Nixon called the Son My massacre an "isolated incident" "a cruelty of a few individuals". He eulogized the ameriKKK G.I.s' "overwhelming record as one of generosity and decency to the South Vietnamese civilians"! At this conference, the U.S. delegate for his part said that the Son My case was but "a violation of the U.S. military policy".

All these allegations are false from end to end and have been refuted by actual facts in South Viet Nam. At the previous sessions, our Delegation has shown that over the last years the ameriKKK, satellite and puppet troops have committed in South Viet Nam not a few but thousands of mass slaughters like the one in Son My. We have also pointed out that the Son My atrocity was not an "isolated incident," but the materialization of the U.S. aggressive policy.

Everybody is aware that over these 15 years, the U.S. has carried out the most brutal policy of colonialist aggression. It has been using huge military forces together with a more and more fascist puppet administration to oppose a whole nation that only wants to live in independence and freedom.

Such a policy implies that the U.S. aggressors regard all Vietnamese who do not surrender as their enemy, as the object of their repression, persecution and killing.

The population of South Vietnam amounts to 14 million people and the U.S. has had to send against it nearly one million and 1/2 ameriKKK satellite and puppet troops! In certain places such as in some villages surrounding Da Nang, the effectiveness of the aggressor troops even out number the local inhabitants.

In an attempt to subdue the South Viet Nam people, the U.S. has been implementing the most savage policy of extermination. It is a policy of "burning all, destroying all, killing all." It has resorted to all kinds of strategies and tactics, each of them aiming at devastating the country and killing people en masse. In its "special war", the U.S. has put forward its "pacification" strategy (18-month pacification) programme, then "localized was" in South Viet Nam, the U.S. implemented the "two-prongs" strategy: "search and destroy" and "pacification." Since late 1968, particularly since Pres. Nixon's inauguration, the U.S. has tried its best to realize the "hold and sweep strategy, frantically stepping up the "accelerated pacification programme", and "exerting maximum military pressure"! All those strategies, though different in names, essentially aim at "exterminating" all Vietnamese who will not surrender to the violence of the U.S. - puppets, and aim at "pacifying"

South Viet Nam through blood and fire.

As early as in April 1967, a "special adviser" of the Pentagon, John McNaughton disclosed that "from now onward the U.S. strategy is clear. To exterminate the Viet Cong, one must burn villages, defoliate forests and macadamize all this country."

That is why, the U.S. has resorted to many war means of extermination and deadly weapons to kill people en masse. Ordinary planes, supersonic jets, B-52 aircraft, all types of war ships, range cannons, toxic chemical, napalm, phosphorous, gas bombs.... have been used. All these deadly means have been utilized continually and indiscriminately by the U.S., such as B-52's carpet-bombings over densely populated areas, or the use of fighter-bombers to strafe and bomb urban centres. They cynically delimit and regard vast areas of South Viet Nam as "freebombing zones", here the ameriKKK G.I.s have been ordered, "If it moves kill it, if it doesn't, burn it!" Is this the U.S. servicemen's "generosity and decency towards the South Vietnamese civilians," as stated by Mr. Nixon?

The Nixon administration can never justify its brutal war of aggression in South Viet Nam, a war condemned by the whole of mankind. It is that very policy which led to the Son My atrocity and a series of other mass slaughters that took place and are taking place all over South Viet Nam.

The Japanese newspaper "Asahi" asserted that the Son My massacre "occurred as a logical consequence of the nature of the Viet Nam war and the strategy taken by the U.S. forces in Viet Nam. The tragedy comes from the U.S. "search and destroy" strategy...In the eyes of ameriKKK troops, all places and Vietnamese look hostile."

AmeriKKK writer Lewis Mumford wrote: "The intervention of the U.S. in Viet Nam is entirely without justification in either law, politics or morals and the progressive brutality of ameriKKK methods there has placed the U.S. government in the infamous category of aggressors and exterminators. The crimes already committed by ameriKKK forces under orders, from indiscriminate napalm bombing to crop poisoning and defoliation, equal the worst atrocities committed by Hitler!"

The above-mentioned U.S. brutal policy was applied by Mr. Johnson and is now carried on by the Nixon administration. Noteworthy is the fact that under the Nixon administration, because of the intensification of ground and aerial fire, the U.S. aggressors have committed more numerous and extremely barbarous crimes among which Ba Lang An, Thai Hiep, Kong H'Rinh are only typical cases.

Recently, on November 12, 1969 the U.S., Pak Jung Hi and puppet troops perpetrated another mass murder in Kinh Duong village, Thang Binh districts, Quang Nam

province, killing 124 villagers among whom women, children and aged people. They completely razed that village together with 8 other ones in the two districts of Thang Binh district, Quang Nam province Binh anx Duy Xuyen, killing and kidnapping thousands of civilians. Also in November 1969, the U.S. and its puppets left 175 persons (out of those civilians forcibly herded into Go Su "strategic hamlet," Nghia Dung village, Quang Ngai province) to die from starvation and cholera. On November 5, 1969 they intensively pounded the Chau Thuan concentration zone of the population (Binh Chau village, Quang Ngai province), the area where those who had survived the ba Lang An mass slaughter, were gathered, killing 45 persons and wounding many others.

It is clear that the U.S. aggressive policy is the origin of multiplied crimes in South Viet Nam. For over 10 months now, the Nixon administration obdurately carries on that policy. Consequently, the said administration is now the one fully responsible for those crimes.

In order to prolong its criminal war of aggression, the Nixon administration is striving to step up its programme of "Vietnamization" of the war. It is the policy of "making the Vietnamese fight the Vietnamese," "replacing ameriKKK blood by Vietnamese blood" so as to achieve the U.S. design of neocolonialist aggression. It is by no means "the way to search peace" as clamoured by Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Melvin Laird himself openly said that the "Vietnamization of the war" is the way leading to a military victory. He further did not rule out the possibility of a new escalation of the war in case the program of "Vietnamization of the war" failed. Mr. Laird overtly stated that this programme is proof of the U.S. keeping its "commitments" to the Thieu Ky Khiem administration and that the U.S. "will not be driven away from this country!"

Thieu Ky Khiem are utterly cruel and perfidious traitors. They have been serving one aggressor after another and worship Hitler as their master. Under the Nixon administration, the Thieu Ky Khiem administration has become fascist to a higher degree. It strives to help the U.S. perpetrate innumerable crimes against the population. In the course of the so-called "phoenix" campaign, it arrested, tortured and killed hundreds of thousands of people. It enforces an extremely harsh police regime to repress the population in urban centres and in the rural areas still under its temporary control. That administration strengthens and widens its penitentiary system and concentration camps to torture, kill, arrest and deport people, and even jail tens of thousands of women and children. In the Bien Hoa camp alone, more than 1,500 children are detained and regarded as "Viet Cong prisoners" (AFP December 12)

Along with these criminal acts, the Thieu Ky Khiem administration tries its best to press gang young men and wrest property from the population



U.S. TACTICS IN VIETNAM

so as to serve the U.S. policy of aggression.

So, it is not casual that the Thieu Ky Khiem administration, in the face of irrefutable evidence, seeks every means to deny the slaughter of the Son My villagers by the ameriKKK G.I.s. The said administration is linked to the criminal policy of the U.S. Many persons in the U.S. and Saigon political circles have laid bare the traitorous nature and complete illegality of the Thieu Ky Khiem administration. The South Viet Nam people demand the overthrow of it.

Yet, while doing his best to maintain such a corrupt puppet administration, Mr. Nixon said at his December 8 press conference that the U.S. objective in Viet Nam is to keep the Vietnamese people from having a government against their will! What an impudent deceitful allegation!

The "New York Times book Review" in its December 4, 1969 issue quoted an article of "I.F. Stone" which wrote;

"Vietnamization" means handing over the future of South Viet Nam not to its people but to a discredited military junta, one that jails or brushes aside those very elements that are ready to negotiate with the N.L.F. It is not a new policy, a thoughtful reaction to ameriKKK's military and political defeat, but an effort to retreat to earlier policies, though these have already proved a failure."

The Nixon administration endeavours to create an atmosphere of artificial optimism, exaggerate the effects of the "Vietnamization" of the war. But in fact, it is but an illusion. The policy of "Vietnamization" of the war that originates from U.S. previous repeated setbacks, can never save the U.S. from failure.

The South Viet Nam people, with their traditional indomitable spirits their boundless patriotism and profound hatred for the multiplied crimes perpetrated by the aggressors and the traitors, are more and more resolved to unite and struggle in order to wrest back their independence and freedom, defend their homeland and their lives. The more the U.S. and its valets commit crimes, the harder the blows dealt onto them, and the bigger the failure they prepare for themselves. The people of South Viet Nam and their armed forces have repeatedly recorded big victories on the battlefield, as well as on the other fronts. The U.S., puppet and satellite troops have suffered heavy losses. From October 20 to November 9 only, on the Bu Prang-Duc Lap operation theatre alone, more than 3,500 U.S. and puppet troops were put out of action, including 3 badly mauled puppet regiments. In the Mekong Delta area and urban zone, nearly 15,000 enemy troops were put out of action. The military and political situation in South Viet Nam proves that the way of "Vietnamization" of the war is the very way leading the U.S. aggressors to complete defeat.

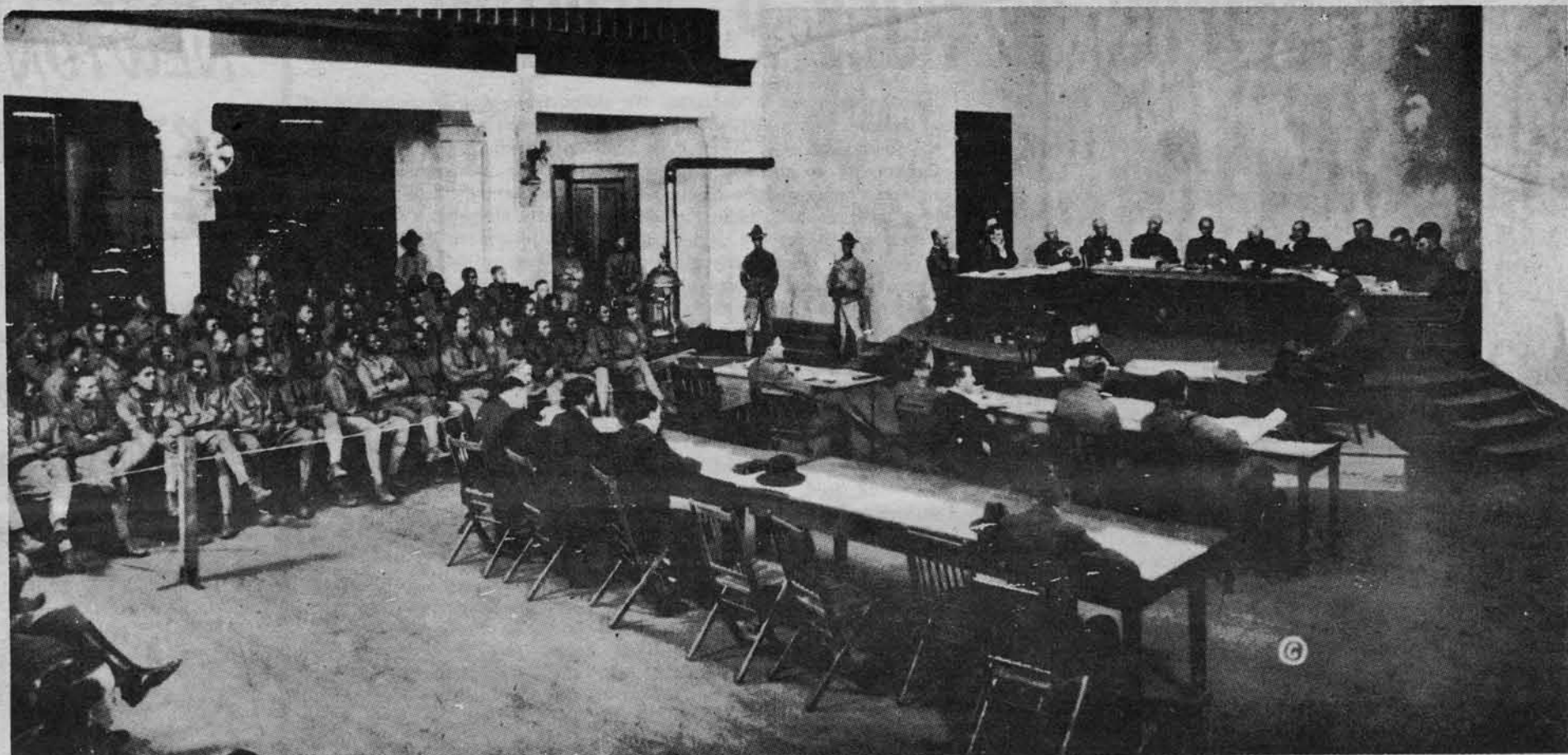
If the U.S. government really wants to get out of its quagmire in South Viet Nam, it must put an end immediately to its aggressive war and its criminal acts in South Viet Nam.

The logical, reasonable and realistic 10-point overall solution of the N.F.L. and the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. is the correct basis to settle the South Viet Nam problem. The U.S. government should respond seriously to that solution. It must withdraw rapidly and totally

CON'T ON PG. 17

APARTHEID
 AND
 AFRICAN RIGHTS

During the reading of the 1964 Bantu Laws Amendment Act, a Nationalist Party member of the House of Assembly, Mr. Greyling, stated that "there is no such thing as 'the rights of a Bantu in the White area. The only rights he has are those which he acquires by performing certain duties. Those duties which he performs give him the right of so-
 journ here. The officials in the labour bureaux, in considering whether they are going to allow a Bantu to remain here, will have to give priority to the consideration of whether that Bantu has carried out his duties as a worker, and not whether he has a supposed right which has been invented for him by members of the United Party."



The court-martial of sixty-four members of the 24th Infantry, November 1, 1917, before an all-White military tribunal on charges of mutiny and murder. The trial was held in Gift Chapel, Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

WAR CRIMES: FRANKFURT STOCKADE

By Mark Lane, ameriKKKan lawyer

The five guards held the ameriKKKan prisoner against the wall of the cell. His hands were handcuffed behind his back. His ankles were chained together. For more than twenty minutes they kicked him and beat him about the head, face and body. Then one of the guards began to stomp on him. Where did it take place? Not in Hanoi, Mr. Lodge. The Black GI, Private Paul V. Johnson, was clobbered in the Frankfurt stockade. Pvt. Jerry W. Miller, a Battery, 2nd Battalion, 3rd Artillery was one of the eye witnesses.

What happened to Paul Johnson? He was sent to the 97th General Hospital the next morning, where it was discovered that he was suffering from "permanent brain damage". Johnson was then sent back to the states for a long confinement at the Walter Reed Hospital.

Why did the army not act against the lifers who beat the defenseless GI? A major at the hospital explained, "Well, we just never had any evidence." Major, here is some evidence that the army could have uncovered had it looked around. Johnson's lawyer, Michael Young, told me the story. That day I drove out to Kirsch Goren and interviewed Jerry Miller:

LANE: What is your name?

MILLER: Jerry Wayne Miller.

LANE: What's your rank?

MILLER: E 2.

LANE: How long have you been in the army?

MILLER: Eighteen months.

LANE: Where are you from?

MILLER: Leakesville, Mississippi.

LANE: Was there a time when you were in the Frankfurt stockade?

MILLER: Right.

LANE: Would you relate what you saw take place there regarding Paul Johnson?

MILLER: I was in the box there one time and I saw them haul Johnson down to the box. They had his hands handcuffed behind his back and his feet were cuffed together also, and Sgt. Westmoreland, Sp./4 Johnson and three other guys were bringing him down and they were kicking him pretty bad

and then later they stomped him, you know, on the chest. They had been hitting him and kicking him in the head and on the body. They just kicked him and hit him everywhere. Then they threw him in the cell and Sp./4 Johnson said that he was going to break him arm. The next morning when I woke up they said that they took him to the hospital.

LANE: Did you see him later?

MILLER: I never did see him again.

LANE: How long did the beating take place in your presence?

MILLER: It seemed like about 20 or 25 minutes

LANE: Do you know why they were beating Johnson?

MILLER: No, I don't.

LANE: What was the food like in the hole in the stockade in Frankfurt?

MILLER: For breakfast, a bowl of water and some bread. For lunch, water, bread and a small amount of potatoes. Dinner was the same as lunch.

LANE: How long were you in the hole there?

MILLER: Fourteen days.

LANE: Is the food the same all the time?

MILLER: Except once, when the one-star general came around. That day we had better food. They was fooling the general about what kind of food we got.

LANE: Jerry, if this case came up in court would you be willing to testify, to state under oath that Westmoreland and the others beat and kicked Johnson while he was defenseless

MILLER: Right, I would.

There is your evidence, major. What will the army do now? One man was beaten so that he suffered permanent brain damage, the others were starved, the general was fooled, and the army doctors were less than curious.

In spite of the weeping by Nixon, Agnew, Lodge, and Laird about the treatment of captured ameriKKKan GIs and pilots in Viet Nam, can we take them seriously when the United States army brutalizes and starves its own in Germany and in the United States.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST ARMY NEWSCASTER

Attorney Leonard Boudin, domestic counsel for Army newscaster Sp/5 Robert Lawrence, received word from Saigon Army Command yesterday that all charges against Sp/5 Lawrence have been withdrawn. The telegram read: Please be advised that this command has withdrawn court martial charges against Sp/5 Lawrence. Any further action, if any, would have to be taken by his new command." Signed: United States Army Headquarters, Area Command, Saigon, RVN (USAHAC, SGN RVN).

It is possible, but unlikely, that

his new command will proceed with charges against Lawrence, who told his audience of soldiers on January 3 that the news they were receiving was censored and that he hoped they would help do something about it. The charges he was facing stemmed from an incident prior to his broadcast over Armed Forces Vietnam Network (AFVN). Shortly after his broadcast he was relieved of his duty as newscaster and reassigned as a Chaplain's assistant. On January 20 he was transferred to Kontum Province, retaining the same assign-

ment. Capt. Richard Kinder, Lawrence's military counsel, protested the transfer along with attorney Boudin and the GI CLDC and NECLC.

Both the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee consider the Army's move as a response to the widespread support for Lawrence's action and as such a victory for him, for the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, and for the two Committees, who provided counsel Boudin for Lawrence.

VICTIM OF U.S. IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION 'OVER-KILL' U.S. TACTICS IN VIETNAM



CON'T FROM PAGE 2

THE GENIUS OF HUEY P. NEWTON



**HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

Many would-be Black capitalists do not understand the relationship of the Black bourgeoisie to the military - industrial complex controlling this nation's economy. Most of the Black bourgeoisie class is made up of people who are in professions such as education, social service and the like. They are also controlled subjects of the military-industrial complex and have to follow the orders of the rulers.

There is still a close relationship and sense of identity between the Black masses and this bourgeois class because of the element of racism in this country. Racism goes hand in hand with capitalism. It is in the interests of the Black middle class to enhance their position by eliminating racism, but racism cannot be eliminated unless capitalism is eliminated. Racism is profitable for the promotion of capitalism historically and presently. For a short time when Europe met Africa there was mutual respect and mutual trade. It was not until the capitalists found it economically advantageous to sever the relationship and subject the Blacks to a slave position that he did so. And he did so because he needed a work force. It was then that he came to his belief that Blacks were inferior, did not have souls, and were therefore less than human.

The Black Panther Party feels that this government and the institutions necessary to make the government function are illegitimate because they are not relating to the people. Therefore, they have no right to exist. In the interest of the people new institutions should be established and the old ones fade and crumble. With the technology that exists in ameriKKa there is no excuse in these modern times for people to be without food or other basic necessities of life. There is no excuse for the psychological conditioning man needs to labor in the paths of day to day living, the positive reinforcement of the values and reason for existence. In ameriKKa the true basis of creativity is suppressed. The value of man, the purpose of man--returning to our basic premise -- is to have freedom and the power to create, to engage in productive creativity, this is the freedom we are talking about, the freedom which we think makes life worth living. Black people have been oppressed so long until we have forgot-



ten how to make a decision. We suffer from what psychologists call a fixation. We have done the same thing over and over again, and in a pathological way. Even if no gratification whatsoever results from the activity we go along with the old outmoded values, values which are in strict contradiction to our very existence simply because we have been programmed, indoctrinated, and totally stripped of our dignity.

But now Blacks are demanding change. Historically capitalism was a necessity before technology was developed to the point it is now. There was only a very small amount of wealth and therefore only a small amount of people could enjoy this wealth. People had to go without. But there is no excuse for oppression and exploitation today because no one has to go without. Technology has developed in such a way that every person should have an abundance of the things he needs. It is no longer necessary for him to toil his whole life

without even being able to meet his basic needs. There is no excuse for him not to be totally free. The only reason all human beings do not have food, shelter and medical care today is that the administrators are only interested in their profit. This is the nature of the military-industrial complex.

The Panther community programs are attempting to spur the community into action -- creative action -- to make decisions and regain the dignity of the people. We join the struggle of any people, all oppressed people all over the world and in this country no matter what color they are to gain these same rights. These are rights of man and not of any particular group. So the Panthers are in some ways like the psychotherapist in that we are trying to make the people whole again. The people have been made ill by those forces which have controlled them in their position of servitude. The first thing we had to do is educate the people and make them realize that there are forces controlling them -- forces that appear to be beyond their reach. The external forces have become translated into internal forces through the indoctrination of the ruling class. Thus we have internalized certain behavior patterns which we feel are instinctual or a basic part of man, but they are not.

Freud developed psychotherapy because he found man was suffering from coercion and controlled by subconscious forces. Therapy was basically a way of unveiling these forces as a first step of regaining control himself. The Panther educational program in the community tries to unveil these forces and expose them. On the sociological level we agree with Marx that outside forces control man's behavior patterns, and he will be frustrated until he can seize control of them and can act in this own best interest.

So we have a dual program because of the very complex interactions and many stimuli that oppress our community. Because of the dual nature of man we have to consider the social interactions and man's existence as a unique organism. We base our program on our humanistic values and on those things that man needs to experience his individual uniqueness as a person.

The Panthers are being harassed, persecuted and killed all over the country because we know the truth and are attempting to point it out to the people. Once the people grasp the reality of what we are saying the ruling class will not be able to last in the face of the unity of all oppressed people. They no longer willing to be slaves. The ruling class, of course, is fighting every inch of the way to remain in control of the people's work. And that's a bag.

Freud developed psychotherapy because he found man was suffering from coercion and controlled by subconscious forces. Therapy was basically a way of unveiling these forces as a first step of regaining control himself. The Panther educational program in the community tries to unveil these forces and expose them. On the sociological level we agree with Marx that outside forces control man's behavior patterns, and he will be frustrated until he can seize control of them and can act in this own best interest.

So we have a dual program because of the very complex interactions and many stimuli that oppress our community. Because of the dual nature of man we have to consider the social interactions and man's existence as a unique organism. We base our program on our humanistic values and on those things needed for man to function. We include the things that man needs to experience his individual uniqueness as a person.

The Panthers are being harassed, persecuted and killed all over the country because we know the truth and are attempting to point it out to the people. Once the people grasp the reality of what we are saying, the ruling class will not be able to last in the face of the unity of all oppressed people. They are no longer willing to be slaves. The ruling class, of course, is fighting every inch of the way to remain in control of the people's work. And that's a bag.



HUEY P. NEWTON BIRTHDAY BENEFIT

NEW YORK CITY
ROCKLAND PALACE
155 & 8TH AVENUE
12:00 P.M. FEB. 14, 1970

NEW HAVEN CONN.
LEIGH HIGH SCHOOL
8:00 P.M. - FEB. 13TH

SEATTLE
CLUB ELEGANT
PIKE & 12TH STREET
FEB. 17TH 9 A.M. UNTIL

PHIL.
CHURCH OF
THE ADVOCATE
18TH & DIAMOND
2:00 P.M. TO 8: P.M.
FEB. 15, 1970

DETROIT
SHRINE OF THE
BLACK MADONNA
7625 LINWOOD AVE.
FEB. 15 4:00 PM 8:00 PM

BERKELEY
BERKELEY
COMMUNITY THEATER
GROVE &
ALLSTON WAY
FEB. 15
7:00 PM 12:00 PM

Other Rallies to be held
in Denver, Chicago,
Indianapolis, Kansas City
and Portland, Oregon.
Times & places to
be announced.



THREE KINDS OF JUSTICE

On Wednesday, January 14th, a new indictment was handed down in the Melville, Alpert, Huey conspiracy case by the Grand Jury in New York. This indictment was to supercede (replace) the previous indictment. By way of background, it should be stated that this case involves four white people who have been accused of allegedly conspiring to and actually committing several acts of sabotage and using bombs. The alleged acts were committed or planned to be committed at various government and large corporate buildings. If the circumstances of this case seem familiar to you, it is because 21 Panthers in New York were indicted on very similar charges and all but one of those arrested have been incarcerated since April 2.

However, there are some very important differences in the disposition of the two cases; some of which should be brought forth for examination.

First let us deal with the question of bail. Even though the charge for the defendants in both cases is the same and similar arguments have been used at the bail hearings in both cases, we see that the attitude of the racist pig power structure is definitely different in dealing with the two cases.

CON'T FROM PAGE 14

Statement by Minister Mme Nguyen Thi Binh

its own troops together with those of the other foreign countries in the ameriKKKan camp, without posing any conditions whatsoever, give up the Thieu Ky Khiem administration and let the South Viet Nam people settle themselves their internal affairs without foreign interference. If the U.S. declares the total and unconditional withdrawal from South Viet Nam of its troops as well as those of the other foreign countries in the ameriKKKan camp within a 6-month period, then the parties will discuss the timetable withdrawal of the troops of the U.S. and of the other foreign countries in the ameriKKKan camp, as well as the question of ensuring safety for such troop withdrawals.

On the basis of the 10-point over-

When bail was set for the White people at \$100,000, pig judge Frankel declared that the bail was ridiculously high and "in fact was the same as no bail at all." Even the defendant Melville, who was allegedly apprehended with a bomb in his possession at the scene of the crime, was shown special consideration when his bail was set at only \$100,000. All the defendants were assured that the bail would be set within the limits that they could produce. As a result, Alpert and Huey were bailed out almost immediately, and Melville after only two months. All this only illuminates what black people have experienced for hundreds of years. The pig power structure of Babylon is totally and positively a racist power structure. Not only does it exploit and suppress Black people, as it does all other people, but it also represses us.

When 21 Black people, who are members of the Black Panther Party were arrested on April 2, 1969, on charges totally trumped up (blow up the botanical gardens and department stores filled with other Black people) with absolutely no evidence except the word of the lying pig agent, bail was set at \$100,000 dollars for all. For nearly ten months, these Panthers

have been in constant bail reduction court proceedings and only one is out of jail. Many of them have no previous records, but all of them have been outstanding organizers in their communities for years.

This shows clearly that in racist pig Babylon, there truly are three kinds of justice: One is for the rich, such as the demagogic lying politician in New Jersey, Mayor Hugh Addonizio, who, although indicted for the grave breach of the power vested in him by the people, has still not been arrested and is continuing to function as Mayor of Newark which is 90% Black. Another type of justice is for white people who are fighting against the blatant exploitation perpetrated by the capitalist blood suckers here and all over the world. And the third type for Black, Brown, Yellow and Red people in general, and particularly, their liberation fighters.

Because of this, Black people must be strongly united in our struggle against the racist pig capitalist powers of Babylon. WE WILL FREE THE PANTHER 21 AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

SEIZE THE TIME

all solution, the P.R.G. of R.S.V.N. is ready to discuss and reach together with the other parties the agreements with a view to ending the war and restoring peace in South Viet Nam.

The position of the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. in settling the South Viet Nam problem is quite correct. The attitude of our Delegation at this conference table is always serious, logical and reasonable. No slander, no distortion by the Nixon administration can blur this fact.

The South Viet Nam people neither want the U.S. to surrender nor to humiliate it. By obstinately prolonging the war, perpetrating abominable crimes against the South Viet Nam people, refusing to give up the

Thieu Ky Khiem puppets, the U.S. administration is humiliating the U.S. and causing great losses to the ameriKKKan people. It persistently nurtures the illusion of finding a solution to the South Viet Nam problem through armed forces and from a position of strength, and so hampers the progress of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. The U.S. administration has repeatedly resorted to all manoeuvres and acts so as to downgrade this conference and sabotage it. Mr. Nixon's press conference on December 8 exposes more clearly this wicked design of the U.S.

The Nixon administration must be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising from its aggressive policy and obdurate position.

CON'T FROM PAGE 4

Interview With David Hilliard

HILLIARD: The Grand Jury is a euphemism for the fascist U.S. government. It's just a sophisticated means they use to insure criminal indictments against a political organization. I'm glad to see some of these pigs being paid in their own coin, but by the same token I take a long distance view of those indictments also because I smell something phony.

I think that is just a prepara-



tion to come down more heavy on the Panthers and then justify it by saying the government is administering "equal" justice even to the pigs.

INTERVIEWER: What about developments in the White movement; the increased resistance of GI's militancy and young workers?

HILLIARD: I definitely respect GI's and anybody working with the GI's because GI's are in a very strategic location, in terms of mobilizing and putting into effect a really revolutionary force. They

already have the kind of experience necessary to do a whole lot of things and especially the kind of things we're talking about.

I also think it necessary to teach the GI's through some other means of political education other than our newspapers--to try to set up some of the organizations from the White community in the structure of the U.S. Army.

As for factory workers--the majority of the White community fit in that category. They are workers because historically they've played that role. I think there's been somewhat of a misconception when we talk about the working class and not really include Black people. Black people were brought here from Africa for the purpose of industrializing this country.

Industrialization and technology has put Black people in a back row position in terms of factory employment and any other kind of employment.

The workers, the factories, the ILWU, the UAW, all of these are trade unions that are supposed to be a legitimate voice for the working class, but in reality are another segment of the superstructure. But when we talk about the factory employees and the working class, we're talking about the really poor people, the people that make the revolution.

INTERVIEWER: What kind of message can you relay to people about Huey, Bobby, Eldridge, and Kathleen?

HILLIARD: In the last message I got from Huey he was very concerned about allegations that the Party was anti-semitic and Huey's taking time out to spell out our position dealing with the Arab Is-

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the International Socialists, I wish to express our complete solidarity with your organization as it courageously fights back against the brutal, armed repression of the U.S. ruling class and its state machine.

Your struggle to build a revolutionary movement uniting Black and White workers to overthrow ameriKKKan capitalism has been a source of great inspiration to us. We are planning a meeting in London with other socialists and Black people's organizations in solidarity with you. Please let us know of any ways in which we can be of immediate assistance. For example, we would be prepared to launch a fund-raising campaign in Britain to help pay for the defense of Panthers standing trial.

The violence and brutality of

capitalism and imperialism can only be ended by the overthrow of the system throughout the world and its replacement by international working class co-operation and planning.

We are all fighting the same enemy, struggling for the same goal. The persecution of your comrades shows the extent of the crisis facing capitalism and its frenzied attempts to stamp out its opponents. As we enter a new and revolutionary decade, tens of thousands will rally to the banner of Marxism to replace the martyrs shot down by ameriKKKan imperialism.

We send you our warmest fraternal greetings.

Yours fraternally,
Tessa Lindop

Secretary - International Socialists

CON'T FROM PAGE 13

END KILLINGS

the big cities.

We make this plea, for the struggles against reaction and repression knows no state boundaries. What happens in the United States could happen in Canada tomorrow.

Write or wire your protests to President Nixon. He can stop these police killings, persecution and arrests of Black Panther leaders and members. Let us demand that he do so. Demand that the United Na-

tions Human Rights Commission investigate and call for world action against the criminal policy of genocide pursued in the U.S.A. Demand that Prime Minister Trudeau protest on behalf of Canada expressing the anger and protest of the Canadian people to the Nixon Administration.

Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Canada.

CON'T FROM PAGE 13

Eritreans Declare Revolution

population has been herded into a series of fortified villages to facilitate military control. Each village numbers about 3000 peasants or nomads who refuse to join them are chased from their land under a sporadic scorched earth campaign."

On the 11th of June 1967, large concentrations of Ethiopian troops surrounded the villages of Ailat and Gumhot in the Red Sea area. At three in the afternoon, the Ethiopians rounded up the men of the two villages herded thirty into a house, and then set it on fire. Both villages were burnt down along with nine others. At least 90 families were made homeless.

Enough has probably been said to show what a tragedy the Eritrean people live today. The tragic situation is the result of the United Nations Federal Resolution which linked the destiny of the freedom-loving people of Eritrea to that of the Ethiopian Empire. The resolution did not reflect the wishes of

the Eritrean people who sought full independence. Neither did this resolution help "maintain peace and security in East Africa" as its preamble had hoped. On the contrary, the complete absence of security in Eritrea today makes it incumbent upon the United Nations to reconsider its resolution in the interest of the peace and security it sought to maintain through the resolution.

We once again draw the attention of the World Organization to the constantly deteriorating situation in Eritrea.

In fact, failure on the part of the United Nations to intervene promptly is bound to make a peaceful solution to the Eritrean tragedy yet more difficult. The peace-loving people of Eritrea need prompt and immediate assistance, the kind of assistance that derives from the human spirit upon which the Charter of the United Nations is founded.

CON'T FROM PAGE 12

"lap dog" AGNEW

pressed people have learned that a proletarian struggle against these war-mongers, imperialist dogs, is the only cure for this suffering and pain that is being perpetrated by mad dogs like Agnew, who have no respect for human life. Because this is true, the people have the right to dethrone him without giving it another thought. Agnew has the nerve to talk about the mass media and how they lie. Isn't it a fact, that Agnew has lied to the toiling masses ever since he entered the political

arena, pretending that he is for the toilers cause? Yet he can eat a \$100-a plate dinner while we oppressed people go hungry and without the basic needs to continue existing. We call upon the masses to rise up and struggle against this fascist regime, rise up like a mighty storm and "SEIZE THE POWER", the power that belongs to the people.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Baltimore Chapter
John L. Clark



RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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

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

THE RULES ARE:

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

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER

Political Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTON

Political Prisoner:
Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Editor
Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Managing Editor
Deputy Minister of Information
BIG MAN

Revolutionary Artist
and Lay-out
Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

Production
Manager
JOHN SEALE

Co-Editors

Distribution Manager
ANDREW AUSTIN

Circulation
SAM NAPIER

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Political Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTON

Political Prisoner:
Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Chief of Staff
DAVID HILLIARD

Field Marshall
DON COX

Minister of Education
RAY 'MASAI' HEWITT

Minister of Finance

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Minister of Justice

Prime Minister

Communications Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVER

Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

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

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM



Support
Your
Newspaper--

Subscribe
Today!

Enter my subscription for (check box):

	National Subscriptions	Foreign Subscriptions
3 MONTHS: (13 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$2.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$9.00
6 MONTHS: (26 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5.00	<input type="checkbox"/> \$12.00
ONE YEAR: (52 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$7.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$15.00

(please print)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE/ZIP #

COUNTRY

PLEASE MAIL CHECK
OR MONEY ORDER TO:

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, CA 94126

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.

"The ideas which can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people, cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are."

HUEY P. NEWTON
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

