

THE BLACK PANTHER

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BABYLON



RICHMOND AND THE PIG GOES ON

The oppressive forces which seek to continue their control and exploitation of our communities will go to any lengths to maintain their perverse power. We have seen the open murder of our brothers and sisters in cities across the nation as warriors like Bobby Hutton and countless others have had their lives snuffed out because they would champion the cause of the people. We have seen our comrades in Jackson, Mississippi and at Kent State University also cut down in the prime of life as they attempted to express their dissatisfaction with the so-called leaders of this nation. These oppressive forces are ever at hand and their work may involve the use of weapons, violence, or they may involve psychological and social weapons. We know that in the days of slavery they took the chains off our hands and feet only after they had put chains on the minds of our ancestors, so that while the physical situation appeared to be changed, slavery and oppression went on.

We must be aware, brothers and sisters, that the pig goes on in his malicious attempts to keep us under the oppressive control of his master. They are recognizing more and more that Black leaders in the civil rights organizations are adopting the ideas of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, that the Black community must defend itself against the armed aggression of the occupying forces of the oppressor. They are recognizing that Black communities cannot expect police agents to protect them unless those agents are solely under the control of and accountable to the local community. As more Blacks move to defend themselves against the pig, the pig moves to extend and maintain his control in more subtle ways. But slavery and oppression goes on--and the pig goes on.

In Richmond, the police department is moving very rapidly toward a new form of oppression and control of the Black community. They eventually intend to expand their ranks with the inclusion of Blacks who are receptive to their control. They do not intend to answer to the community, but to continue control of the community for the Richmond power structure.

To get some idea of how they can put more chains on the minds of Black people the Richmond Police Department has undertaken a major survey of the ideas and opinions of the Black community without the cooperation, support or permission of the Black community. This survey is already partially completed, and plans are underway to carry out the rest of the survey soon. Let us run it down.

Recently the Richmond Police Department distributed a questionnaire to children from grades 5-12 in all of the schools of Richmond. This questionnaire is an open insult to Black people but the children filled it out and returned it before their parents or community people were even aware of what was going down. On the first page of the questionnaire the children were told not to put their names on the form, and that they could not be identified. They were asked their race, sex, and grade, however. Even though the police fed the children to believe that they could not be identified later in the questionnaire they were asked: "If you or someone you know would be interested in joining the Richmond Police Department or the police reserves please write your name and address below." This is that attempt at deception which we must

always guard against because note this, after asking the children for their name and address they are asked the following questions: "Have you driven someone's car without permission or "Gone into someone's house without permission and taken anything or "Stolen something from a store or "Used a gun to steal something?" These questions are attempts to get young people to incriminate themselves, and thus lead to persecution and intimidation. The police have collected literally thousands of such questionnaires from school children in Richmond and nobody knows what will happen to the children or the community as a result.

There are other questions which have nothing but evil intent behind them and the community must be aware of this. Some of them are: "Richmond Police do not use excessive force (brutality) when making arrests." "The Black community in Richmond (for example), North Richmond and Parchester Village) should have its own police force." "Clearly marked patrol cars and uniformed policemen help keep the crime rate down." These are just three examples, there are many others. When this data is analyzed we will be presented with pronouncements from the Richmond Police that Black people do not believe the police are brutal, that Black people do not want their own police force and that Black people want more police in their community.

This is a deliberate attempt at psychological manipulation and control which must be resisted by the community. Richmond residents have expressed opposition to this survey and have met with the police chiefs and others. They want the survey stopped and the questionnaires destroyed. Instead, they have been told that the questionnaires will not be destroyed. Furthermore, they have been told that a similar survey will be conducted in the Black community within the next 2-3 weeks. The community has never been asked if they want to answer such a survey, yet in a few weeks interviewers will appear in the streets asking Black people these questions whether or not they want to answer them.

In Richmond the pig goes on and he must be stopped. We call upon all citizens of Richmond to refuse to answer these questions. You do not have to answer them, you cannot be arrested or prosecuted for refusing to answer them. They will only be used against you in the long run as an attempt to further enchain your minds and to keep the community under the control of administrators who profit from our hardships. The community must demand that the City Council of Richmond, which has three Black men on it, insist that the Richmond Police Department destroy all those questionnaires which have been taken from school children. They should not only ask that no children be prosecuted for giving their names, they should not only ask that the names be removed from the questionnaires, they should insist that all the questionnaires and any data taken from the questionnaires be destroyed completely. The community should settle for nothing less.

We cannot and we must not let our oppressors make such moves against us. We must resist such psychological warfare at all costs. No person should enter our communities to collect such information unless we ask that it be collected. The Richmond community has not made such request but the pig goes on--he must be stopped.



WE HAVE A WARNING TO ALL BUFFOON PIGS ACROSS AMERICA;

ONE LESS OPPRESSOR

Saturday evening May 9th at 10:30 p.m. pig patrolman, Bernard Bennett was shot and killed on 35th street and 4th Ave in Sacramento, California. His crimes were as follows: occupying the community like a foreign troop occupies foreign territory in Vietnam and misusing the rights of the people to oppress them. There were events earlier that day that led up to the death of this pig. The brothers and sisters had gathered in a park at the end of 35th Street in order to enjoy themselves and find some peace of mind within the Black colony. But it was evident that these wild hogs were determined to break this up. Three pigs decided to go into the park to run the niggers home. It was three pigs who attempted to carry this act out, a Lt. Mc Alexander and pig patrolmen Canson and Cervantes. It was well known by the people and the pigs that a permit had been issued in order for the people to gather in the park, but these swine ig-

norning this, proceeded to act as a pig will and grab the people. The people believing in self defense to the bone, defended themselves in that manner, and knocked one pig down, and slapped the two way radio out of the Lt. Pig's hand, stomped it and proceeded to deal with him. The other two pigs in a panic stricken frenzy drew their guns and pointed them at the crowd, "oinked" something about "keep back" and retreated to their pig pens to call for more pigs. With more fascists converging on the scene, they began to clear the park despite the people's legal rights to be there.

The people have now come to realize that the only way to deal with the oppressor is to deal on our own terms and this was done. Around 10:30 that evening 4 or 5 shots rang out to find their marks lodged in the brain of a pig; color him dead!!!

The pigs in Sacramento are running amuck, busting everyone in the community that they think would carry out the execution of

their oppressors. Two brothers in particular, Mark Teemer and Jack Strivers, have had their lives threatened by these buffoons in an attempt to intimidate and scare them because of their revolutionary spirits. These brothers should realize what members of the Black Panther Party realize, that we are people who have already been marked for death by the highest pig official in Babylon Richard "Outhouse" Nixon. So we laugh at threats like these, because they will never be able to kill all of us, because when one falls a thousand takes his or her place, with new battle cries of victory. We have a warning to all buffoon pigs across America: as long as you brutalize and murder black and oppressed communities there will be thousands of more dead pigs like Bernard Bennett and you will continue to face the armed wrath of the people!

COUNTER ATTACK!
Bobby Seale Community Information Center



TARZAN, The Monkey Man

During the period of chattel slavery, there were always traitors who sold out or copped out to the oppressor for individualistic ends by informing the slave master of the brothers' and sisters' aspirations and plans for freedom and liberation. And in the construction area, there were Black demagogic (lying) politicians who misled the people into thinking that they were free. Today we are faced with a multitude of traitors whose source of income is the exploitation and betrayal of the masses of our people. We have the house niggers and the demagogic politicians, and cultural nationalists. These reactionary elements are impediments on our road to liberation.

The most despicable of all traitors are the pork chops or nigger pigs, who render aid to the enemy (pig forces) by informing on his people and turning them into the police department. Even more repulsive and loathsome than these low life snakes is the nigger who tries to disrupt Black liberation organizations working for the people—one who commits horrendous acts, then lies to the pigs and says that members of that organization committed those crimes. Or else he aids and abets the pigs in attempting to murder or frame up members of that organization.

An outstanding example of a low life scurvy nigger of this category is Roosevelt "Tarzan" Fowler, an ex-boxer who hangs around the South Park area. This demagogic ape has proven through his practice that he is an enemy of the people. Not only does he chase and threaten little girls on their way to school, but he also

is a lackey for the L.A. pig department, by assisting them in their concerted efforts to either annihilate or incarcerate members of The Black Panther Party.

"Tarzan the monkey man" has been relentless in his crazed efforts to fulfill the dream of the pig department—deconstruction not only of The Black Panther Party but the rightful struggle for freedom of all Black people in Babylon. For example he collaborated with the pigs and is responsible for George "Duck" Young's incarceration. (Duck is a Black Panther and hard worker for his people). On the evening of Dec. 6th, Duck left Central headquarters to go around the corner to get his clothes cleaned. Tarzan sneaked behind him and hit him over the head with his gun, and aimed the weapon at Duck's head and fired. Fortunately it only grazed him.

Just the day before, Tarzan had sought the pigs and volunteered to make a citizens arrest on Duck. The prior evening he followed Party members Melvin "Cotton" Smith and Sharon Williams, pulled a gun on them and told them that he was going to kill Duck, Cotton, and Geronimo (Deputy Minister of Defense). He said that eventually he would kill all the Panthers in L.A. Furthermore he said that they were planning to vamp on our office within a couple of days (This statement was made on Dec 5) He obviously had been conspiring with the pig department because three days later on Dec. 8th three of our offices were vamped on, resulting in the shoot-out at Central Headquarters and the subsequent arrest on the conspiracy to commit mur-

der charge, of 18 Panthers.

Soon after this the L.A. pig department called on its niggerbuffoon, Tarzan and told him to frame another Panther. This time his man was Long John Washington. One day in early January, Tarzan provoked an argument with Long John, and pulled a gun on him, fired it when he was surrounded by a crowd of people, then later lied and said that Long John kidnapped his son. That night Tarzan was televised across town lamenting over his alleged son's kidnap. A warrant was issued out to Long John. Although all the newspaper headlines read, Panther kidnaps child, the people in the community were completely aware of Tarzan's treachery. Therefore this vicious plot failed their eyes, but Long John is still facing kidnapping charges.

These are only a few examples of what this pork chop has done to hinder and squash the revolutionary movement of the people. This culture has preyed on our people too many times to satisfy his greed. His hatred and contempt for the people has been manifested in his friendship and cooperation with the pigs in their attempt to destroy The Black Panther Party in particular, and all Black people in general in our struggle for freedom. Tarzan is a pig, an enemy of the people, and traitor in the midst of our struggle for survival and liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

TOMMYE WILLIAMS
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER

HANDY EXPLOITS THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Have you ever checked out your neighborhood liquor store on Friday or Saturday nights when you go to get a little something, or during the week when you stop in for some bread or soda? Who is the owner? Does he do anything beneficial for the people of the community? Or is exploitation of the masses his way to success?

dy grabbed his keys and pulled a gun on the brother telling him to get away from his store.

Doesn't he remind you of something else? Like your good neighborhood pig who claims to protect and serve the people. The only difference between him and the pig is that Handy exploits as well as harasses. Have you ever checked out his prices? He sells 1/2 gal.



In Compton, one example of the avaricious businessman in the community is Wendell Handy, owner of Handy's Liquor Store located at 13714 Wilmington. Before the Watts uprising, there was a store right across the street from Handy, where the majority of the people in that immediate area marketed. But as a result of a quiet cat-and-dog fight between these two capitalists, the top dog, Handy, wiped out his competition. During the uprising in order to be assured of continued patronage and little looting, he hung a sign saying 'Soul Brother' in front of the store.

This greedy unsympathetic dog doesn't possess any soul or heart for his brothers. For example, a brother named Gregory Jackson went into Handy's to buy some bread, when one of Handy's bootlickers accused the brother of stealing. Gregory emptied his pockets to show that he had nothing that belonged to the store. Handy then came out and said he saw the brother stealing. Handy, like the mad dog he is, grabbed a broom stick and put it to Gregory's neck saying "I'll put you in your place the next time you try to take something from here." Gregory just snatched the broom away and walked out.

Another incident that showed Handy's pure enjoyment of harassing the people occurred when a brother had found the keys to Handy's garage and acting out of concern for his people attempted to return the keys. When he approached Handy, this big-time buck accused the brother of stealing the keys and breaking into his garage. Han-

dy of ice milk, usually 58¢ or less, for \$1.00! One loaf of bread for 34¢, normally 27¢; soda - 9oz. for 13¢ and 16oz. for 20¢; a pound of coffee for \$1.00, etc.

Wendell Handy proves himself to be a Black avaricious businessman, one of the main oppressors of Black people, a bootlicker and rectum kisser of Mickey Mouse Ronnie Reagan. Three years ago, Handy ran for four positions on the Elementary School Board of trustees of the Compton-Willowbrook Enterprise and also for the Compton Union High School Board. It's obvious Handy wanted to be assured he would get at least one of the five positions. Recently, Handy was appointed to a state position doing what, besides obviously trying to control the destiny of the people, no one knows. At the present time, this two-faced nigger with an illegitimate store front is a candidate for Secretary of State, an alleged elected official of the people which in reality is appointed by Mickey Mouse Reagan. Looking at his background, Wendell Handy is not even qualified to be a dog catcher. So let's say, down with the Black aspiring petty yankees whose minds are controlled by this capitalist system. All nigger pigs and lying politicians like Handy are only "handy" as puppet oppressors of the big-time capitalists and imperialists (Rockefeller, J.P. Getty, Hunt) and for the entire pig power structure in general.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
DEATH TO THE PIGS

Southern Calif. Chapter, BPP

EXPLOITATION -ON- WHEELS

For those who still believe in a supreme being that will soon come to your aid in the midst of strife, oppression, brutalization, murder and imprisonment, you have a saying that God moves in mysterious ways. Well, oppressed people who live the day to day situation of surviving, could change this around and say that the pig power structure moves in mysterious but obvious ways.

The latest adventures of our oppressors are the presence of an armored Brink's car in the community to find yet another way to rob from the people of the Black community. These Brink's trucks are strategically located in North, East, and West Oakland which are heavily populated with Black people. The lie that has been told to the people by the welfare department is that this would make it easier for the people to cash their checks and to obtain food stamps. But the fact of the matter is that the Alameda County Welfare Department is working hand in hand with the Nixons and the Rockefellers to keep a close watch on the angry Black masses. Not only do these greedy niggers

take your check and give you less than you need to survive on in food stamps, but they keep an armed pig on hand just in case someone wants to take back what rightfully belongs to them. They also have a method of keeping track of the deprived mothers and their survival checks by actually taking their fingerprints! To show you their good intentions and concern for the community they always keep their motor running in case they have to make a quick getaway. These pigs are so bold that they have even tried to short-change some of the people in the community by not giving them the full amount specified on the check. These are enough facts to make anyone see that this is only another trick, another plot by our enemies to throw another chain on us to push us further and further into oppression. But the people see clearly as if a blind man who suddenly regained his eyesight that we have been used and are still being used in every way possible so long as we allow ourselves to be put into a position of puppets and pawns, to be mer-

chandise used by corrupt and greedy people who are better known as pigs of the lowest nature. When you have a splinter in your finger you remove it; when you have a bad tooth you pull it out; and when you have food that has become rotten or poisonous, you throw it away so it won't endanger your health and life.

In keeping in the same tradition, we must rid ourselves of the oppressive conditions that we live under, and their tools used to perpetuate those conditions (in this case a mini styled Fort Knox on a local scale) to drain the Black community of everything that they can get their big fat piglet paws on.

The people must re-evaluate the presence of these money grabbing intruders and assess for themselves whether or not they are going to treat these brainless wonders in the same capacity they would a thorn; remove it before it can do any real harm.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Bobby Seale Community Information Center

Black Representatives Without Political Power

1960 was the year when Black Power became the cry of Black people; all across the country, Black people were demanding equal representation in the politics of this country.

In one segment of the black colony, Gary, Indiana, Black people who comprise 65% of the population, united to vote Black representatives into the top administrative offices of the city.

Richard Hatcher became the first Black man to hold the office of mayor in Gary. And along with him, other Black men moved into the offices of city controller, chief of police, etc.

But despite all this, the conditions of Black people in Gary has remained the same. Why? Because a Black person in office does not represent political power.

The Black community serves as a labor camp for U.S. Steel which

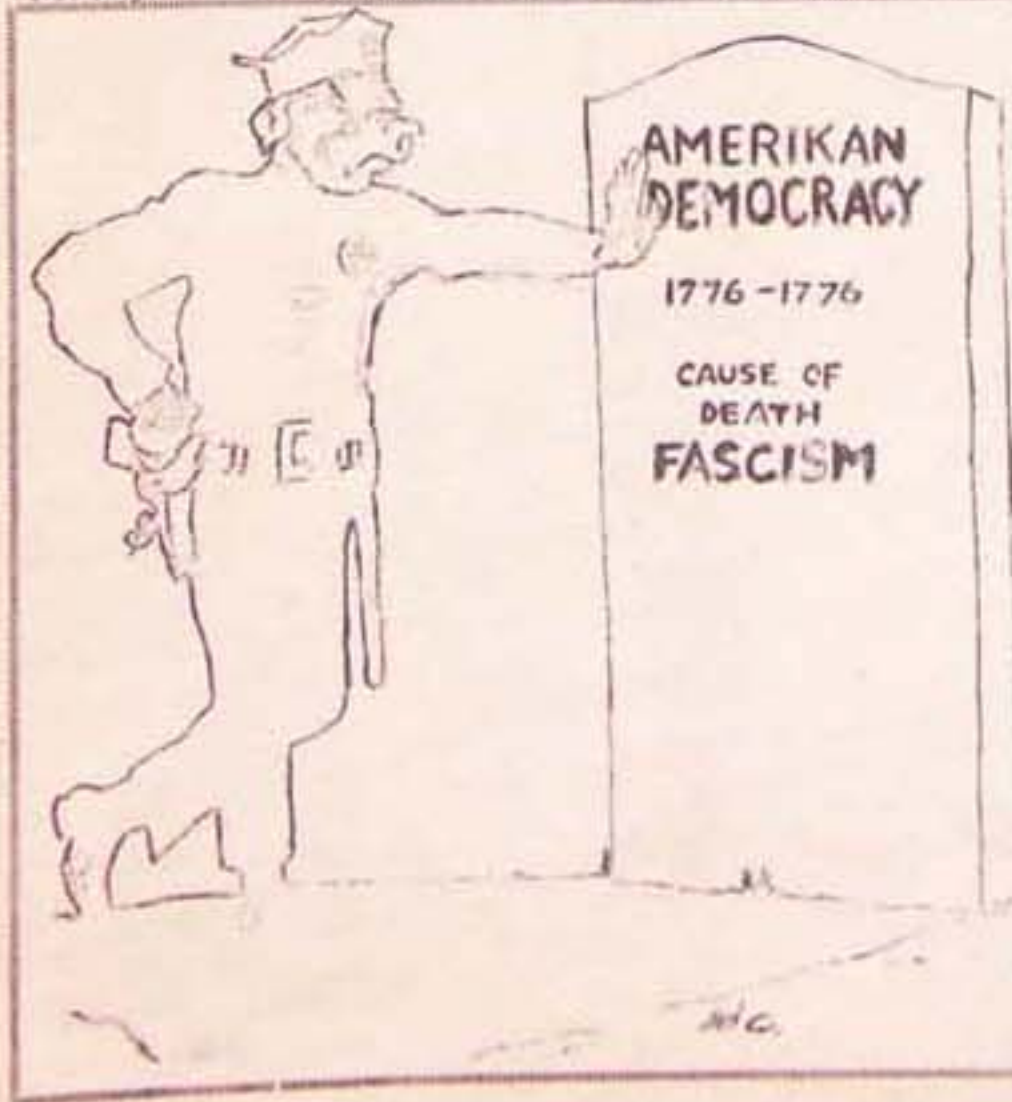
makes billions a year but returns none of it into the Black community. And each month NIPSCO forces welfare recipients to pay 70 to 80 dollar gas and light bills when Black welfare recipients are only given 20 to 30 dollars for utilities.

Black people across this racist country are being duped into following Black candidates into office, but, in the last analysis, no significant noticeable change is being made in our oppressive situations. There is no real relief from our 2nd class citizenship status. We are still not free. Black people in these offices provide us with heated chairs which is of no use to the Black masses. This is not Black political power. The Black community has in the past, and does now represent only the last to get hired, and the first fired. Our Minister of Defense, Huey P.

Newton says "When Black people send a representative, he is somewhat absurd because as 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 military power... which the Black Panther Party calls Self-Defense Power."

The Black people in Gary and throughout the Black colony must organize in a fashion so as to be able to infer a political consequence. Then we will be going in the direction of being able to determine the destinies of our communities.

Black Community Information Center
Gary, Indiana



THE PEOPLE WILL JUDGE

On December 8th, in an effort to kill 22 members of the southern California chapter of the Black Panther Party, the Los Angeles special weapons and tactical squad launched a military raid on three Panther residences. During the five hour shoot out at the Central Ave. Panther office particularly, the attacking fascist, continually fired tear gas canisters into the building.

Tear gas is a very strong vapor which is used as a eye irritant. Because it makes the eyes water and close to the point where the victim is unable to function. It is used by the pigs to subdue people.

Because the brothers and sisters at the Central Ave. Exposition Blvd. And 55th St. Panther residences were able to withstand and function during the pigs tear gas as well ridden early morning attack, they were able to avoid death. The power of the people.

Since Dec. 8th, the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party has opened new locations for the Free Breakfast for Children program, and the Free medical clinic in the Black Community, and also started a new busing program to give parents and relatives of brothers in prison an opportunity to visit them. The Party has done nothing but intensify and continue its work of serving the people. One of the new Breakfast locations is in the Community Information Center at 334 W. 55th street. (One of the houses attacked by the pigs in the Dec. 8th raid).

On Monday May 4th two children Tyrone and his sister Judy who both attend the 55th st. breakfast and their entire family were subjected to the pigs harassment and invasion into their home. That day Tyrone had been taken to the hospital, because his eyes were irritated. After being treated and discharged that same day Tyrone accompanied by his parents returned home to a house full of T.V. news pigs, and uniformed fascists who all came to prefabricate a grandiose tale about Tyrone's eye irritation in another attempt to slander and defame the Black Panther Party, the untiring servants of the people, these pigs wanted Tyrone's parents to tell their (the pig's) alleged story to the masses of the people. Their story goes something like this: "Tyrone and Judy found a tear gas canister in the garage of 334 W. 55th street, while attending the Black Panther Party breakfast for school children held in the morning. The tear gas badly inflamed Tyrone's eye and resulted in his having to be taken to the hospital for treatment. In an effort to further this lie, the pigs ravaged Tyrone's home looking for tear gas canisters and tearing down posters of the people's revolutionary warriors Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Bunchy Carter, and others.

Tyrone's parents realizing that the pigs were trying to use them and their children in a continued effort to destroy the Black Panther Party, refused to fall into the pigs pit. They told the pigs to get out because, in fact the Panthers feed their children a hot breakfast every morning, and as far as they are concerned the Party is working in the interest of the people. As a result of this statement, Tyrone and Judy were taken downtown to the pig station twice that day, for questioning about the breakfast program, the party and its members.

Tyrone and Judy's parents understand the importance of protecting the servants of the people from the pigs' fantasies and lies. Once again, the power of the people has been exemplified in the response of these parents. So let them continue. "The more they try to come down on us, the more we'll expose them for what they are... PIGS"

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

southern California Chapter Black Panther

SEATTLE PIGS MURDER ANOTHER BROTHER

On Friday, May 15, 1970 I received a call at my office from Elmer Dixon of the Seattle Black Panther Party asking me if I could help investigate the killing of Larry Ward by the police which had taken place the night before. This was about noon, I spent the rest of the day with Elmer Dixon and with Bolang taking pictures in the vicinity of 24th and East Union and talking to people in the neighborhood and with members of the family and reconstructing what had happened the night before. Later in the day, Phillip L. Burton, another Seattle lawyer, joined me in the investigation. We learned from the family that the fatal bullets had entered Larry Ward's body from a front position, that is, that he was facing those who fired the shots. It appeared likely that he was standing with his hands raised. It also seems obvious from the physical evidence that the bullets which entered his chest and pierced his heart were fired with a pre-conceived intent to kill. The shots were fired at close range which rules out the possibility that the shots were fired to wound and stop him.

Larry Ward's brothers, Joey and Leonard, told us also that the excuse for the murder--a reported bombing attempt--was a lie. No one but the killers themselves, who say they were staked out watching the Hardeste real estate office, will testify that Larry Ward was actually engaged in any kind of crime. But he was charged with a felony by the men that killed him; he was tried on the charge by the same men, he was convicted by them and condemned to death and he was executed by them--all within a matter of a few moments, and all at 2:00 o'clock in the morning on May 15th, 1970 in Seattle, Washington.

While we took pictures of the scene on Friday afternoon, police patrol cars came out and watched us, and Friday evening for the first time the newspapers were told that Larry Ward was not killed while running away but was facing the gun at the time he was shot to death. By Saturday morning the office of the County Coroner, Leo Sowers announced that an inquest on the death would commence on Friday May 22, 1970.

(Rockford, Ill.)

We received reports recently that the F.B.I. was picking up young brothers asking them questions about the Black Panther Party. We are aware that the F.B.I. are the pigs of this country responsible for eliminating any political opposition to what "Syphococcus" Agnew is doing against the people. It is only natural that the Black Panther Party would be declared an enemy by the F.B.I., mainly because their bosses the big time avaricious businessmen have said that the programs of the Black Panther Party are making it difficult for these capitalists to exploit them. The pigs recognize that what the Black Panther Party is doing makes

inquests are called by the County Coroner in practically every case where police gun-fire has killed a citizen, Black or White. The inevitable result of the inquest is that a coroners jury--six individuals selected solely at the discretion of the coroner--return a verdict that the killing was "justifiable homicide." In the past in the city of Seattle, this verdict of justifiable homicide has covered up vicious and outrageous murder, (Eugene Moses, Walton Butch Armstead) and wanton and brutal killings, (Barry Lawson, Robert Reese, Eddie Lincoln)--all Black men. Usually the prosecuting attorney, the police and the coroner act as a team asking the questions they want to ask to get their version before the public. They usually refuse to ask any questions which may expose the killings for what they really are--a police execution without trial--cold blooded murder. Thus, the coroner refuses to allow any representative of the family or friends of the victim to ask any questions, or to cross-examine the inquest witnesses. Attorneys for the victims family have no help in selecting the jurors but the coroner can walk right into the jury room after all or any part of the evidence is received and tell the jury what kind of a verdict to reach. This procedure is indeed a mockery of justice, but done in an imitation of a clam and deliberate atmosphere as through a real search for the truth was going on. This is an outrageous fraud on the people.

The coroner does not have to deny the right of cross-examination to the representatives of the victims friends, or family. In an inquest some years ago in Aberdeen, Washington I was permitted to cross examine witnesses on behalf of the family. The results of that inquest were vastly different than the usual pat procedure. It lasted thirty days. The intended victim was "acquitted" and the finger was pointed at the police. The same thing could have happened in the Ward inquest if the coroner really wanted it to be fair. The attorneys selected by the family, James E. McIver and Lemhard G. Howell could have been allowed full right

of cross examination.

I attended the inquest session on Friday afternoon, May 22nd as a highly interested observer as a friend of the two attorneys who represented the family and at the request of the Black Panther Party. I had come to the conclusion that the sole purpose of the inquest was to get the police department version of a killing out to the White community. (They have long since learned that killings are recognized for what they are in the ghetto--i.e., murders.)

But a conciliatory gesture was made to the demand of the family's attorneys and probably for the first time in Seattle history the six man coroner's jury had two Blacks, Ed Russell and James Jackson, Jr. sitting facing the prosecutor, the coroner and the police. But without the right to cross-examine police witnesses in an effective, hard hitting and probing way, the family attorneys are reduced to the humiliating role of being mere window dressing--as though the Black community was truly represented by their presence. They had been permitted to submit a few written questions to be asked witnesses more or less in the form requested. But this just made them part of the police game--part of the window dressing.

Just prior to adjournment on Friday I decided to attempt to expose this outrage. I walked up to counsel table and to Mr. Sowers, the Coroner in the presence of the jury and in full view of all media--television cameras and all radio microphones, and newspaper reporters, and said, "Mr. Sowers, unless you permit full cross examination by Mr. McIver and Mr. Howell who represent the victim's family here, every thinking person in this community will know that this is just another public cover up of the murder of a Black man in the heart of the ghetto in the middle of the night." There was a moment of dead silence and then the whole court room exploded with cheers, claps and shouts of "right on" and "power to the people" Mr. Sowers looked up at me with his mouth open and then said, "Who are you?"

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FEDERAL PIGS HARASSING YOUTHS IN ROCKFORD

It hard for them to continue their oppressive system of exploitation because of this the F.B.I. has been given the task of eliminating the Black Panther Party and its ideas. We say that this is impossible because these ideas have been sown all across this country, all across the world the ideas manifested in the Black Panther Party are ideas oppressed people all over the world relate to.

The Federal pigs in Rockford are concerned about how many Panthers there are. We say that when the Black Liberation Army moves there will be revolutionaries everywhere, in the streets, in the houses, in the community, across the land, across the world, because those revolutionaries will

represent the people who have been oppressed and misguided by this country, those revolutionaries will be the reaping death of vengeance which was sown across the world by these pigs. The idea of freedom cannot be suppressed for we understand very clearly that freedom for us can only be found on the land that is fertilized by the blood and bones of the oppressor.

THERE ARE MORE PEOPLE THAN PIGS, AND PEOPLE WILL MAKE THE REVOLUTION. WE SAY THAT THE F.B.I. OR ANY PIG AGENCY CAN'T STOP THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE DEATH TO THE PIGS

Monk Teba

GIs PUT GOVERNMENT ON TRIAL

On Sunday May 16 at Ft. Benning Georgia, in conjunction with anti war activities G.I.s throughout the nation, will hold a people's tribunal. The tribunal will charge the United States government and war profiteers with the systematic slaughter of the Vietnamese people, the murder of thousands of G.I.'s and the extortion of over \$30 billion dollars a year from the working people of the United States.

G.I.'s at Ft. Carson, Colorado Ft. Bliss, Texas, Ft. Dix, New Jersey, marines at Camp Pendleton, California, and many other servicemen and women on the bases across the nation plan to hold anti-war actions on this date. These actions will demonstrate the increasing anti-war sentiment

within the military.

Ft Benning has been chosen for the site of the trial of Lt. Williams Calley by the United States government for his role in the massacre of My Lai (on March 8, 1968) My Lai was one of the ten hamlets making up Song My South Vietnam was wiped off the face of the earth. Up to 570 people-- mostly old men and women and 200 children and infants were killed. With this trial the government is trying to isolate the massacre of My Lai from the general course of United States aggression against Vietnam. They are using My Lai in attempt to white wash the war effort to shift the burden of the war atrocities from those ultimately responsible, the U.S. government and profiteers to a handful of sold

iers.

But My Lai is the war in Vietnam. And while the individual officer and G.I. who is responsible for the crimes he commits, the real enemy will not be allowed to hide.

The tribunal, which will be held in Columbus where Ft Benning is located, is being sponsored by Columbus Patriots for Peace (a local G.I. civilian anti war group) and R.A.P. (Ft. Benning G.I. underground paper), with the support of the revolutionary youth movement, and others.

For more information contact: Wayne Draznin Box 242 E Atlanta, Georgia (404) 522-2375

PIGS ATTACK YOUNG BROTHERS IN MT. VERNON

On Sunday May 3, 1970, a young brother named David Evans (12) was beaten by two racist Mount Vernon Pigs (Badges # 17 and 98). A couple of brothers came upon the vicious scene and tried to help the little brother (son of Mrs. Ferda Bolden) was in front of the Grand Union Supermarket on Fulton Ave. A racist pig threw the little Brothers' bike around and tried to choke the brother. A sister came along and asked the pig to leave the blood alone. The pig oinked "Is this your child?" The sister said no, but she was concerned. The pig told her that he would not talk about it until she and the brother were in the car. This shows the very low nature of the racist pigs, after the sister had got the brother into the car the pig started to oink into the face of the sister. He told her that if she wanted to talk about what had taken place that she'd have to come down to the station and then the pig drove away.

The vicious and inhuman pig police have been inflicting death and pain upon the black community all across Babylon. They have shot and killed black children and teenagers from one end of this country to the other. So this is nothing new to the black community in Mount Vernon or any other poor and oppressed black community. Racist pigs have been killing black people for over 400 years and yet not one of these racist have been brought to justice. Every act of the racist sadistic, criminals are ignored, when brought to the attention of the so-called court system of racist Babylon, especially when it concerns black people.

The time for the black community to act is now, we cannot and will not allow the horrible atrocities to be perpetuated, unpunished by the racist pig police in Mount Vernon who infest and occupy our community. Point # 7 of the Black Panther Party platform and program states very clearly that "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people. We believe that 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 us a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

Black people must arm themselves in the Mount Vernon community and all across racist Babylon against the rising tides of overt inhuman, criminal attacks by the racist pigs. We must put an end to the wanton murder and brutalizing of our children and our people. We must understand the very nature of these pigs and the reason for them being in the community. They are not there for our protection. Their one and only interest is the avaricious (greedy) businessmen, and brutalizing fascist pigs to see to it that we stay in our places and not disturb or damage their property.

The unjustifiable beatings of these brothers, places the life and safety of every black child in the black community in serious jeopardy. If the police is allowed to beat and brutalize these two little brothers and allowed to get away with it, then it is time for every black parent to be alarmed and concerned for the safety of their own children. The black community must understand that this happened to these two little brothers tomorrow it may be your children. We must arm ourselves and resist the pig power structure.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Black Community Information Center Mount Vernon Branch

TO THE BROAD MASSES OF BALTIMORE

As the Black Panther Party, the vanguard of the revolution, it is our duty to go forth to politically educate the masses of the people here in racist America, as to how we are oppressed, who the oppressor is and what must be done to come from under this oppression that has shaken the very foundation which capitalist-imperialist-racist America stands on.

The fascist power structure is beginning to feel the mighty weight of the people descending upon the evil system which is soon to be crushed by freedom fighters who are determined to be free or to die. Because the Black Panther Party is the vanguard of the revolution the racist power structure is moving to liquidate the educators to our just struggle for total emancipation.

On April 30, 1970 a total of eleven brothers and sisters were taken away from the people and placed in a fascist pig pen (jail). Seven were charged with kidnap, murder, torture, and mayhem, the other four were charged with possession of deadly weapons, however one of the brothers William P. Coates has five additional charges added. It is important that the broad masses of Baltimore, America and the whole entire world understand what led up to these charges that brought about terror throughout the Black colony here

in Baltimore, Maryland.

Approximately four weeks ago two fascist, racist White pigs were shot. One was killed and the other was critically wounded somewhere in the Black colony by unknown assailants. The chief pig of Baltimore who is, Donald D. Pomerleau a cold blooded racist, tried with everything in his power to make the masses believe that the Black Panther Party had something to do with the slaying of that filthy pig and the critical wounding of the other. Pig Pomerleau used the radio, television and everything else one could possibly think of in an attempt to brainwash the masses of the oppressed people. The headlines of the newspapers were in one inch letters. The story behind the pigs was long and full of nothing but lies. The T.V. was very much the same, presenting the history of the pigs, calling on Black people to mourn over a filthy pig that's been a tool used to keep Black people oppressed for years. They even went as far as to half mast a flag of fascism (American Flag) Yes! The racist's played on the death of a White racist pig in order to lock up as many members of our party as possible.

Pomerleau, the champion of fascism gave the orders to crush the Party here in Baltimore. They tried and once again these reactionary running dogs failed to lock up all the Panthers. Now let us look into what was used as an excuse for vamping on the Party. The racist pigs dug up a case one year old brushed the dust off and are now trying to make the masses believe

that the Panthers are the murderers and kidnapers, torturers and terrorizers which in fact is what they are, what the fascist pigs are especially in the Black colony.

This one year old case that no one had heard about until this White pig was killed made it crystal clear that Pomerleau, the chief pig is a true to heart racist and here is some proof. Approximately two weeks before this White racist pig was killed a Black pig was shot to death. The radio said very little, television said very little. The masses of the people learned nothing at all other than a nigger pig had bitten the dust. Not a single flag broke its wave and Pomerleau sure didn't call on the toilers to mourn the dead nigger's death, which proves that Pomerleau cares nothing what so ever about Black people and also proves that he is a White racist.

Black brothers and sisters, and all other oppressed people of Baltimore, the time has come when we must make a firm stand demanding that these brothers and sisters be released from the fascist pig pen. It is our duty to go forth with everything in our power to ensure that nothing happens to our brothers and sisters. For over four hundred years we have been faced with this same type of problem. It's nothing new. The racists have been doing this to Black people all the days of our lives, and the only way it will stop is by Black people making that firm stand to be free or to die.

SEIZE THE TIME
ARM YOURSELF
Baltimore Chapter
John L. Clark



"WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE."

SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE MANIFESTED IN THE FREE FAIR

Today May 19th, on Malcolm's birthday, The Richmond Branch of the Black Panther Party commemorated one of the first brothers who told us to "pick up the gun". The people celebrated a "people's fair". The children played revolutionary games based on our national salvation as Black people — self defense, freeing political prisoners, removing the oppression from our community were some of the themes to the games. They also had a chance to create their own revolutionary posters. The yard was filled with pictures of pigs being offed, and phrases like we are the people, "Free all political prisoners", and Nixon and Reagan are not the people.

Everyone came and according to their abilities or needs socialistically participated in a people's store. They bought what they could

and took what they needed. The community's revolutionary spirit could be felt as they played the games, ate and enjoyed the films. You could see them beginning to realize through practice that to organize for liberation is all that's necessary because the power belongs to them.

Their spirit and fervor could be felt as they eagerly asked when other events for the people of Richmond could be organized. They saw it as their fair. We are one step further to the people seeing that this also applies to the power (that's theirs) and that it can be taken, that it must be taken in order to free ourselves.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Richmond Branch
Black Panther Party



CONCERNING BIRTH CONTROL

Within our revolutionary ranks we are in firm accordance with ideas, and deeds that implicate youth as raw materials for revolutionaries, or suggest that our future is in our youth, "Youth

here in the colony, and that any manner that we can thwart the racist, genocidal U.S. war efforts is a constructive act in the behalf of the people.

Birth control is nothing more

production on niggers stations) sprung up in the Black community. We as revolutionaries must be vigilant to all plots at our destruction be they racist pigeons or a small seemingly harmless pill.

In dealing with birth control we may step on a lot of toes, or be accused of interfering, but as revolutionaries we must speak out against all practices that invariably suggest the end of Black people. The Black Panther Party did not verbally appoint itself as the vanguard, but was selected by the people because of revolutionary theory and practice. Our practice must always be in direct correspondence with theory and practice. Our practice must always be in direct correspondence with theory, we must lead and guide the masses throughout our own implementation of the correct practices that we ask the masses to accept.

If we are to successfully and correctly guide and educate the masses, and act as a catalyst to the revolution, we must never on any occasion be hypocritical or deceptive on our application of the ideas which we propagate to the masses as being righteous, and salvatory. In short, anything which is geared, and designed to prevent kill Black people, particularly our youth (potential revolutionaries) is in itself counter-revolutionary.



POTENTIAL REVOLUTIONARIES

makes the revolution". We will fight from one generation to the next. We will also in firm accordance with anything that enhances our belief in the continued existence of Black people.

We are (or should be) aware of the fact that a genocidal war is being waged against all Blacks

than part and parcel of the anti-human practices of the fascist, racist U.S. government, and their genocidal war effort. Looking at any Black community throughout their sudden concern at over population is more intense, the Black and other poor oppressed communities. Where have all your Planned Parenthood Centers (control

NEWS RELEASE: DEFEND THE DES MOINES 4

The Panther 21 case is still being juggled in the Big tents of Babylon (the courts), the morbid scene of the state's murders of Justice, Black people fighting for their liberation.

One year ago Des Moines, Iowa was the shrapnel-shattered scene of a bomb blast, which totally destroyed Panther headquarters. 3 Black brothers and 1 sister are charged with destroying a Des Moines Pig Station, all held on \$25,000 ransom, except for Brother Simmons who is held on a \$50,000 ransom. Who was charged with the Panther office bombing? Black folks are seized in their beds and in their homes, while the mac nite-riders go scot-free.

Des Moines Chief of Pigs, Wendell Nichols and his assistant assassins are the state level executioners licking the boots of Mother Mitchell, the witch hunting, Attorney General, and Richard the Pig Hearted Nixon. These are the conspirators of genocidal crimes against Black people. And the just, Mary Ann Rhem, Archie Simmons, David Colton, and Mike Smith, must be set free, and able to inflict righteous justice upon our unholy oppressors, the real Criminals.

Ministry of Information
Black Panther Party
1048 Peralta Street
West Oakland, California
(415) 465-5047 ext. 465-5048

(May 14th, 1970)

CONT. FROM PAGE 4 SEATTLE PIGS MURDER ANOTHER BROTHER

answered, "I am a member of the bar." I kept standing at the counsel table facing him. He got up quickly, turned to the jurors and said, "Leave the room. You're temporarily excused." They left and he then turned to me and said, "State your name." I said "Mr. Sowers, I am John Caughlan. I am outraged at what's going on here. This whole thing is a mockery of justice. I couldn't remain silent any longer and see this travesty go on." Sowers quickly said, "The hearing is adjourned until Monday" and got up and left. I then turned to the news-men who, of course, remained and

told them why I had done this. I said to them that it was quite obvious that the sole purpose of this proceeding was to permit the police to tell their story without contradiction and to use the trappings of "judicial process" to get the idea across to people that a fair hearing is taking place, when in fact, it is just a propaganda attempt to justify another murder of a Black man.

The verdict of the jury if ever reached, anyway, would be pretty much immaterial.

This is the simple truth and it was high time that someone stood up and said it.

John Caughlan
Attorney At Law
620 Arctic Building
Seattle, Washington



BLACK PEOPLE'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE AT THE HANDS OF 'DEMOCRACY'.

HEAT IN AUGUSTA

Given direct orders to shoot and kill and not to maim more than 600 police joined later by 1,000 national guard, reminiscent of Nazi Germany's barbaric gестапо extermination squads, invaded the Black section of Augusta, Georgia last Monday (May 11), killing six (all shot in the back) and wounding over two hundred more (mostly women).

Blacks took to the streets in this city, famous for the hosting of the racist Master's Golf Tournament high lighted annually by Gary Player of racist South Africa and absent of any Black golf stars, after learning that a youth had been the victim of a local disease ridden pigpen. The 16 year old youth was supposedly killed by two of his youthful cell mates who beat him to death while engaged in some sort "I dare you" game, where the loser is beaten by the other participants. The Black community refused to accept this pigwash and put the blame where it rightfully belonged---the racist city authorities.

The jail houses more than three times its capacity the food is ill prepared and there is no rehabilitation programs. It is a camp for the dehumanization of its inmates. Guards provoke vicious fights and stand by laughing as the inmates destroy themselves. No protection is given to those who refuse to allow themselves to be gladiators and destroy their fellow brothers for the entertainment of the guards. They are singled out and tortured (trained) as soon as they enter.

Obedying the dictates of Hitler's teachings to the tee, his duplicate in Georgia, Maddox, Georgia's 6th

grade educated and second grade mentality governor, blamed the shooting on the Black Panther Party. The citizens of Augusta refused to accept this lie and considered it stupid. The Black Panther Party has never endangered the lives of innocent citizens by engaging in gun battles with fanatical, racist, trigger happy hired murderers. The Panthers have also condemned riots, for they are prey for any oppressor, who wishes to exterminate the one he is oppressing with no questions asked.

The pigs maintain that the murdered were snipers, however no guns were found on any of the bodies and all were killed with grade A buckshot, and as was mentioned earlier, all were shot in the back it stands as a matter of reason that a sniper wouldn't be within shotgun range of a pig.

The federal government has begun an investigation of the killings; however, even if this investigation publicly confirms what we already know- the victims were shot down in cold blood, nothing will be done to the guilty party, as the case in murder of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton and Captain Mark Clark.

The people of Georgia are determined that the murders will not go unrevenged. Herr Maddox was unsuccessful in a bid to get James Brown, a resident of Atlanta Georgia, and native of Georgia to play the part of bootlicking jackal. Brown in so many words called the governor a lie when he said that Blacks were not being oppressed in Atlanta. A few other Blacks did play their role and played it well. They too claimed that the Black Panthers were in-

SIX MEN DEAD: POLICE ATTACK BLACKS IN GEORGIA

AUGUSTA, Ga. (LNS)- Augusta police, possibly with the help of the National Guard, have killed six Black men in Augusta, Ga. One thousand National Guardsmen sealed off the Black community. They are stopping Blacks in cars and on foot, searching them at gun point and bayonet point. Mass arrests have been made, too.

The action followed an angry but orderly march of about 900 Augusta Blacks May 11, protesting the fatal beating of a 16-year-old Black youth in Augusta's Richmond County Jail. Sources within the prison got word out to the Black community that the youth, Charles Oatman, was beaten to death by prison guards. Sheriff E.R. Atkins claims that Oatman was killed by his Black cellmates, and he has charged the two youths, aged 16 and 18, with murder.

Augusta citizens who have seen Oatman's badly mangled body say that he could not possibly have

Demonstrators broke up into smaller groups, running down side streets and into Augusta's 130 square block ghetto which borders on the business district.

Bricks, bottles and pipes were thrown. Department stores and supermarkets were looted. Augusta officials claim that at least 50 fires were started. Thirty White-owned stores were destroyed; at least 20 were damaged. Broken glass, police clubs and police bullets put at least 60 people into the hospital.

A United Press International reporter who followed a patrol car into the Black community gave the following report of how one of the six died:

"The patrol car stopped in front of a small grocery, where lights played on two men, two women and a young girl, looting food. 'Get out of that store!' commanded one patrolman. 'Hold it

'The man and the woman were put in the patrol car. The child, bleeding from a glass cut, was taken away by an ambulance.

The patrolman who shot the Negro explained, 'It looked like he went for a gun.' There was no gun on the man.'

The same reporter says that at least one of the other victims was found dead in front of a liquor store.

Police have imposed an 8 pm to 5 am curfew on the community and have arrested well over 200 people. 'We've got 'em stacked up all over the place,' an Augusta jailor explained.

Police Chief Broadus Bequest explained the killings; 'We found it impossible to use tear gas effectively because there never was a concentration of rioters in groups large enough for the gas to stall them.'

Georgia's Governor Lester



PIG GOVERNOR LESTER MADDOX SALUTES THE NATIONAL GUARD AND SMILES IN APPROVAL

been beaten that badly without implements, and without attracting the attention of prison guards.

The 900 demonstrators marched to the Augusta municipal building, where they tore down and burned the Georgia state flag which has the "stars and bars" of the old Confederacy emblazoned across it. They then marched through the center of town, advancing about six blocks before police, dressed in riot gear and armed with shot-guns, charged in to break up the crowd.

involved and faulted the pigs for not coming in earlier to slaughter Blacks people.

Medical students from Howard University in an effort to render medical aid to the many wounded who are refused treatment in the city hospital and can't afford private treatment, were refused entrance into the city. And yet the U.S. complain about treatment of American mercenaries who are

right there!" he ordered, as the woman and the child leaped out the shattered window. Another man followed them. Then a patrolman fired his revolver at the other man inside the store. The man fell among candy gum balls, with a bullet in his heart 'God damn you honkies, you killed one of my brothers!' the other man cried.

"Shut up your mouth," replied the patrolman. 'I'd like to see you try and run'

prisoners of North Vietnam Students of the Atlanta University complex began a drive to collect funds for the families who sent a resolution to the presidents of the various Universities in the complex to keep the pigs off the campus. The students are making an all out effort to suspend classes for a week and to substitute with a week of political sessions geared toward awakening

Maddox shed some more light on the situation when he explained that the ghetto rebellion was part of a "Communist conspiracy,"

and that disruptive Blacks "had better prepare to meet their maker."

As usual when police or Guardsmen kill people, officials claim that there was sniper fire if this is

so, they have been unable to explain why not a single policeman was injured by gunfire.

the students and the people in the community to what is happening to Black people in this country and what Black people must do to keep from being exterminated.

As of this writing the Black section of Atlanta is still occupied by the National Guard, who are constantly trying to provoke Black into moving so that they can open up with the tanks that accompanied them to the city.

THE TIME IS NOW

Black people have been parting their frustrations away for 400 years. It is now time for them to implement a political consequence and change this fascist, oppressive government. We must rise up

against the indignities of the inequality that we continue to suffer as a race of people. We must not have any relaxation or peace until we are all free.

Oppression is everywhere from the college campus to the streets in our communities. The time to deal is now! Black people must

realize that their very existence is at stake. They must be prepared to implement a political consequence, and deal with this oppression that manifests itself in so many forms of evil.

SEIZE THE TIME
Shirley J. Waites
Philadelphia, Pa.

The Crimes of Silence

Whites; it's time to pick up the gun? Pigs are vamping and white people are afraid of revolution. Black people are dying and white people are afraid of revolution. Bobby Seale is facing the electric chair and white people are afraid of revolution. White people are afraid of revolution. Whites will demonstrate. Whites will wear buttons. Whites will sell Panther papers. Whites will say, "All power to the people, and 'Free Huey', but Whites will not pick up the gun to join in the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of Black people here in Babylon. White people have no political level - either that or their political level is stagnant and does not rise with the ever changing conditions. White people act only when conditions affect them directly and even then they move only to relieve the burden upon themselves. It would be best for them to be reminded that if Black people in fascist America are not free, if poor oppressed Puerto Rican, Mexican-Americans, Indians and other people suffering under the oppressive yoke of United States capitalism are not free then the whole world can forget it. The American system makes no distinction between Blacks and Whites at rallies. The American puppets and lackeys make no distinction between Blacks and Whites wearing "Free Huey" buttons, they don't know your political level or awareness, they don't know if you are a supporter or an active revolutionary. They don't know this-all they know is that you are a part of their problem and they are going to move on you. 'IT'S TIME TO PICK UP THE GUN'. Why should White people be afraid of revolution? Revolution is only a change, and White people know how to change. They change from college conservative to college hippie, from college hippie to village yippee, they change from Chase Manhattan Bank to First National, from brunettes, to blond, from racist to brother. White people are use to changing, so why not change from peace signs to shot guns, from doves to .357 mag's.

"...ONLY A DETENTION..." 1970

Around August of 1969, our Chairman, Bobby Seale, was kidnapped off of the streets by the domestic C.I.A., the F.B.I., and other passwords for pigs, all armed with Overkill weapons capable of kidnapping a Black city block.

The relevancy of this fascist action is found in the words of warning by our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, political prisoner, and in the historical analysts

of our people's oppressive situation.

The words are, "AN UNARMED PEOPLE ARE SLAVES, OR SUBJECT TO SLAVERY AT ANY GIVEN MOMENT."

The ominous weight of these words has since been proven by the oppressed minority regimes all over the world. In South Africa, preventive detention is done under the iron

hand of pig Ian Smith, as the "180 - Day Law".

The tragedy only truly presents itself when this form of fascism reached American shores it was unidentifiable. It was washed upon these shores with the punk Pilgrims, mixed with the blood of the Red Race, and has since dwarfed any pig power that has gone before it. The tragedy is when people

wait until they hear the same words pronounced as in South Africa. It's not fascism until they wear the swastika, and the brush mustache.

Well, for Black people, the lingo of oppression is painfully secondary to the atrocities and acts which characterize it.

HAVE YOU GOTTEN YOUR WRIST NUMBER YET?

CERTIFICATE OF RELEASE

As required by the provisions of Penal Code section 851.6

(Stats. 1969, Ch. 1117), I hereby certify that the taking into custody

of RAYMOND (NMN) HEWITT on 5-5-70 by the LOS ANGELES SHERIFF'S DEPT. was a detention only, not an arrest
(subject's name) (date) (name of agency taking custody)

RAYMOND (NMN) HEWITT was released on 5-5-70 by the LOS ANGELES SHERIFF'S DEPT., pursuant to the provisions of paragraph (1) of subdivision (b) of Penal Code Section 849, pertinent portions of which appear on the reverse of this certificate.
(subject's name) (date) (name of releasing agency)

Signed V. Reigay Sgt 723
Title WATCH SGT
(state whether releasing officer or his superior officer)

White liberals show sympathy by wearing Huey buttons, and red, and black, and green buttons. Huey does not want your sympathy. Black people in the liberation struggle do not want your sympathy, the revolutionary struggle does not call for White sympathy. Don't rally for Huey, don't rally for the Panther 21, don't rally for Bobby and the rest of the Com. 9, unless you intend to back up your political demands with a political consequence. We are hip to the power White students, have, as exemplified in the Kent 4 situation. Four

White students died on Kent State campus and some 3,000 White students organized, and demonstrated and expressed their total disgust and contempt for the power structure and what it did to their own, and they were able to force demagogic racist Tricky Dick Nixon into making a public statement to his lackey dogs to leave the (White) youth alone. Yeah, you made front page in the New York Times. For four hundred years Black people have been oppressed, chained, murdered and jailed, lynched, beaten and brutalized by

the same fascist dogs and now the Chairman of the Black Panther Party is being railroaded to the electric chair and Huey still faces two - to fifteen years on trumped up manslaughter charges and you still give the peace signs and carry banners of plants. Black people are out for more than a front page on the racist newspapers, we're out for starting a new page in the history books of decadent America. And the revolution demands that Whites stop throwing up the sign of peace and start picking up pieces and speaking in the lan-

guage of the common oppressor. It's time to make a clear line of demarcation between the oppressor and the oppressed. And those who remain silent while listening to the staccato of machine guns cutting down revolutionaries in cold blood, in fact, condone the acts of the aggressor and in doing so place themselves as being opposed to revolution. SO SPEAK NOW OR FOREVER HOLD YOUR PIECE!

Dahanne Jenkins
Black Panther Party
Brooklyn Branch

MURDER IN MISSISSIPPI



A SOLEMN SALUTE TO SELF-DEFENSE

Street executions, and racist dog cops left the Black colony to shoot down two Black brothers at Jackson State College this Friday and wounded 11 others. Pig justice once again turned a deaf ear to the cries of our people to put an immediate halt to their bloodthirsty massacres.

Senior Henry Paige has said, "There were no shots fired from the dorm at all. Now there are bullet holes in all the windows and

there's blood all over the campus, and blood all over the dorm."

Whenever Black people raised a demand for justice, freedom, and equality, the racist regime of Babylon would answer, to get a position in society, - a place in life, you must go to school, get educated. From the lumpen to the would-be bourgeois of the Black masses is the life-long dream, that our youth secure an adequate education, such

has been the dream of our elders, the generation before us, thinking that this education would insure a safe, sound niche into the walls of this capitalistic system.

But our brothers and sisters in the educational institutions are only educated to the brutal beatings, and the many murders, not only condoned, but done by the Officers of the Law, and the Upholders of Justice. Our schools must become centers of learning for the Counter-Attack.

Our BSU's must become satellites of our people's struggle on the campuses, and bring a halt to the oceans of blood, sucked from our people, stolen from our people, by the stormtroopers of fascist America.

BLACK STUDENTS! This is the issue that you have been searching for, waiting for. This is the got-up-off-your-ass order! Black Folks are not mystical. There is not one card game that you can play that will relieve the pains of our people. And if such a game existed, the pigs of the ruling class hold all the Aces, and they are intensifying. There are only shotgun smoke signals, calling our people to arms! Our Minister of Education, 'Masai' Hewitt said that some things happen for so long, that people begin to think that it's supposed to happen. It is at this point in our history that Black people must make an untractable lie of the American aggressors, the domestic imperialist, and move in a military manner, a destructive direction to rid ourselves of these foul beasts.

We must begin to stop the memorials molded by the bullets of our masters, and rise up, "as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to our total destruction." (Quote from Huey)

A revolutionary break of tradition; a break measured by the deaths of the murderers, or the destruction of ourselves - which poses no problem if it is recognized initially, foremost, and firstly, that we must RESIST TO EXIST.

"HENCEFORTH, THE INTERESTS OF ONE WILL BE THE INTERESTS OF ALL. THAT IN EFFECT EVERYONE WILL BE MASSACRED OR EVERYONE WILL BE SAVED!" - Frantz Fanon

mumia BPP
--James E. Green - Phillip L. Gibbs both 21 - both murdered by the malignant cancer of Americanism --

The REAL Sid Good

Dear Mr. Hilliard,
My name is Sid Good. I'm in the issue of the Black Panther dated May 19th, under the hate mail, a letter appeared that had my name signed to it.

I want you and everyone who read that letter to know that I did not write that letter and I hereby disown the letter and all its contents. That letter was written by a person who must be denounced and who is out to get me. I have always tried to be completely fair in all my dealings with every person I have anything to do with. I live a quiet life and do no harm to no one. Such a rotten, mean, and lying person must think that he can use the Black Panther Party to get me. Certainly no such person can be a friend of the Panthers.

Again I disown the letter and all of its contents, it is the product of a sick mind, and I hardly could believe that anyone no matter how they hate me, would be able to invent such filth and say it came from me.

Mr. Barry, who advised me to write to you, said immediately that it was obvious that I didn't write it when we met in his office.

I would appreciate anything you could do to restore my reputation in the Black community.

Thank you

Sid Good
(The Real Sid Good)

HOW LONG LIBERATION, HOW LONG FREEDOM?

How long before liberation? How long before freedom? How long will it be till we're truly free? How long? It's been over four hundred years now. How much longer will it take? We've marched, picketed, petitioned, boycotted, rioted, sat in, rode in, stalled in, laid in, knelt in, prayed in, and begged in, but we're still not free. How much longer will it take? How long before liberation?

The answers to these questions are simple. Liberation will come when Black people decide that they really want to be free. Liberation will come when Black people seize control of all the things that affect our lives. Liberation will come when Black people take up arms to destroy those who are oppressing and exploiting us. How long before liberation? It will come when we take it, and not before.

Most Black people, for a long time, have been living under a dangerous illusion. Black people (and White people too) have been led to believe that White people were free, and accordingly we have based our liberation struggle on this incorrect premise. The results of this incorrect view is obvious-We still ain't free.

White people in this country are used and misused in much the same way that Black people are used: to enrich the pocketbooks of a few avaricious White pigs (the Rockefellers, the Kennedys, the H.L. Hunts, etc.). The only difference in the situation of Black people and the majority of White people are:

(1) White people are allowed and encouraged to use and misuse Black people and other people of color in this country in any way they see fit by the prevalent racism that exists here.

(2) White people are given a small share of the profit from the murder and exploitation of other peoples of color around the world.

It is important to recognize that America is a class system. People are divided into groups on the basis of the amount of money they have:

this is a class system. The more money you have, the higher your standing. People are also divided into groups on the basis of color with White on the top and Black people on the bottom. These two differences raise the standing of the masses of White people to a higher level than that of Black people in the American structure. These extra crumbs do not constitute freedom for White people. The only thing it does is make Black people more oppressed than White people.

The objective of our struggle for a long time has been to reach the level of White people believing that was freedom. We have tried basically two methods for the achievement of this goal. The first method was integration and the second method was the "our share of the pie" approach. Both approaches are incorrect because they are based on an incorrect idea (that the masses of White people are free).

Integration was opposed by both the White pig power structure and by the masses of White people. The masses of White people opposed integration not only out of pure racial hatred for Black people (a hatred that has been fostered over the centuries by the power structure) but also out of what they believed to be their "self-interest". Since White people's higher level in the American structure is based partly on the exploitation of Black people, they could not allow these very same people to be integrated with them without losing their standing.

The White pig power structure opposed integration but on different grounds. The White pig power structure was afraid that if integration was achieved and the masses of White people lost one of their crumbs that they would become alienated and turn on them (the pigs). The pig power structure even fanned the flames of racism to prevent integration from occurring. You may disagree and point to all the civil rights laws as proof of their sincerity but a law is only words on a piece of



POINT NO. 10 OF THE TEN POINT PROGRAM, "WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, AND PEACE."

paper and cannot be enforced unless the people want it enforced. They pass laws knowing their racist brothers would not abide by them.

The second approach becomes popular during the long hot summers. The pig power structure supported this approach because it didn't cost them anything. The poverty programs were financed on

the tax money of Black people and the masses of White people. The masses of White people did not oppose this at first but as the Vietnam War escalated and taxes cut deeper into their pay checks they began to oppose this approach too.

It's perfectly clear, then, that these approaches do not work and, in fact, cannot work. Black people

must try a different route, the only route open to them-that of Revolution. They must cease trying to integrate and/or to get a share of the pie and create their own pie-and the only way to do this is by revolution.

How long before liberation? When we decide to take it and not before. Now! BECAUSE TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE!

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND HISTORY

The essence, of the existence of The Black Panther Party is defined in the immediate need that something must be done to relieve us from the present oppressive social order. A series of activities spearheaded by the Party, ranging from the busting of Huey P. Newton from the streets with his liberation tool, 12 gauge shotgun, to the shoot out in L.A. where 11 nameless niggers held off 200 fascists, all living to tell about it and to talk about those pigs, both being a victory for black people! A victory over fear.

The focal point of party activities is affected by the knowledge that we are afforded very little time by the bloodsucking vultures, which on the other side of the coin tell us that, we must be doing something right. The quickening sickening pace at which the fascists, are presently moving tells us that Black people must use whatever means at their disposal to secure revolutionary political power.

"AND I DON'T SEE WHY ANYBODY SHOULD BE SAD OR REGRETFUL IN ANY WAY, SHAPE OR FORM, IF SUCH DOES EXIST I RECALL IN 1959 WHEN EVERYBODY BEGAN TO TALK ABOUT THE MUSLIMS, ALL THE NEGRO LEADERS SAID NO SUCH GROUP EXISTED IN FACT I RECALL ON THE MIKE WALLACE SHOW ROY WILKINS WAS ASKED ABOUT

THE BLACK MUSLIMS HE SAID HE NEVER HEARD OF THEM AND THEN HE FLASHED A PICTURE OF HIM SHAKING HANDS WITH ME.

AND I THINK THAT ONE OF THE MISTAKES THAT OUR PEOPLE MAKE IS, THEY'RE TOO QUICK TO APOLOGIZE FOR SOMETHING THAT MIGHT EXIST THAT THE POWER STRUCTURES FINDS DEPLOABLE OR FINDS DIFFICULT TO DIGEST, AND WITHOUT EVEN REALIZING IT, SOMETIMES WE TRY AND EVEN PROVE THAT IT DOESN'T EXIST, AND IF IT DOESN'T SOMETIMES IT SHOULD. I AM ONE PERSON WHO BELIEVES THAT ANYTHING THE BLACK MAN IN THIS COUNTRY NEEDS TO GET HIS FREEDOM RIGHT NOW THAT THING SHOULD EXIST

AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED, EVERYBODY WHO HAS CAUGHT THE SAME KIND OF HELL THAT I CAUGHT IS MY BLOOD BROTHER AND I HAVE PLENTY OF THEM BECAUSE ALL OF US HAVE CAUGHT THE SAME HELL. SO THE QUESTION IS, IF THEY DON'T EXIST SHOULD THEY EXIST? DO THEY EXIST NOT DO THEY EXIST, SHOULD THEY EXIST? DO THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO EXIST? AND SINCE WHEN SHOULD A MANDENY THE EXISTANCE OF HIS BLOOD BROTHER IT'S DENYING HIS FAMILY

IF WE'RE GOING TO TALK ABOUT POLICE BRUTALITY IT'S BECAUSE POLICE BRUTALITY EXISTS. WHY DOES IT EXIST BECAUSE OUR PEOPLE IN THIS PARTICULAR SOCIETY LIVE IN A POLICE STATE, A BLACK MAN IN AMERICA LIVES IN A POLICE STATE HE DOESN'T LIVE IN ANY DEMOCRACY. HE LIVES IN A POLICE STATE. THAT'S WHAT IT IS, THAT'S WHAT HARLEM IS... May 29th, 1964 Malcolm X

The shock troops of racist America have now developed to the point that their murderous, stark naked terror in the eyes of all is the standard. It is no longer shocking. Pigs in N.Y.C. are now wearing "Pigs are beautiful" sweatshirts, failing to recognize that the more they endorse it, the clearer it can be seen. It's not shocking after all. New York is the capital of Babylon. 28 dead Black brothers illustrate the affects of such lies, that pigs are not beautiful. The racist dog cops, don't know that there will always be worse or more descriptive terms which could easily be applied to his notorious nature.

Ask Fred Hampton, or brother Mark Clark if pigs are beautiful. Beautiful pigs have murdered Black people ever since we have had the misfortune of being stolen and brought here. "Black is beautiful" went out of style way back, because the statement "Black is

beautiful" has never been known to open prison gates, Huey still is not free, Black is beautiful never secured us our liberation we still are not free. By that same token "Black is Beautiful" has never shown that we will be free from the painful unwanted existence of the racist dogs. It has not offed any pigs. The level of the broad masses of Black people is the only correct time clock for revolutionary activity. Babylon has shown us that as high as the level of the people goes, the level of oppression by the pigs goes that much higher. Armed resistance must be the order of the day on all levels. In our short three and one half years of existence we have made an important impression upon Babylonian politics, and racist oppression never equalled in American history. The boiling point of the melting pot came when Black men dared to arm themselves, in total defiance of the criminal power structure. Huey P. Newton is our personification of revolutionary historical development. He is the clearest example of correct revolutionary activity, and we must do as he taught us to do. We must follow the correct analysis because we know that he is right.

Our emphasis is on the racial Connecticut courts, where racist America hopes to conduct an 1875 style lynching, staged for Chairman Bobby Seale - 1970 - in the corrupt seduced name of justice. That in the

historical experiences of Black people in Babylon we have continually failed to receive justice. "Just ice"

10 million Black caged souls are the present victims of the universal liar, thief, and hypocrite. Domestic imperialism equals fascism. There were 30 million Black growling Panthers, before there was the Black Panther Party.

Denmark Vesey was a Panther. Marcus Garvey was a Panther. El Hajj Malik Shabazz- Brother Malcolm was indeed a Panther and in the end Martin Luther King became an uptight black cat. The Black Panther Party is an organizational manifestation of the teachings of Brother Malcolm X. It is the demand of our people for an immediate end to cattle prods, water hoses, vicious service revolvers, bent on the destruction of a race. The Black Panther Party is the practice of what Brother Malcolm preached, and no one can change that. The present has created us, and the present as Brother Randy Williams has said, need only to unleash the Black Kamikazi!

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY! MUMIA

EAST OAKLAND COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTER

The purpose of opening the community information centers is that we realize that in order to be close to the people in the community it is necessary that we locate ourselves among the masses. The centers will be able to reach more people and bring the Black Panther Party closer to the people.

The community centers are set up primarily as a base in the community for the people to identify with, work, and claim as their own.

The National Committee to Combat Fascism's specific task is to raise the political level of the people, to educate them to the facts of how decadent, racist, exploitative this system really is and what must be done in order to change it. The Community Information Center will pull people closer to the Black Panther Party, then and only then will we be able to truly unite and organize against the U.S. facism in America, and world imperialism in order to destroy it wholly and resolutely. The community centers will give incentives and creativity to the people. These are some of the programs coming from the community centers:

- A) Breakfast program for the children. (7:00 to 8:30 every school day)
- B) Liberation school (10:00 to 12:00 every Saturday morning)
- C) Community political education classes (5:00 to 7 every evening)
- D) Petition for community control of police (Daily)
- E) Voter registration (Daily)
- F) Community news reporter
- G) Legal aid and advice (No date)

- H) Community pig watch
- I) Student action committee (No date)

The community center is here to answer to the basic needs of the people. The functional machinery that is formed will make and let the people be sufficient, independent of outside help, and also enable the people to be the decision makers over their lives, and to take steps toward self-determination.

The people working out of the community centers are community workers and newspaper reporters for the community center's newsletter and the Black Panther Black Community News Service. Anyone can work in the Community Info. Centers. To be a community worker is to donate time to the people and the struggle. There are many areas of work, as mentioned above on some of the programs listed, and also selling the Black Panther newspaper.

The purpose of a community worker is to arm themselves with the ideology of the Black Panther Party and to arm themselves politically and militarily.

Also the community information centers need all types of technical equipment for office work, finance transportation, health and first aid.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

East Oakland Community Information Center
1321-99th Avenue
636-0944

JERSEY CITY BLACK COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTER

Black people throughout Babylon have been and are being subjected to torture manifested in the dope being poured into the community, the bad housing, the numbers running and pay-offs to pigs. We are subjected to brutalities such as allowing a brother to lay on the ground, hurt and bleeding for one hour before calling an ambulance, such as beating our youth in the Hudson County Jail, such as the highest malnutrition rate in the state of New Jersey and the lowest welfare allotment in New Jersey. We are subjected to countless murders and harassments.

The conditions existing here in the Black community of Jersey City remind us of the same conditions existing in Viet Nam and so we must do as all people do who are fighting for national salvation. We must follow the example of the Vietnamese people, the Latin American people, the African people, and all people that are fighting against this same oppressive government.

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, saw and understood the conditions that his people are subjected to, and he along with Bobby Seale, Chairman (now being illegally held on trumped-up charges in New Haven), formed a revolutionary organization that teaches the people how to deal with having our political needs and desires answered - that teaches us how we have to defend ourselves against murdering, brutalizing pigs - defend ourselves against pig departments infested with Ku Klux Klanners, Birchites, Minutemen, and Mafiosos and how to deal with having our basic necessities provided. A people's government provides the basic necessities of land, bread, housing, education and clothing. When a government does

not provide these necessities and in fact prevents people from having these necessities (to deny a man a job is to, in fact, deny him life) that government should be destroyed and a people's government instituted.

The Jersey City Black Community Information Center is here to help the people move for our liberation; we are here to institute socialistic programs such as Free Breakfast for School Children, Free Health Clinics, Free Food and Clothing programs, to educate our people, to raise the political consciousness of our people, and to help our people deal with problems confronting us in our communities, such as dope in our schools. For serving our people we have come under constant surveillance from Jersey City's finest (the Bobate Twins-Hamilton and Moran) and others, we have been and are being subjected to harassments by the pigs - the tools of the power structure-protectors of Whelan's machine.

Three brothers, functioning with the Jersey City Black Community Information Center, National Committee to Combat Fascism which is an organizing bureau of the Black Panther Party, were harassed, illegally arrested and questioned by racist pigs from the 4th precinct. Originally this vamp on the people's servants was a set-up attempt to murder them. The racist pigs pulled up alongside of the car that the brothers were in, parked opposite a telephone booth where they were making a call. The brothers had to go to the phone booth because the pigs, manifested in New Jersey Bell Telephone Co., had cut the telephone off for the previous 24 hours. The pigs first move was to jump out of their car aggressively with their hands on guns, spouting

reactionary statements, trying to provoke the brothers into making a move. Isaiah Rowley, not fully understanding his legal first aid and without observing the whole situation, which was, that there were two other pig cars in sight laying for an incident to occur, almost made a move, but one of the brothers cooled him down after checking out the situation. The car owned by Duberry's sister was not accompanied by a registration which was the pigs' excuse to pull the brothers in. After the pigs failed in their attempt to murder these brothers, they tried to pin a burglary charge on them. When this failed, the brothers were held for three hours, run through petty questioning and finally released. The car was impounded even though ownership papers were presented.

These type of violations of people's rights happen daily in our community and we must stop it. Black people need community control (decentralization) of police, so there won't be any mad freaks running amuck in our communities.

The Jersey City Black Community Information Center is the People's Center. There will be weekly community meetings, Liberation Schools and other community programs designed to educate our people beginning shortly. Come in and voice your opinion - learn about the Black Panther Party and help us to develop your Community Information Center. All types of assistance is needed, plumbers, carpenters, typists, and workers in other fields. The Center is open 24 hours to serve you - the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Jersey City Black Community Information Center
93 Summit Ave. J.C. New Jersey
(201) 333-7200 or 333-7201

PARENTS MOVE ON CONDITIONS AT DEARBORN SCHOOL

On Wednesday, April 29, 1970 a group of concerned parents who live in the Orchard Park Housing Project in Roxbury went to the Mayor's office to demand immediate action be taken to repair the physical conditions of the Dearborn School, which their children attend and that steps be taken to improve the general caliber of the curriculum. These mothers had already been to the School Committee several months before to complain about the deplorable conditions of the building, but as usual, their complaints were ignored and no action was taken.

and the students are constantly ill because one classroom might be 90 degrees and the next one 20 degrees.

The reaction by pig Mayor White to the demands of these parents was to try to pass the responsibility on to the Boston School Committee by saying that the power to determine what was to happen with the Dearborn School lay with the School Committee. Being the fool pig that he is, he failed to recognize that the power to determine the type of educational system which will be taught to our children and the conditions under which

fuse to be a part of this shuffling game any longer. If constructive steps aren't taken by SOMEONE to repair the building, they promised Pig White that they would burn the school down themselves so that it would have to be entirely rebuilt.

The parents in Orchard Park have come to realize, as Black and all poor people across Babylon are beginning to understand, that the fools who help to turn the wheels of this racist pig government have no respect for the needs and desires of the masses of people it is supposed to serve. The only

2nd ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE PEOPLE'S BLACK COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTER

The Black Community Information Center has been moving to get a traffic light installed at the nine lane intersection at Absecon Blvd. and Virginia Ave. Rufus McGill's daughter got hit by a car at this intersection. Mr McGill petitioned, wrote the state and talked with city officials, but all of this failed to produce results.

The Black Community Information Center is here to meet the basic needs and desires of the people in our community. The results of petitioning showed the definite need for a traffic light at this intersection. When we presented this petition to fascist Floriani, he completely disregarded it, just like the pig officials have always been disregarding Black people.

Fascist Floriani has quite a record as a pig. He is a racist, a fascist, and a high school drop out. He has done many things for the Black community such as getting more concentration camps, police dogs, B5MM tanks and putting pigs in the schools. He even had the audacity to tell people not to donate to our Free Breakfast Program, because we are a "subversive organization". You're right we're subversive to all this madness, and we want fascist freak Floriani impeached.

We went down to city hall to get a permit for a rally last week. A rally to protest the non-concern of the city officials in dealing with the traffic light. First we went to see nigger lackey, commissioner Carlos La Sane. Carlos La Sane is one of those endorsed spokesmen who looks like he's from the Black community, talks like he's

from the Black community, but his puppet-like actions expose him as being the root-licking buffoon that he really is. We went to this fool, and he reminded me of a tape recorder as he oinked and gestured for us to see his superior punk Ponzio. Ponzio sent us to see Sommers, who is the pig mayor. Sommers told us that we would have to see pig-chief Cade. When we got to pig Cade's office, he excused himself to get a drink of water. When he returned he brought back with him three special squad (S.S.) pigs wearing their 38's.

We asked the pigs why they were there and they answered that it was a coincidence. We asked Cade for the permit and he said that they would check it out and let us know the next day at 3 o'clock.

The next day we came back and the same three pigs showed up again. This time they wore .357 magnums. They took us upstairs to a room: in this room sat all the pig commissioners and the mayor. It just so happened that five members of the pig press were there. We asked them to leave and they wouldn't so we didn't speak.

We knew that this whole meeting was a set-up so I would like to take this time to say to all the pig commissioners, pig police, and pig press members that you are all exposed and that you deserve whatever treatment the people see fit to give you.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Tony Horton
Black Community Information Center A.C. New Jersey
Black Panther Party

DEARBORN SCHOOL



RATS RUN AMUCK THROUGHOUT THE SCHOOL.

Once again the facts were exposed: that there is no cafeteria in the school and the lunch brought from home by the students is eaten by the rats who run amuck throughout the building before the children get a chance to eat it themselves; that some of the students go the way home to use the bathroom because the facilities at the school are so filthy and most often unworkable that they can't be used;

that system will function, lies not with some bureaucratic committee (Boston School Committee). The power of determining the direction of the schools lies with the PEOPLE whose lives are affected by this education - in this case, the STUDENTS AND PARENTS IN ORCHARD PARK.

Because these mothers had been given the run-around by these fools so many times before, they now re-

way that we are going to meet our need for a decent education or anything else fulfilled is by forming a united front and taking care of business ourselves--then we will have real community control.

ALL POWER BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE!
Diana Hoberson
Boston Chapter
Black Panther Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

&
The MINISTRY OF INFORMATION,
of the

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, has moved to a new location. It is located in the Black Colony of West Oakland -

1048 PERALTA ST., not far from the site where our imprisoned

MINISTER OF DEFENSE,

HUEY P. NEWTON, was wounded by the Oakland Pig Dept. on the 28th of October, 1967. The move is back into the Heart of the Black Colony. 🐾

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
and
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

phone (415) 465-5047 / 465-5048/465-5049

RE: RANDY WILLIAMS POLITICAL PRISONER



the bridge of the nose (rendering the alleged fracture a compound one); and the patient apparently was somewhat disoriented, since Dr. Yahr stated that the patient could not give his name, being listed as a "John Doe". It was then alleged that the patient did not (or could not) sign a treatment permit at Highland Hospital; and so, was transferred, without treatment, to the Oakland City Jail. On direct questioning by the undersigned, the patient stated that he did not recall any events following his injury, until he was in the Oakland City Jail, except for one vague recollection of being injected in the arm with a needle (presumably at Highland Hospital).

Because of your concern about Mr. Williams' neurological condition (after seeing him at the Oakland City Jail on Sunday, April 19, 1970, you contacted me, and, as you recall, we went to the jail at about 10 PM that night, where we were refused access to the patient, both by the Sergeant in charge of the Jail, and by the Watch Commander of the Patrol Division, a police captain. As you may also recall, we were both told by the captain that Mr. Williams "did not need a doctor" (direct quote from the captain).

The following day, apparently after conversation between you and a judge, and after I spoke with Dr. Chan, the City Jail physician, I was finally admitted to see Mr. Williams. At that time, Mr. Williams was somewhat lethargic, had a blood-encrusted laceration of the bridge of the nose, had swelling and deformities of the nose itself, with some

April 24, 1970
Peter F. Franck, Esq.
2905 Telegraph Ave.
Berkeley, California 94705

Dear Mr. Franck:

Re: Williams, Mr. Louis R.

This is a medical report, dealing with the above-named patient, who is a client of yours, whom I saw twice, once on April 20, 1970, at the Oakland City Jail, and again on April 23, 1970, at the Alameda County Jail in Oakland.

Mr. Williams received extensive head and facial injuries during his apparent apprehension by the Oakland Police Department recently. He was allegedly taken to Highland Hospital where he was seen by Dr. James Yahr, the resident covering the neuro-surgical service, and x-rays were taken which reportedly revealed a fracture of the bones of the nose. In addition, there was reportedly a fresh laceration of

ATTEMPTED MURDER OF PANTHER BY VIGILANTES

On Friday, May 15, 1970 at 10:06 a.m. an explosion occurred at 524 N. Wall St. in Carbondale, Illinois. The occupants of the house were Reginald Brown, 21, Robert Cencer, 20, and Paulett Webb, 19. The bomb was planted in the room in which Reggie and Paula occupied. Extensive damage occurred throughout the house. The whole front portion of the house was blown apart and every window was shattered. The force of the explosion caused Paulett to lose part of her hearing and her legs were hurt by shrapnel. Robert suffered lacerations, burns and shock from flying objects. But Reggie was the most severely injured. He suffered damage to his lungs from smoke inhalation, groin

point at long after he had been removed. They arrived momentarily after the explosion and right away they fled in the house and began removing property and belongings of the occupants.

Why was this attack made and what made Reggie the recipient of this murder attempt. Reginald Brown is a member of the Black Panther Party and a strong courageous Freedom Fighter. He is also a combatant in the never ending struggle against ignorant "red neck" racism in Southern Illinois and "racist dog" police repression against the people of the Black Community. He along with Robert organized the Free Breakfast for Children Program, various fund raising events for the community,

made a commitment. But when they started taking appropriate action to begin educational and functional programs in the Black Community and when they began to educate the people to the power they hold as a mass then they became the targets of every insane, degenerate, psychotic attack that these perpetrators of evil and White American racism could unleash.

Reggie, Paula, and Robert had shown through their daily actions that they were not going to allow a reactionary White ruling class to murder, brutalize, and enslave their people. They began to show the people the correct manner in which to move to solve some of the problems in the community and to



INSIDE OF DEMOLISHED HOUSE, WRECKED BY SICK SADISTIC RACISTS, CREATING VICTIMS OF BABYLONIAN TERROR.



OUTSIDE OF HOUSE IN WHICH BOMB WAS PLANTED, FASCIST SEQUEL TO THE MAY 1969 DESTRUCTION OF PANTHER OFFICE IN DES MOINES, IOWA.

injuries, burns over most of his body, shock and amputation of his leg 3 inches below his knee.

Reggie is presently confined in the Doctors Hospital in intensive care. Paulett is in the infirmary making a slow recovery. Robert has been incarcerated in the Jackson county jail, after being kidnapped from the hospital. All three are facing criminal charges for illegal possession of weapons and possession of an explosive device. In an attempt to make the victims look like attackers these racist pigs are trying to charge them with possession of the bomb that was used in the murder attempt. Bond for all three has been set at \$15,000.

The force of the explosion was so terrific that it blew out most of the windows in surrounding houses and blew everything out of the room into the front yard including Reggie's foot, which the pigs allowed the people to gape at and

deviation of the nasal septum; and bilateral ecchymosis of the eyelids (black eyes). He walked slowly and gave evidence of being in severe discomfort. After my conversation with Dr. Chan, apparently the patient had been given a dose of Codeine, and this relieved him somewhat.

General physical examination revealed an underweight young man with the above-described external injuries. Vital signs were normal and the heart, lungs, abdomen, and extremities were within normal limits. Neurological examination revealed the patient to be oriented, although he was sluggish in his responses to questions. Cranial nerves II through XII were normal except for the fact that the patient's visual acuity was reduced, apparently a result of a visual defect, usually corrected with glasses, which the patient did not have in his possession. There was moderately severe conjunctival injection bilaterally. Examination of the motor system revealed no muscle weakness, and the reflexes were of normal activity. There were no pathological reflexes. Sensory examination (to touch, pin-

prick, vibration, and position) was normal. Finger coordination was normal. Gait was somewhat unsteady due to the lethargy; but no signs of cerebellar dysfunction were present. Mental status was as described.

It was my opinion that the patient had suffered a fairly severe cerebral concussion at the time of the original injury. There was, in addition, evidence of a compound fracture of the nose, an injury which may be fought with a high incidence of infection, often severe. I therefore prescribed Potassium Penicillin V, 50 mg. every six hours along with Neosporin ophthalmic ointment, to be used in the eyes. I was assured that the patient would receive both his penicillin tablets and his eye ointment as prescribed.

On April 23, 1970, I re-visited the patient, this time at the Alameda County Jail in Oakland. I found that his pain had decreased a great deal, but that his facial deformities were unchanged. The blood-encrusted laceration on the nose was showing signs of drying its scab (scorp) and the ecchymoses (black eyes) persisted.

I was told by the patient that he had not received the medication that I had prescribed, in a regular fashion; but, following his transfer to the County Jail, he was now receiving the medicine in the prescribed dosage. Neurological examination on April 23 revealed improvement of the lethargic state.

It is my opinion that the patient suffered a fairly severe concussion at the time of his injury, and that he has a compound fracture of the nose. The present regimen of treatment should be sufficient for the time being, but I would recommend that, in the near future, Mr. Williams be seen by an ear, nose, and throat specialist, in consultation for possible further treatment of the nasal injury. I have left instructions at the County Jail that Mr. Williams is to receive his penicillin for a total of seven days. I will be stopping by from time to time to check on him for possible complications.

defend themselves from every racist onslaught with their lives if need be.

But we will not allow them to give up their lives or to spend them incarcerated in jail for crimes that they did not commit and were actually the victims of. By no means Ku-Klux-Klan, White Hats and anybody else are we going to allow you to take these Black warriors out of the struggle for freedom and peace. Mayor Keene of Carbondale made a statement to the press that he had been watching Reggie for three years and that he knew he was dangerous. Well to you we say that you had better watch the whole Black Colony because we're all dangerous. For we realize that you're going to come for us one at a time, but we will not go, one at a time.

Realist, Struggle, Counter Attack
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Illinois Chapter,
Ministry of Information

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Thank you for reflecting this interesting young man to me for my care.

Very truly yours,

WHAT GOES AROUND COMES AROUND



LANCE BELL FACES DEATH BY THE ELECTRIC CHAIR

Black Panther, Lance Bell, 20 who faces the electric chair has been a political prisoner since Nov. 1969. He was imprisoned after being a witness to the murder of Panther Spurgeon "Jake" Winters.

Jake as you remember, was murdered while defending himself, after killing two of 500 pig police who were attacking the Black community that night. And we say right on Jake, a man, a warrior, a revolutionary, because a people who have suffered at the hands of the oppressor for so long, have no choice but to defend themselves.

Walking alone in his neighborhood at the time, Lance Bell witnessed this attack launched by police canine units, helicopters, paddy wagons, and highly armed men who were there under the pretext of looking for a suspected brawl. In reality they were there to wreak havoc in the community. Because Lance was on the scene at 58th and Calumet observing them shooting wildly into that area, he was imprisoned and charged with the killing of two policemen. He now faces the ultimate in punishment that this judicial system can render---the electric chair. He was charged because the police know that Jake who was murdered, can pay no penalty. So in their mad vengeance they chose Lance, a spectator, to pay a cost

which they themselves should pay. But Lance is a Black Panther and if you know anything about repression of the Party, then you know that the judicial system is out to prosecute Lance.

It seems futile to say that Lance has never been convicted before, or that he was unarmed, or that he was brutally beaten after his arrest, because this is the usual case when a Black person is arrested. And it is usual for people to lament about unfair trials where injustice is meted out as punishment after sentencing. But let's not do the usual things. Let's make this an unusual case, because for too long too many have died for too little.

Let's go to court demanding a fair trial for Lance and Gene Lewis and Monty Power, two black men who also face the electric chair. Let's tell the courts and the policing officials that these brothers will not meet death in this manner with legal assassins who will try to force them into the death chair. No, these brothers will never sit in the seat of death with henchmen all around, because we the people, say that death will be forced on no one but YOU OUR ENEMIES.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The people's revolutionary forces, effectively schooled in the hit and run tactics of urban guerrilla warfare dealt with the fascist police of Des Moines, Iowa early last Wednesday morning as they inflicted heavy damage with an explosive device that punched out most of the window in the three story pig sty building and destroyed police cars on the adjacent parking lot.

The explosion which occurred shortly after 4 a.m., blasted a large hole in the side of the building and knocked out all communications, and facilities. Shaken up pigs who later investigated the strategic move against them, said that it was believed that dynamite or possibly "military plastics" had been placed on the electric transformer near the southwest corner of the block long structure.

Chief of Des Moines fascist pigs Wendell "low lifted" Nichols who declined to oink out a publishable speculation on the motive for the long overdue bombing and 16 political prisoners that were housed inside of that rat/roach bedbug, infested damaged building had been transferred to the Polk County Jail. Although one injury was reported there is little doubt that the entire armed force shock troopers of Des Moines are yet suffering severe mental anguish from the crystal clear revolutionary message "Later for you crazy pigs". Your game is up and your last days are here.

Meanwhile in the police station in California 55 puppet assembly-

men voted the required two-thirds vote for law and order legislation allowing the death sentence for anyone who causes severe injury by planting bombs.

The extension of the death penalty-- the first in at least 20 years was politically motivated by rich conservative reactionary political forces and proposed by their lackeys republican majority floor leader W. Craig "OJ" Pervert Biddle at the request of Evelle J. Younger, the Los Angeles district attorney who is now running for the attorney general of the police state of California, but who the people will soon have running for their pig hearted lives. At the legislative committee hearing in Sacramento, California on the bombing bill, Younger and other flunky witnesses cited the February bombing of San Francisco's Park police station in which hog smelling cop sergeant was offed and several other oinking Mafioso officers in red illustrated the need for the death sentence legislation.

But what goes around comes around. Violence is the tool of fascism. The oppressed people of this decadent American society are sick and tired of having repressive pigs on their backs and also on the horizons are the combinations of the people's underground revolutionary forces that are prepared to deal with such problems by any means necessary! The people's politicians are living with the new bombing legislation and are only trying to

bring about another illegal means of carrying out further genocide against the political literate masses.

The Black Panther Party and its organizing bureau the National Committee to Combat Fascism have repeatedly made efforts to educate the masses and to continually stress the need for Community Control of Police on a nation wide level. This is a political necessity. Yet because of the Black Panther Party and the National Committees to Combat Fascism's efforts, the racist power structure has retaliated by outright acts of war, and escalating it's genocidal attacks against the Black Panther Party in particular as well as heightened it's brutality torture and wanton murder against all the Black people of this decadent nation in general. Guerilla type bombings are but one facet reciprocal actions necessary at this time to stop fascist criminal tactics and to educate the U.S. mis-government to the fact that until community control of police comes about, they themselves are vulnerable to the same sort of gestapo repressive tactics that they direct against the people and the people's liberation struggle.

SEIZE THE TIME!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
HIGH POWER TO THE BOMBS!

Raymond Lewis
Community News Service

LETTER FROM JAIL/ALI BEY HASSAN



In opposing subjectivism one must learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones. The mistakes of the past or today, must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities. Therefore it would be necessary to study, and criticize what was, and is wrong in the past, and present with a scientific attitude so that Party work in the future will be done more carefully.

That is what is meant by "Learning with criticism, we must not put all attention to criticism outside the Party. We must deal with inner party criticism, which guards and deals against subjectivism in the Party. However, criticism is not always used, in this manner and sometimes turns into personal attack. This kind of criticism damages the party or individuals. This kind of character is called petty bourgeois individualism. So the correct thing to do concerning members, is to help them understand criticism, and self criticism, which in turn increases their party spirit, and is not to be used as a means of personal attack by anyone.

Also, being subjective is when one looks at matters one sidedly, instead of looking at things objectively. So by looking objectively you can understand both sides of the matter. We can't correct subjective individuals who have made mistakes, by lashing out at that individual; we must approach that comrade objectively and point out politically his or her mistakes with objective criticism. So as to our personal shortcomings unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes there is no need to be over critical, or the comrades concern will be at a loss as to what to do. Once such criticism develops members will become timid and over cautious, and forget the Party's political tasks. Also in dealing with criticism, we must not put all attention to criticism outside the Party. We must deal with inner party criticism, which guards and deals against subjectivism in the Party. However, criticism is not always used, in this manner and sometimes turns into personal attack. This kind of criticism damages the party or individuals. This kind of character is called petty bourgeois individualism. So the correct thing to do concerning members, is to help them understand criticism, and self criticism, which in turn increases their party spirit, and is not to be used as a means of personal attack by anyone.

Brother Ali Bey Hassan
Panther 21
"SEIZE THE TIME"

Fascist Plan National Genocide Against The Black Panther Party

Recently, The Baltimore chapter of the Black Panther Party received reliable information that Donald Pomerleau was attending a meeting that was related not only to eliminating the people's vanguard here in Baltimore, but nation wide as well! The purpose of this meeting of fascist criminal puppets was designed to mobilize all the racist pig police elements and move them into the Black colony to terrorize Panthers and Panther supporters. The White pigs have been given different orders than the black pig police. The so called Black pigs have been told to harass, brutalize and then kidnap anyone expected of being involved with the Black Panther Party or anyone who supports in any way. The just

of Black and oppressed people. Because of their most recent attempt to silence the cries of liberation, that Black people have intoned, the masses of people must stand in liberation and expose this impending vicious shock trooper invasion and occupation of the black colony, that is endorsed by governor Marvin Mandel and carried out by Mafioso police commissioner Donald Pomerleau! The Baltimore police even now is in the process of breaking up internally, because of the antagonism between the Black and White pigs on the gestapo force and between the Black police who are skeptical about invading our community and the house niggers who are informing about Black police who

are willing to stand up and be counted as true servants of the people. Time has almost run out for the fascist dogs are using state terror to suppress our legitimate struggle, and we must seize the time and halt this trend of horror that leads to our destruction! The days when so-called public leaders can blindfold us into fascism must cease and through our resistance to the raging tide of oppression and murder by the armed racist power structure we must insure that those days and nights are gone.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Baltimore Chapter
Black Panther Party

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF BALTIMORE

This is a statement of appeal to the people of Baltimore concerning the recent and blatant attempt of the power structure of this city to intimidate and vilify the Black Panther Party and there by crush the just liberation struggle of Black and oppressed people.

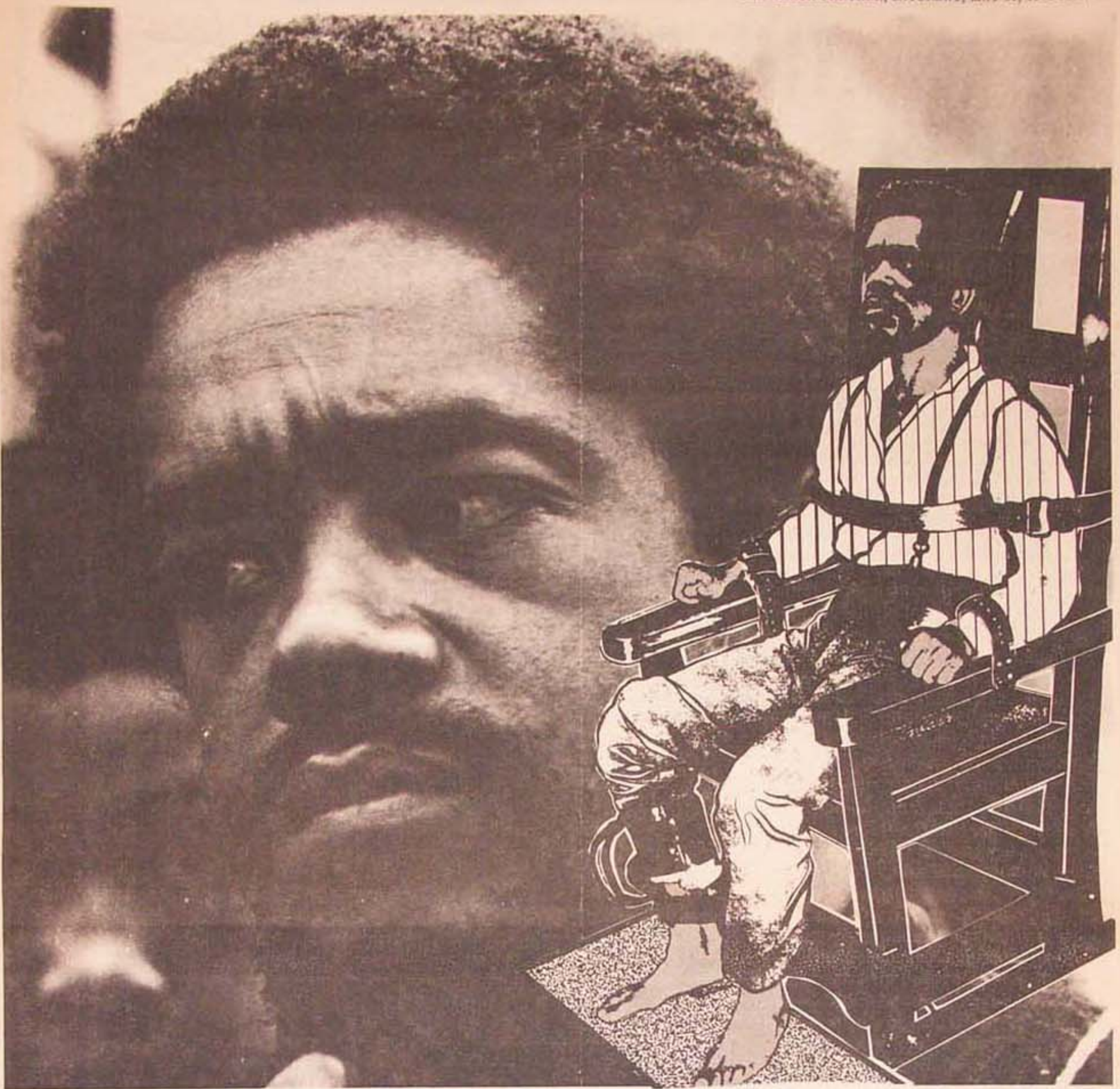
Due to the unjustified political kidnapping (arrest) of members and former members of this chapter, we are calling on the masses of the people in Baltimore and Maryland to contribute whatever legal defense assistance and as much needed funds that they may have. The Black Panther Party realizes that the concerned and progressive people of this city will in time come forward in solidarity and support those brothers and sisters who are presently being held without bail with the

funds needed for their legal defense.

Any and all types of assistance are needed at this time to insure a fair and impartial and bail hearings for those arrested. We cannot afford the luxury of being complacent with the lives of the men and women who have been illegally framed on charges that do not reflect the true ideology and purpose of the Black Panther Party. Seize the time that is so critical for the survival of the men and women in custody and contribute whatever you can to their defense.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Mail your contribution to:
Panther Defense Fund
P.O. BOX 542
Baltimore, Maryland





**THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A MASS
RALLY AND NATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE
TO ANNOUNCE DATE AND PLACE OF**

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

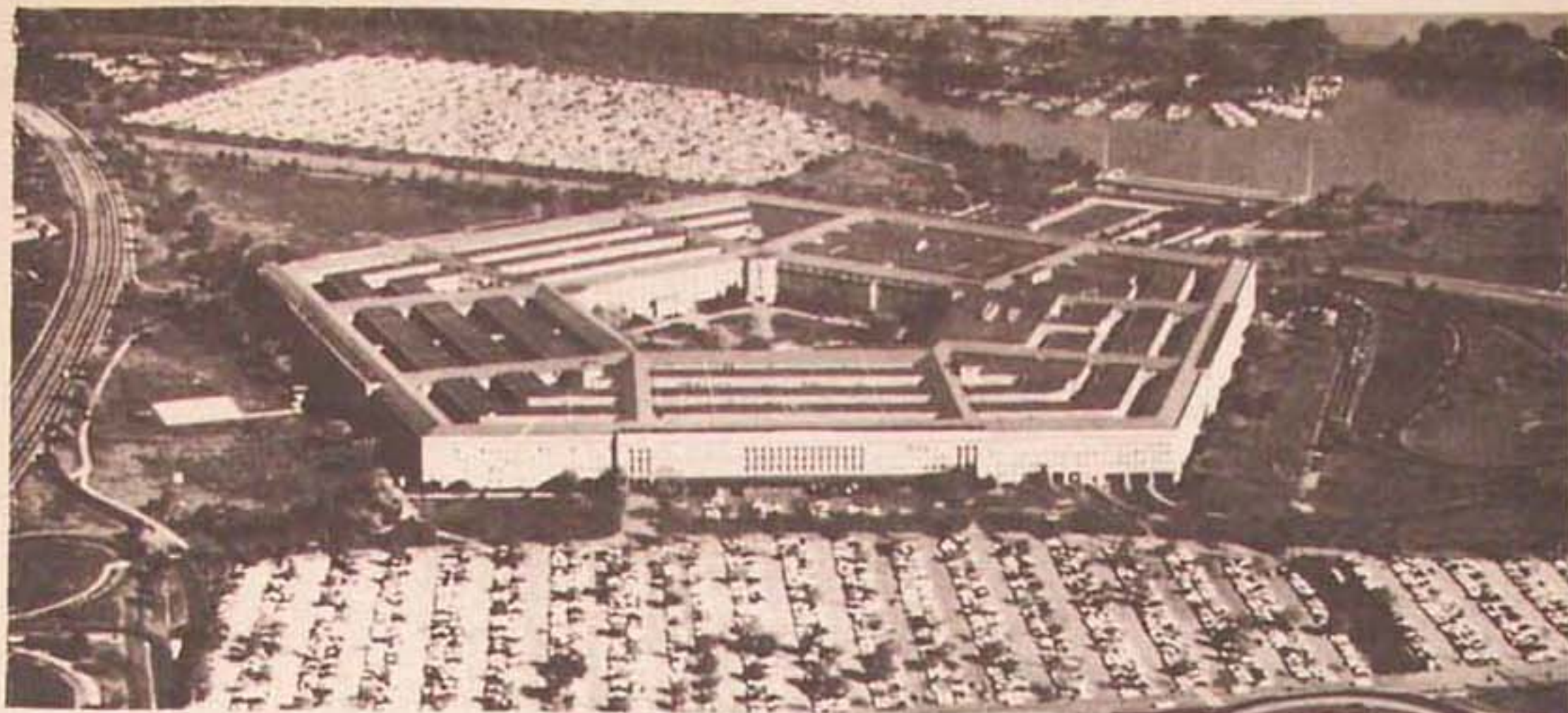
Lincoln Memorial Washington, D.C. June 19, 1970

For Further Information
Contact NCCF
2327 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 265-4418 - 4419

The Shackling like a Slave of Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale is like the Reincarnation of Dred Scott 1857. This Brazen Violation of Bobby Seale's Constitutional Rights Exposes Without a Doubt that Black People have No Rights That The Racist Oppressor Is Bound To Respect. 🐾

THE PENTAGON

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



THE PENTAGON

In Babylon today, power is in the hands of the Pentagon. For Black people the power in Babylon has always rested in the hands of the forces that are now centralized in the Pentagon. Under the dictatorship of Richard The Pig Hearted all politics are being transferred into war and in order to deal with this situation, Pig Hearted has turned directly to the Pentagon.

Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, has said that "Politics is war without bloodshed, and war is politics with bloodshed." The Detroit rebellion of 1967 was highly political. As were all the Black rebellions throughout the blood-stained history of Babylon. But it was during the Detroit rebellion that Lyndon Baines Johnson ran to the Pentagon for help. Johnson turned Detroit over to the Pentagon, to the Department of Defense and Black people were repressed by a military operation masterminded from the Pentagon.

Following Detroit, Johnson created in the Pentagon a center for urban military problems. This center is of the same character as all the other centers in the Pentagon that deal with other theaters of war, such as Indochina and Palestine. Inside the Pentagon, Babylon itself has been tagged as a theater of war and inside the center for military problems, war games are plotted on maps on the walls. A little colored light blinks on and off and the brains of the Pentagon plot just how they will move given a certain situation. The pigs of the Pentagon have a program for the repression of dissent and rebellion inside Babylon, and Pig Hearted Nixon is moving in such a way that the only force inside Babylon that can possibly keep him in power is the Pentagon. Some people prefer to talk about the "Military Industrial Complex." But we think that is wrong. We think

that this so-called complex is ultimately and essentially controlled by the Pentagon simply because in the last analysis the Pentagon controls the guns and it is still true that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The Pentagon is nothing but the headquarters for the policemen of the whole world. Pigs. And the pigs of the Pentagon are dug in deep. Suddenly the Pentagon becomes known to us as the most important factor in our lives and our struggle to survive and we are shocked to discover that we know almost nothing about the Pentagon. It is shrouded in mystery projected as a myth, yet it reaches out to kill us, strikes us down dead.

Even though we are ignorant about the inner workings of the Pentagon, the Pentagon is the force that we must deal with. It has been made clear to us that White America regards us as a military problem. The domestic police-local police departments and National Guard-have all been programmed by the Pentagon.

Following the Detroit rebellion, the Pentagon put out a call to all the governors, mayors, chiefs of police and heads of national guard units. These pigs flocked to the Pentagon and held meetings where the problems of suppressing Black people in particular and dissenters in general were discussed. Battle plans were formulated. Each city considered to be a hot spot was programmed. It was after these series of meetings that the police departments throughout the United States began arming themselves with the same military equipment and weapons that are being used against the people in Vietnam.

General Davis, the long time Black lackey who was made chief of police of Cleveland, Ohio, is a creature of the Pentagon and the

clearest example of what we are now faced with. On other levels, GI's returning from Vietnam are offered special benefits and privileges if they join the domestic police.

The terroristic nature of murder by pigs under the Nixon Administration is the result of conspiracies hatched at the Pentagon. The recent murders of students at Kent, Jackson, and Augusta makes it very clear that an over all plan is in action. This pig plan calls for persecution on political judicial levels and slaughter in the streets. This is the classical plan for operation employed by oppressors in the process of putting down the rebellions of oppressed people against colonial and imperialist rule.

We have offed the pigs' political and the pigs' judicial system and now the big pigs, the demagogic politician and the avaricious businessmen have only one card to play against us: the Pentagon. It is to our advantage to get this clearly in our minds so that we can continue to know our enemy. We must focus our attack on the operations of the Pentagon and thoroughly expose this vicious plot against us. But beyond the need to expose the Pentagon there is also the need to destroy it. The Pentagon must be eliminated as the brain center for the suppression of the people of the whole world. This pentagonism was thoroughly exposed recently when the Pentagon dispatched troops to Cambodia at the same time that it dispatched troops to New Haven to intimidate the May Day Mass Rally. 4000 Marine and Paratroopers were sent in to back up 8000 National Guardsmen who were backing up the local police. This is the special repressive forces of the state in operation.

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EXCERPTS FROM POWER AT THE PENTAGON

By Jack Raymond



In the spring of 1961 an American Army divisional commander was spouting the ideas of the Rightist John Birch Society. This was the beginning of the "Walker Case."

Major General Edwin Anderson "Ted" Walker, commander of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany, was a well-known officer; a tall, lean-visaged, Texas bachelor regarded as a great "catch" in the Army social whirl. He led combat troops in the Korean War. After the Korean War, he revealed signs of restlessness and impatience. There seemed nothing to fight for or against. When he asked to be relieved of a Pentagon staff assignment within six months, his superiors decided to send him to a "safe" place where he could sort himself out. They chose the Arkansas Military District, where he would handle National Guard and Reserve affairs. Seven weeks after Walker settled into his office in Little Rock, he was responsible for maintaining the peace in President Eisenhower's effort to enforce desegregation at Central High School. The experience was for General Walker—a Southerner with a parochial view—a "last straw." He said afterward he regarded the use of troops in desegregation as a "non-military adventure."

In September, 1962, the man who had "kept the peace" at Little Rock joined and, in at least one instance, incited the rioters on the University of Mississippi campus at the time of the enrollment of James Meredith, a Negro. The resultant battle of brick, rocks, Molotov cocktails and tear gas left two dead and hundreds injured. The

former Army officer was charged with insurrection and seditious conspiracy. The charges afterward were dropped.

More than five hundred long-range jet bombers are ready at all times to take off within minutes of an alert signal and fly nearly halfway round the world and back without refueling. Each warplane can deliver at least one twenty-megaton bomb—one thousand times more powerful than the twenty-kiloton bomb that pulverized Hiroshima. The Air Force possesses also more than fifteen hundred "obsolescent" jet bombers that can carry out similar missions with the aid of remarkable mid-air refueling tanker planes. To be certain of immediate response, a certain number of flight crews sit in their planes at the end of runways. Those away from the field maintain contact as teams, even visiting the barber or going to the movies in pairs and keeping their automobile wheels turned away from the curb to permit speedy getaway.

In Korea more than a decade after America's "nastiest" and most unpopular war, some forty thousand United States troops still man dug-in positions along the demilitarized zone bordering Communist North Korea. Known as the "forgotten front," Korea produces occasional clashes and casualties.

There is another grim military commitment in the steaming jungles and cold mountains of South Vietnam. It is a clumsy and endlessly frustrating war, absorbing more than fifteen thousand of the very best men that the United States can muster. Pentagon officials have expressed the hope of withdrawing

most of these men by 1965, but have made it clear that many Americans will have to stay on the scene to help train the South Vietnamese in their struggle against Communist insurgents. Technically, the Americans do not engage in battle, although they fly transport planes and helicopters and "fire back when fired upon." Such direct support has resulted in American casualties.

The news reports told how General Walker had established a "special warfare" office to conduct his "pro-Blue" campaign and had opened the campaign with a meeting at which he charged "Communism has infiltrated every institution in the United States in an attempt to overthrow our way of life." Copies of *The Life of John Birch*, a book by the society's chief publicist, Robert Welch, Jr., of Belmont, Massachusetts, were said to have been distributed to the division's day rooms and copies of the society's magazine, *American Opinion*, were put on sale on Army newsstands in the division area. The reports added that the Division's weekly newspaper printed at least one article from the Birchist magazine.

"True, the world has always been a dangerous place whether in the jungle or in the paths of Genghis Khan, the Goths, or Hitler's forces. But we had to achieve a high degree of civilization before we could make the danger to the world potentially complete."

—Eugene M. Zuckert,
Secretary of the Air Force

BOOKS TO READ FOR REFERENCE

PENTAGONISM POLICE ESTABLISHMENT
Juan Bosch William W. Turner

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION
OF THE CONSTITUTION
Charles E. Beard





METHOD, TIME, AND REVOLUTION

Eldridge Cleaver,
Minister of Information,
Black Panther Party, U.S.A.



Many people can absolutely agree on the inescapable necessity of destroying the system of oppression under which we now suffer, and for replacing it with something better. But what divides us is the questions of How? and When?

How do we move, precisely, to successfully accomplish our goal without, in the process, negating our goal?

When do we move?

Once we realize what has to be done and also how to do it, we enter the political movement, and after that, the way that we move defines us politically. The expla-

nation as to why we choose to move in a certain way requires a psychiatrist -- for us, Fanon. (By now, we should all have studied Fanon's *THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH*.)

We believe that Huey P. Newton, after carefully defining our present situation, discovered the form that our struggle must take in order to successfully achieve our goal. And he also showed us when to move.

Huey defined the situation of Black people inside the United States as a domestic colony of U.S. Imperialism. A colony inside the very lair of the rapacious beast of imperialism. A colony sharing the same land mass as the colonizers, the population of the colony dispersed throughout the population of the colonial power. Neither separated by either land or water.

Huey defined the police department as the strong-arm force used by the imperialists to suppress the colonized people, terrorize them, and keep them in check. This is a constant process of brutalization, because the people are constantly moving to break their chains. Huey said that the police departments occupy our Black communities in the same way and for the same purpose as a foreign troop occupies conquered territory. To free ourselves from the system of oppression, Huey said that we had to liberate ourselves from this strong-arm force. We had to break the power of the gun which this strong-arm force relies on to keep us at bay. Because of the very nature of the conflict, Huey said that we must use guns to offset the guns of the pigs.

"We must organize ourselves in a political fashion and take up arms," Huey would say.

When looking at Black people as

a whole, Huey saw that the brothers and sisters off the block, the Black Lumpen within the urban centers, constituted the explosive point, that section of our people so situated that they have no choice but to move. Historically, the White racist system of oppression and exploitation has held out only death and destruction to our people as an alternative to slavery.

The prospects for brothers and sisters off the block are prison, death, the U.S. Armed Forces, or a short, hard, and bitter life. All alternatives provided for us by the system have in common that we are unnaturally destroyed--destroyed by the very functioning of the system of oppression, which is controlled by other men of another social class. The only redeeming path left open to us is the path of total war against the system of oppression against which each succeeding generation of our people have struggled for 400 years.

Pigs stand in line with programs and games of disaster to run down on Black people. But now that Black people have begun to run down a program for themselves, pigs get uptight. The foundation of the Black Panther Party is the 10 Point Program and Platform. This is why the hand picked apologists for the system of oppression always try to criticize and belittle our Program and Platform. Some of them say that it is not revolutionary. Others say that it is full of hate. But it is our own program and platform, drawn up for ourselves by ourselves. And it will be us who will change it or revise it when and if we see fit. Our ideology is reality and our program and platform is designed to cope with and control the reality of our daily lives, our destiny.

CONT. ON NEXT PAGE

METHOD, TIME, AND REVOLUTION



The real daily life of oppressed people is Political Education. Reality becomes their ideology. With them, theory is united with practice because they know that literally they are struggling to survive against odds, against a gigantic international system of oppression that is specifically designed to destroy them. There are other classes of people to whom the oppression is abstract. In a poetic fashion, they know that, theoretically, they are also oppressed, etc. They relate to news of events and we compose the event itself. We relate to the event, they relate to news of the event. We are in a category of our own. America is a class and ethnic society, and the systematic oppression and exploitation of Black people is specifically structured and well-placed in the design of Babylon.

Brother Malcolm made it clear that history defined is ideology. The Black Panther Party says that the historical experiences of Black people is the foundation of our ideology. We transform our history into our ideology when we interpret it with scientific principles of universal application.

When Huey and Bobby launched the Black Panther Party, the only people who were willing to follow them, then, were the stone lumpen. The stomp-down Black lumpen proletariat is the backbone of the Black Panther Party. Without this backbone, the Party would only be a reflection of one of those mother country debating societies that take Marx and Lenin for their text.

The Black Lumpen, the brothers and sisters off the block, can relate to their party, the Black Panther Party, but they cannot relate to the category of the Working Class. From their perspective, the Working Class is part of the problem -- at least the right wing of the Working Class.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT WING OF THE WORKING CLASS IS QUALITATIVELY INDISTINCT FROM THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE LUMPEN AND OTHER CATEGORIES OF PIGS.

Before our people were crushed down into the position of slaves, we were well organized. Our history since that time has been an unbroken struggle to get reorgan-



The LUMPEN

ized. Only by organizing ourselves can we get the freedom, security, and respect that we lost. There are more Black people in the United State than there are pigs of the ruling class. Our population is larger than that of many sovereign nations of the earth. But only by relentlessly struggling can we smash out of the trickbag that we have been placed in.

Pigs, White racist pigs, say that Black people should not fight for their rights, that they should be peaceful, moderate, and reasonable. History will show that Black people have pursued their freedom and liberation with the utmost restraint, with patience, and long suffering. In fact, history will show that the pigs drove us to our knees, and that, down on our knees in the Luther King position, we begged for mercy. Down on our knees we begged White racist pigs for mercy. And not only did these pigs deny us justice, they denied us mercy. They denied us humanity itself. So let them criticize our weapons all they want to; Let us move on them, criticizing them with our weapons.

'Mercy' is not a word one should throw around loosely. Mercy is the other side of the coin of Pity. Mercy and Pity are civilized notions. They are, in fact, essential elements of a true civilization. When Mercy and

Pity are absent in any social organization, that society cannot be classified as civilized. Measured by that standard, Babylon must be totally destroyed -- and with Pity-Pity each pig heart that we cut out of a pig's chest, Pity it to death.

When we begged for Mercy we were the Blues People. We are not begging anymore and we are Black people. And pigs can't dig it, can't relate to it. For instance, they have provoked us to madness.

Madness. People are right when they say that Black people are not in a position to face down the pigs on their level. But we are in a position to implement head-up murder. We can guarantee the total destruction of Babylon -- with a form of struggle that pigs will call madness. But madness is the Black man's hydrogen bomb inside Babylon, and we must unleash this hydrogen bomb, now, because pigs are carrying out a genocidal conspiracy of extermination against our people. And since we have everything in the pot, why shouldn't everything and everybody in Babylon be in the pot with us? The name of the pot is Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party



(PAPA) ELDRIDGE



STOKELY'S JIVE

Stokely Carmichael has stated that he conceives it as his mission to educate Black people. Then why does he obstinately refuse to testify for Bobby Seale about his long friendship with George Sams, the traitor whose lying testimony is what the pigs are using in their premeditated attempt to murder Chairman Bobby in the electric chair?

I am sure that Stokely's testimony on this point would be very educational to the people of the whole world--who are watching, waiting, and listening to dig how Stokely moves. After all, it was none other than Stokely Carmichael who sent that running dog, George Sams, from Detroit to San Francisco in February 1968, and vouched to us for him, and personally sponsored him into the Black Panther Party.

Could Stokely's equivocation on helping Chairman Bobby have any-

thing to do with his miraculous ability to walk around Babylon free while brothers and sisters are being murdered in their sleep? Even Rap Brown was forced to draw a clear line of demarcation between himself and the enemy, and he was chairman of SNCC after Stokely. And Brother Ralph Featherstone is dead.

Could it be that Stokely's puzzling behavior hides something much deeper than that? Stokely Carmichael is no bumbling idiot. And he is not a wizard or a crossword puzzle. Why did he choose to resign from the Black Panther Party in the middle of the McClellan Committee hearings and denounce the Party with a jive Black Power version of the same charges that the McClellan Committee is designed to fabricate against the Party in the pigs' plan to destroy the Party?

Stokely, the upright Prima Donna of the "I'm Black and I'm Proud"

set, has made it very clear that he would like to see the Black Panther Party go out of existence. He thinks he is on some kind of "Come-Back" trail. He wants to see his name in lights again, his grinning face on the cover of magazines, his deeds and actions on everybody's lips. In Africa, his name is on everybody's lips -- but it has turned into a curse, a case study of another fat-mouth fool turning inside out. People ask, "What's wrong with Stokely?" I answer, the same thing that happened to Tshombe and Mobutu. Some poison at the core of his ego has burst forth, under pressure, and his true inclinations, his ultimate inclinations, are surfacing. I never will forget that he told us, during the Pan-African Cultural Festival, that "You guys are up there now, up on top, but just watch me, I'll be back up there."

Stokely is only one of his type. There are many more jackanapes running around who passionately hate the Black Panther Party, not because of any objective political analyses, but precisely because the Black Panther Party blew their game away and moved the stakes so high that their cowardly nature caved in and so they had to get off of a too hot scene. From the sidelines, they hover like vultures, more anxious than the pigs to see the Party die its last breath. These power mad egotists have begun to make all kinds of alliances in order to hang-on to the scene.

The basic problem of the type of nape we're discussing is that he has Black bourgeois origins and has great difficulty relating to the brothers and sisters off the block, the Lumpen, of which the Black Panther Party is composed. All these freaks with their college educations, from Jimmy Garrett, Ron Karenga, LeRoi Jones, to Sir Stokely, saw the sky falling in upon them and felt the carpet slipping under their feet when the Black Panther Party, led by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, came on the scene. Thrashing around wildly in the quicksand of their own twisted minds, they have reached out and shook hands with the Devil and said, "Power To Me, By Any Means Necessary".

To Stokely and his kind, we say: Neither one monkey nor a whole boxcar full is gonna stop this show because this is the final act. When the curtain falls, there will be prizes to hand out, and we will see to it that you get yours.

Now lick that up, Stokely, with your long, international tongue.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
SEIZE THE TIME, SEIZE THE LAND!
OFF ALL THE PIGS!
Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

U.S. IMPERIALISTS MUST RETURN OKINAWA IMMEDIATELY, UNCONDITIONALLY, AND COMPLETELY.

April 28 is the "day of Okinawa," designated as the day opposing the U.S. imperialists' occupation of Okinawa.

On this occasion, the Korean people express all-out support and militant solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Okinawa and Japan who have risen up against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' machination for aggression and war demanding the immediate, unconditional and complete return of Okinawa. At the same time, they sternly denounce the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries for their criminal plot to perpetuate the U.S. imperialist occupation of Okinawa and further step up their aggression on Korea and the rest of Asia.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great Leader of the 40 million Korean people, said as follows:

"Japan is serving the U.S. imperialists as supply base and attacking base for aggression against Asian countries." ("The Democratic People's Republic of Korea Is the Banner of Freedom and Independence for Our People and the Powerful Weapon of Building Socialism and Communism," p. 70.)

The occupation of Okinawa by the U.S. imperialists is an outcome of the aggressive collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

After their occupation of the Japanese territory of Okinawa in June 1945, the U.S. imperialist aggressors have turned this island, with the positive support and co-operation of the Japanese militarists, into their complete, new colony, the biggest military base and nuclear base for Asian aggression. Now on this small island of 2,300 square kilometres the U.S. imperialists have set up 150 or more military bases constantly stationing their aggression army of three services over 50,000 strong. Also they have converted this island into a big depot of nuclear and chemical weapons, a powder magazine and a base for nuclear-powered submarines and strategic bombers.

During the Korean war the U.S. imperialists used this aggressive base as an operation, supply and attacking base and now they are using it as an all-purpose base for the aggressive war in Vietnam and an advance base for aggression in Korea and the rest of Asia.

The occupation of Okinawa by the U.S. imperialists and its conversion into an aggressive military base are not only a grave infringement upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Japan but also a great menace to peace and security of Japan and the rest of Asia. It gravely menaces particularly the life of the one million inhabitants of Okinawa and causes intolerable, countless sacrifices and misfortunes to them.

The very roots of all the misfortunes and hardships the inhabitants of Okinawa are now suffering and the infringement on Japan's security and independence are the U.S. imperialist occupation of Okinawa, the Sato clique's U.S.-toeing policy and the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' plot for war of aggression. The Okinawa people can get rid of such hardships and lead a peaceful life and Japan's security and sovereignty be guaranteed as well only when the U.S. imperialists will be forced out of Okinawa and Japan win complete independence free from her subjugation to U.S. imperialism. And it is also beneficial to the maintenance of peace in Asia.

That is why the Japanese people, the inhabitants of Okinawa included, have all along opposed the U.S. imperialist occupation of Okinawa and its conversion into a military base and fought determinedly against the U.S. Japan



"U.S. IMPERIALISTS, DON'T ACT RASHLY!"

ese reactionaries' scheme for aggression and war demanding the complete return of Okinawa. And the world people are actively supporting their just struggle.

The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, under the strong pressure of the Japanese people's staunch struggle

and world public opinion, have been compelled to stage a farce of "return" of Okinawa. But this is nothing but a criminal trickery intended to pacify the ever-mounting just demand and powerful struggle of the Japanese people and keep this island permanently under the U.S. imperialist control

as a military base for aggression in a more cunning, sinister way.

And through this tricky farce the U.S. imperialists also are scheming, using the Sato clique, to step up the rearmament of Japanese militarism and turn the whole territory of Japan, like Okinawa, into their nuclear base. A-

long with this, the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are trying to extend indefinitely the terms of the U.S.-Japan "security pact," obviously for reshaping the U.S.-Japanese military alliance into a nuclear military one.

Behind all these criminal moves of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries for permanent occupation of Okinawa by U.S. imperialism is a sinister aim to strengthen the military compact between the U.S. and Japanese aggressors and use this island for aggression in Asia, a new war of aggression in Korea in particular.

Openly declaring that the Okinawa base is "directing its spearhead to North Korea," the U.S. imperialists are now building or expanding the military bases there on an extensive scale, with the aggressive armed forces reinforced with rapidly, and are kicking up a frantic racket of war exercise.

The reactionary Sato clique, cheek by jowl with the U.S. imperialists in this criminal policy, has openly clamoured that if the U.S. imperialists ignite a new aggressive war in Korea they would not only immediately put the whole territory of Japan, Okinawa included, to the use of the U.S. imperialists as operational base but also dispatch even Japan's "self-defence forces" to the battle front of Korea.

It clearly shows that the Sato clique is the very treacherous group selling the fundamental interests of the Japanese people right out to U.S. imperialism and its out-and-out stooges, blinded by wild aggressive ambition.

Today, the criminal tie-up between the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary Sato clique, their stooges, has reached the extreme in their scheme for aggression in Asia, Korea in particular.

The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' scheme for perpetual occupation of Okinawa by the U.S. imperial-

ists and indefinite extension of the U.S.-Japan "security pact" is aggravating tension in the Far East still further and greatly jeopardizing peace in Asia and Japan's independence and security.

The U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarists, their faithful jackals, are the inveterate common enemies of the peoples of Japan, Asia and the world.

The obtaining situation demands us to fight more vigorously against the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarists, their cat's paws.

Today, broad sections of the Japanese people as well as the democratic forces led by the Japan Communist Party are unfolding the struggle fiercely as never before to smash the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' policy of aggression and war, restore Okinawa and abrogate the U.S.-Japan "security pact."

The struggle of the Japanese people is a righteous, patriotic one for Japan's complete independence, peace and democratic development, and constitutes a link of the struggle for peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

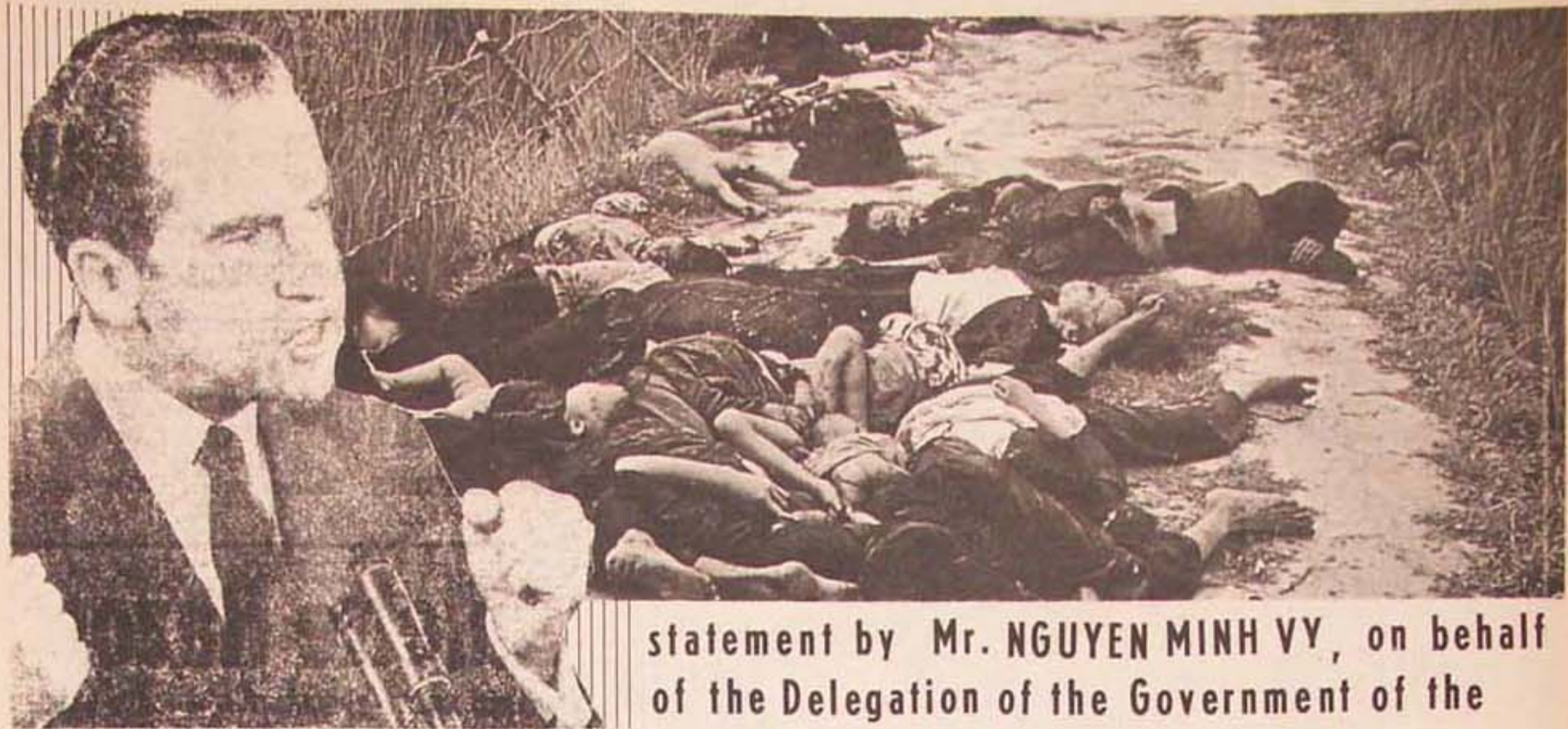
Comrade Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved Leader of the 40 million Korean people, said as follows:

"Our people support and express militant solidarity with the Japanese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and domestic monopoly capital for winning the country's complete independence, democracy and peace." (Ibid., p. 73.)

The U.S. imperialist occupation of Okinawa must be brought to an end, the island be returned immediately, unconditionally and completely and the U.S.-Japan "security pact" annulled.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors must quit at once Okinawa, South Korea and the rest of Asia.

POSTER TAKEN FROM DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA MAGAZINE No 160 1970



"SHOULD THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION BLINDLY PERSUE THE PATH OF AGGRESSION, NO MATTER HOW CRUEL AND PERFIDIOUS IT MAY BE, NO MATTER HOW MANY SCHEMES AND MANOEUVRES IT MAY RESORT TO, IT CANNOT AVOID TOTAL DEFEAT."

Ladies and Gentlemen,

What Mr. Nixon has recently done in the Indochinese peninsula and what he has recently stated, especially in his April 30 speech and May 8, 1970 press conference, have proved the correctness of our remarks on the bellicose nature, the obstinate and perfidious attitude of the Nixon Administration.

1. At no time since it took office has the Nixon Administration really meant to settle peacefully the Viet Nam problem on a fair and just basis such as that indicated in the 10-point overall solution advanced a year ago by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. On the contrary, it has always nurtured the illusion of gaining a military victory and of negotiating on a position of strength, in hope of achieving U.S. neo-colonialist goals not only in South Viet Nam but also in Laos and Cambodia, and continuing to play the role of a gendarme in Asia and in the world.

This is the reason why it refuses to end the war rapidly and to completely and unconditionally withdraw U.S. troops from South Viet Nam, whereas it advocates Vietnamization which means the prolongation of the war and of the U.S. military occupation.

This is the reason why it has escalated the war in Laos, and sunk the United States deeper and deeper into the war there. It has escalated to the extent of sending Thai mercenary troops to invade Laos on behalf of U.S. troops, thus implementing the "Nixon Doctrine" of using Asians to fight Asians.

This is also the reason why it staged the March 18, 1970 coup d'etat in Phnom Penh, liquidating the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia in an attempt to turn that country into a U.S. military base and new-type colony. And as the Khmer people, in response to the historic appeal made on March 23, 1970 by Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, were closing their ranks in the National United Front of Kampuchea and resolutely fighting back, making the situation more and more un-

favourable to the U.S. Imperialist and the Lon Non - Sirik Matak clique, the Nixon Administration from April 29, 1970 onwards mobilized an important force made up of U.S. troops and Saigon puppet army consisting of infantry, armoured units, air force including B-52s, and recently even navy, to blatantly cross the border and launch a massive armed aggression against Cambodia. Since then, the war in South Viet Nam has been officially extended to the whole of the Indochinese peninsula by the Nixon Administration, seriously threatening peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

Finally, it is also for the purpose of gaining a military victory and of negotiating from a position of strength that in the first days of May last the Nixon Administration launched extremely barbarous and large-scale air raids against many populous areas and economic installations in the provinces of Quang Binh and Nghe and in North Viet Nam; and that the U.S. Secretary of Defense openly threatened to resume the U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam.

These air attacks constitute a violation of the United States' commitment to completely stop all its bombardments against North Viet Nam, and an extremely gross encroachment on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In view of these extremely grave acts of the United States, our Delegation at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam expressed its firm protest in its May 6, 1970 statement and postponed for one week the 66th Plenary Session.

I deem it necessary to add that it is the United States having committed itself to totally and unconditionally stop its bombardments against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam that led to the convening of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. The bombings by the United States against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam during the first days of May last, have seriously jeopardized the work of the Paris Conference. If the United States

statement by Mr. NGUYEN MINH VY, on behalf of the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at the 66th Plenary Session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam

continued its bombardments against North Viet Nam, the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam would feel compelled to draw the necessary conclusions. The United States must bear the entire responsibility for all the grave consequences arising from its acts.

2. Along with its extremely bellicose and obstinate policy of aggression, the Nixon Administration also appears to be most cunning and perfidious, seeking every manoeuvres and allegation to deceive and placate American and world public opinion.

Mr. Nixon argued that the sending of troops into Cambodia and aircraft to bomb North Viet Nam was to protect the life of U.S. troops in South Viet Nam. This is a notorious argument aiming at justifying the extension of the war. As for the protection of the life of U.S. troops, the best way is for Mr. Nixon to rapidly withdraw all U.S. troops from South Viet Nam and let them enjoy early family reunion.

In the face of the firm and vigorous protest raised by the American and world people against the United States for disregarding international law and, launching an armed aggression against Cambodia, Mr. Nixon was led to argue that U.S. troops would not go further than 35 kilometres into Cambodia and would be completely withdrawn from Cambodia by the end of June 1970, acting as though such limitations in time and space might help conceal the illegal and criminal character of the U.S. aggression in Cambodia. What law and procedure allow the United States to overtly invade, occupy and ravage another nation? The United States has no right whatsoever to encroach on even an inch of the Cambodian territory! Neither has it any right to invade Cambodia even for a minute! What is more, nobody sees any sign that Mr. Nixon is going to confine the invasion of U.S. and Saigon puppet troops within those limits. The clear evidence of this are: the operation of over 100 warships with thousands of U.S. and Saigon troops on board sailing the Mekong River to Phnom Penh and Kongpong Cham on May 11 and 12, 1970, the statements made by the heads of the Saigon Administration indicating that there would be no limitations to the aggressive operations of the Saigon troops in

Cambodia, the mobilization of the Saigon navy with the participation of the Seventh Fleet to blockade Cambodia and the scheme of landing troops in Ream and Kongpong Som, etc.

On May 11, 1970, the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement pointing out:

"This extremely brazen aggression by the United States and the Saigon puppet administration has laid bare the fallacious allegation of U.S. President Nixon claiming that the United States 'strictly respects the neutrality of the Cambodian people', and that it 'will not invade the territory of Cambodia'.

"The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam energetically denounce the United States and the Saigon puppet administration for sending thousands of troops to occupy Phnom Penh, conducting large-scale operations to Phnom Penh with warships and aircraft, blockading and landing troops along the coast of Cambodia, and stepping up the war of aggression against Cambodia. The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam resolutely demand that the United States and the Saigon puppet administration immediately stop all these acts of aggression and severely warn them that neither perfidious manoeuvres, nor frenzied acts of war on the part of the United States and the Saigon puppet administration can retrieve the U.S. defeat in South Viet Nam and in Cambodia, and avoid the collapsing of the Thieu-Ky Khiem and Lon Non - Sirik Matak cliques. The United States and its henchmen in Saigon and Phnom Penh must bear the entire responsibility for all the consequences arising from their acts."

Mr. Nixon also said that by sending troops to attack Cambodia he was trying to shorten the war in Viet Nam. This illogical argument of Mr. Nixon's - expanding the war to stop the war - is tantamount to saying that one must burn the whole street so as to extinguish the fire on a house.

Mr. Nixon argued that by sending troops to attack Cambodia, he

could reduce American casualties. How can American casualties be reduced when U.S. troops have to die not only in South Viet Nam but also in the U.S. military adventure in Cambodia? This has been proved by the increased American casualties in the past few days.

Mr. Nixon also said that by sending troops to attack Cambodia, he would better implement the plan of withdrawing U.S. troops from South Viet Nam. What an absurd argument! While the United States is unable to extricate itself from one Viet Nam, now Mr. Nixon sinks it into another "Viet Nam" in Cambodia - not to mention still another "Viet Nam" in Laos how could he quickly get the United States out of the quagmire?

These arguments of Mr. Nixon's are so full of sophistry and striking contradictions that one American newspaper was led to speak of them as genuinely puerile arguments, insulting to the intelligence. Obviously, these arguments can persuade no one!

3. We have many a time stated that the Nixon Administration must adopt a realistic view in the Viet Nam problem, give up the illusion of gaining a military victory, renounce its dark design of aggression in Viet Nam and engage in serious negotiations at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam and, together with the other parties, work toward an agreement on a political solution to the Viet Nam war. However, it is more and more evident, especially after its military adventure in Cambodia, that the Nixon Administration is still blindly cherishing the illusion of a military solution. It continues to fake artificial prospects of victory to deceive the American people and to deceive itself, making believe that the invasion of Cambodia would be the last military effort and that after a few more efforts total victory would be achieved.

But Mr. Nixon appears to forget the lesson of the preceding administration. How many times has the dream of a military victory of the U.S. authorities been defeated by the hard facts of the war? And how many dozens times have they repeated the so-called "last effort"?

The path that the Nixon Administration is following is the

CONT. ON PG. 28

SEIZE THE TIME BOBBY SEALE



This is an excerpt of the book, "Seize the Time" which was written recently by Chairman Bobby Seale, while in the New Haven jail. This book gets over the message to do as the title of the book states. And the Chairman runs down the experiences of himself, Huey, and the Black Panther Party, up to the incident in Chicago and now New Haven. In "Seize the Time" the Chairman expresses the goals of the people's political party and the people's liberation struggle, and the necessity to gain it by any means necessary. We're sure that "Seize the Time" will open the minds for new and correct ideas, as to what the Black Panther Party, and the struggle for Black people's national liberation is all about.

SEIZE THE
TIME



CHAIRMAN BOBBY,
POLITICAL PRISONER U.S.A.

[KIDNAPPED]

ON THE EVENING OF August 19, 1969, we were returning from the wedding of Ray "Masai" Hewitt, our Minister of Education, and Shirley Needley, one of the sisters in the Party. We were about three blocks from the office when a car sped up from our left, swerved in front of us, and stopped at the light; the people in the car all seemed to be looking at us through the rearview mirror.

"Those cats look like..." Masai was saying.

"Pigs!" June Hilliard finished the sentence for him. June was driving. I looked to the right and saw a Volkswagen blocking the entrance to the service station at the corner. Two other cars came up on our rear. "There's pigs all around us in unmarked cars," June said. All of a sudden the doors of the cars around us opened and agents and policemen began to flood out into the street from all directions. They were running towards our car yelling, "Get out of the car! Get out of the car!" They were holding .38 revolvers, .357 Magnums and shotguns on us. There were at least 15 cops surrounding us.

June had gotten out of the car, but the car began to rull because the emergency brake wasn't on. Masai got out of the car also and I hollered to June to pull up the emergency brake. The door on the side where Shirley was was snatched open and a cop pointed a gun in and said, "Get out! This is the FBI. Out of the car! Out of the car!"

One of the agents reached in and grabbed the emergency brake. I watched him as he snatched it up. Then he pointed a gun at me and said, "All right, Seale, get out!" I pulled the lock latch off, opened the door, and stepped out with my hands hanging down at my sides, palms open, looking at him. I was cursing him with everything I could think of because at that point all I could see and think of was that we were being subjected to a form of general harassment. Someone said, "Hands over your head," and "Turn around." They grabbed my shoulder, spun me around and pushed me towards the car. They began to pat-search me and another cop snatched my right arm and pulled it back and put a handcuff on it. Another snatched my left arm and pulled it back from across the trunk of the car and twisted the back of my hands towards my back and said, "Let's go. Let's get out of here."

They had guns in their hands and they were pushing me around. They didn't show me any identification. There must have been 15, 20 or more police and plainclothesmen there. They all had guns. They were dressed in blue jeans, tee shirts and short-sleeved shirts. I didn't see any uniforms. I was rushed into a car and stuck in the back seat, an agent on each side of me. Three of them got in front with shotguns and they drove towards San Francisco. They were giggling with each other, saying, "This was so easy."

I WAS BROUGHT TO THE San Francisco City Jail and booked. Prior to the booking, and after I took everything out of my pockets, the FBI took my little phone book away from me. That was my property. They didn't give it back to me at all. I don't know where it is now.

I noticed one pig standing there whose face I'd seen a number of times before at press conferences and speaking engagements. I know his face very well, because one time at

a press conference I walked up to him and asked him was he a government agent. "No," he said, "I don't have anything to do with the government. I'm just a newsman. Can I come to this press conference?"

"Sure you can," I said. "I just wanted to expose you if you were an agent so that the rest of the newsmen can let people know there are agents and provocateurs working for the government all around us, who want to take things out of context and tell lies." Well, he was one of those cats. "Haven't I seen you somewhere before?" I asked him.

He looked at me and just grinned. He really thought he was superman. You can just look at a cat and see how he's psychologically goofed up with superman notions, so brain-washed that he thinks he's defending the so-called "free world." There is no "free world." How in the world can America be free when somewhere between 40 and 50 million poor, oppressed people are living at subsistence and below? So you look at this dude and you say to yourself, "Superman never saved no black people, you know, I never saw him save no black people in the comic books."

The dude was grinning and he said, "Yes, you might have seen me before."

They tried to get me to sign a statement. "No, I'm not signing it," I said. Then they tried to get me to sign something else. I don't know whether it was an attempt to get me to sign some stupid crap about waiving extradition rights or what the heck it was. "I'm not signing nothing," I told them. "I don't have to sign anything."

They took my fingerprints and a mug shot and told me to go down the hall, and they would give me a cell. I walked down there and spoke to a black cop who said he was a member of the Officers for Justice. He told me to sit down in a little office there. He offered me a cup of coffee and I drank it. I was rather tired and wanted to go to sleep. I knew that I'd have to wait overnight before getting bailed out, so he gave me some blankets, put me in a cell, and I fell off to sleep.

THE FIRST INDICATION THAT I HAD that I was being railroaded on some trumped-up charges in connection with that Connecticut frame-up (what I call a criminal agent Mission Impossible plot to try and destroy the Black Panther Party) was after I'd been handcuffed on Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley. They were walking me toward a car. They said, "You're under arrest for conspiracy to commit murder, and conspiracy to kidnap and murder, in connection with Connecticut."

"What are these damned fools doing now?" I thought right off. "Now these cats are out of their minds."

"—And for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution," they put it.

I said to myself, "These damned fools! Trying to railroad me. They're trying to railroad everybody they can out of the Party. They're trying to stop the Party from functioning. We knew it was coming, but now they're going to try and trump up something else, even on me."

The next day they still didn't have a warrant. I appeared in the federal court in front of a U.S. Commissioner, and McTernan [Garry's partner] argued that the bail of \$95,000 was too high and also that I hadn't fled anywhere to avoid prosecution.

"He's been in the public eye continuously," McTernan said. He's watched 24 hours a day so what does the government mean by claiming that he was fleeing to avoid prose-

cution? This man has been making speaking engagements. He's been on national TV down in Los Angeles. He spoke to 4000 people at the National Conference to Combat Fascism Convention in Oakland. He's in the public eye everywhere."

The Commissioner said he had no jurisdiction over that and could only set the bail, which he said would be \$25,000. So I went back to the cell in the federal building.

Two hours after that first appearance in the federal court I got called back again and bail was posted, \$25,000 in a cashier's check. When I got ready to leave the Commissioner's court, the marshals said, "Will you step back here first?" I thought to myself, "Now, wait a minute. They've already booked me." They repeated, "Step back here!" So I stepped back there and I thought, Last time I was here for the Chicago thing, when I posted bail I had to come back through here and I guess this is where they process you out! But no sooner had I gone back than they said, "Well, you can wait in the cell right there." So I stepped back into the cell. The door was still open, and 30 seconds later, a cop in plainclothes walked back and said, "I'm from the San Francisco Police Department, and you're under arrest!"

"What kind of crap is this?" I said to myself. "These cats are really out to railroad me. I just got through posting bail. What the hell are they going to arrest me for now?"

They brought me back and put me in the City Jail. They said they had a warrant from Connecticut on the trumped-up charges of murder and conspiracy to murder and kidnap, but they didn't actually get it until several days later. As soon as they had me in the County Jail they dropped the phony "unlawful flight" charges. They had just used that as a pretext to kidnap me.

[TO CHICAGO IN CHAINS]

I WAS SITTING IN SAN FRANCISCO County Jail when Charles Garry rushed in one evening and said, "They're going to move you tomorrow."

"Tomorrow?" I said, "They can't move me. They're not supposed to move me if I'm waiting for an extradition hearing. All they're going to do is try and plot a whole operation to get me to Chicago and try to extradite me to Connecticut from there."

Before Garry left I told him, "Look, man, when I get to Chicago I'm not letting those cats choose a lawyer for me—someone I've never spoken to." He said, "Well, we'll have to confirm it, but it looks like I'll have to go to the hospital for a gall bladder operation."

"All the other cats have lawyers," I said. "The only thing I'll agree with those other lawyers is that they can handle my pre-trial motions, but the only person I'll go into court with is you. The judge will have to see my point of view, because I'm going to fire any appointed lawyers. I'm not going to let the judge choose anybody else for me either."

The sheriff around here, the jailers, I don't know anything about my leaving, so I told them that I wanted a shower early in the morning and that I wanted to get all cleaned up because I was being taken out. At first they kept telling me I didn't know what I was talking about, but later they allowed me to take a shower and shave.

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SEIZE THE TIME

I packaged what little property I had—cigarettes, writing paper, handkerchiefs, etc.—and they put it in a box and tied it up and took everything out of my pockets. After I was dressed they put a chain around my waist. It had a little clip on it, and an extra piece of seven-inch chain hanging down. Then they put two sets of handcuffs through one of the links in the chain and they put both cuffs on me. They brought out two more prisoners and put some leg irons on all of us...

They drove out through the city and as we went up the ramp on the freeway and started toward the Bay Bridge, a highway patrolman fell in behind us. As we went further by the main police station, another highway patrolman got in front of us. That's how we went across the bridge. At the toll plaza a third highway patrolman pulled in behind us. We then headed north on Interstate 80 to Sacramento...

The marshals stopped in Marysville and we ate there. I remember one of them asked me what I considered a silly question. He said, "You guys wanna eat out here? Some guys don't like to let other people to see them chained down and everything."

"Man, it don't make me no difference," I said. "I'm a political prisoner. It's up to these cats here." They said they didn't care either, so we sat out there and ate for about 20 minutes.

At that time, although I didn't know it, Allan Brotsky, one of Garry's partners, had been arguing in court back in San Francisco for me, and the judge had ordered that I not be taken to Chicago. The U.S. Attorney kept on stalling. He said I was gone and they couldn't get in touch with our car. All they had to do was to contact the Highway Patrol escort which followed us all the way to the Nevada border.

I noticed once when we did stop, the head marshal made a phone call. This was around noon. The judge had given the order at 11 A.M. At noon we were still in California. Legally, I should have been taken back to San Francisco. The marshal must have called San Francisco because the next morning after he got us out of jail in Reno he told me that a lawyer had gone to bat for me yesterday and did a pretty good job. He asked if I knew an Al Brotsky.

After a week-long journey cross-country in chains, Bobby Seale arrived in Chicago where he was held in the Cook County Jail. One of the original eight defendants in the Conspiracy Trial, Seale remained in Chicago until severed from the case.

[CHICAGO: MY CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS ARE DENIED ME]



THE TRIAL FINALLY GOT UNDER WAY the next day. I was in the hospital at the time, and I was allowed to keep my legal stuff with me. Meanwhile I was waiting for a message to come from Garry. Finally I got a phone call through to Garry's office. I talked to Barney Dreyfus, Garry's law partner, and I asked him if Garry was definitely going into the hospital or had he changed his mind. His doctors said he had better go have that gall bladder operation right away because it would be a real danger to his life not to. "Well, I'm going to ask the judge to postpone my part of the trial so that I can have Garry," I said, "because I can't function without Garry, and I don't want these other lawyers here. Let Garry know what I'm doing, and then maybe after he gets out of the hospital we can go on." Dreyfus mentioned that they had talked to the Panther Party Central Committee about my situation, and the Central Committee also agreed that since I had a legal right to fire the lawyers I should do it.

And boom! That's what happened. That night I was in the hospital and wrote out my first motion which was a request that I be allowed to fire the lawyers and postpone the trial until Charles Garry could defend me. The next morning, Friday, I got up and went to the trial, and when I got to the defense table I told Kunstler that I was going to fire everybody. One of the defendants said, "Man, that's going to make it look like all of the defendants are splitting."



I said, "Man, the defendants aren't splitting. I'm not splitting from you cats. It's just that my situation is very different, man, in a lot of ways. These cats stuck me on the tail end of this indictment to try to railroad me to prison so I need Garry here and everybody knows it. Garry's my lawyer. I haven't confirmed any of these other lawyers. I'm not going to be letting Hoffman pick and choose my lawyer for me, when he knows that Garry is my lawyer, my attorney of record."

The marshal waved the gavel and said, "All rise," and everybody rose. "This court is now in session pursuant to adjournment." Boom. Boom. Boom. "The 'Honorable' Julius J. Hoffman presiding." At that point I got up and walked to the podium and told him, "I'd like to read a statement concerning my legal defense."

"Don't you have a lawyer?" Hoffman asks. "No," I said. "I want to read this statement concerning my defense." So I read the statement. I got to the point in the statement where I said, "... and if you don't respect my Constitutional rights then I'm going to have to consider you a blatant racist who's prejudiced against all the other defendants and myself in particular."

"Hold it! Hold it! Hold it!" Hoffman interrupted me. "What did you say?"

"A blatant racist," I replied. "I consider you a racist just like all the other judges who saw people's Constitutional rights violated in the South through the history of this country." He didn't know where I was coming from. I was coming from the fact that a month before the trial started, he'd already denied Charles Garry's motion for a postponement on the basis that he had to go into the hospital for an operation. He said my motion would be denied.

"Well, young man, you have a lawyer. Mr. Kunstler's your lawyer."

"No, he's not my lawyer," I said, and I argued the point. During the first week or so, I got up three or four or five times in this manner. I tried to argue, and when I'd start saying, "But Judge Hoffman, you're wrong. I have a Constitutional right," he'd say, "Take the jury out!" When I made that first motion that first Friday morning, not one witness had been sworn in on the part of the prosecution. Not one. This is very important, because by law, the trial isn't considered begun until a witness is sworn in...

Now I had nothing personal against Kunstler, because I know that Kunstler is in the struggle and he is supposed to be a good lawyer. I was just upholding the principle that I had a right to my own lawyer. From there on, for about two or three weeks, it was me standing up whenever my name was mentioned. Most of the time when I stood up Hoffman would say to Kunstler, "You are the lawyer for Mr. Seale." And I'd say, "No, he's not my lawyer. I want to request the right to have my own lawyer, Charles R. Garry, here, or the right to defend myself."

Hoffman didn't even investigate, he didn't care. A judge is supposed to at least investigate a person's positions, especially regarding his legal defense. But he didn't.

AS I GOT MORE LEGAL INFORMATION, I began to argue harder. I got hold of material about an old Reconstruction law, Section 1941 of the U.S. Government Code, that says a black man cannot be discriminated against in any manner, in any court in America, concerning "legal defense." When I got hold of that—Oh, man! It was a real thing with me, because I knew I was right by the laws, the Sixth Amendment, etc. . . .

Before I was gagged, Hoffman actually got to the point where he'd shout over me. I'd jump up and start talking rather fast, saying, "Judge Hoffman, you know darn well I have a right to have my own lawyer here or else a right to defend myself." He'd start talking real loud over me: "Take the jury out! Take the jury out! I don't want to hear this man, Mr. Marshal, set that man down! Take the jury out!" He did this so the court recorder would only record what Hoffman was saying and not what I was saying. But I got

hip to him. I saw the tactics he was using, so every time he started raising his voice I'd raise my voice too.

One morning one of the marshals comes back into the lockup before court started and says, "Bobby, you've got a lot of Black Panthers, a lot of black people out there that's on your side today. I hope nothing happens."

"Well, there ain't nothing going to happen," I said. "They're here to observe. They've got a right to observe. They've got a right to be in there."

"Well, the judge told us to go over and sit you down and I just don't want any of them to start anything."

"They're not going to start nothing," I replied.

Five minutes later they came back and got me. Court still hadn't started. All the defendants were scattered around the defense table. Schultz, Foran [government attorneys] were around the prosecution's table. I said, "Brothers and sisters in the audience, I want to say a few things to you. You've been noticing for the past weeks in this courtroom that I've been getting threatened by the judge and they're talking about gagging me and all this kind of crap, but I

have a right to speak out in my own behalf. But I don't want you cats out there to get upset and get emotional and start doing anything that's out of the ordinary," I said.

"You've got a right to be participants here. You've got a right to observe this trial and see what's going on. If anything happens, don't do anything unnecessary."

"If anybody attacks us, we defend ourselves. That's the principle of the Party. Whether they have a gun or not, if they attack us, we defend ourselves. If they make us leave the courtroom, they just make us leave the courtroom. We leave. But don't nobody do nothing; keep your cool."

The court convened, and Schultz got up and said, very nasty-like, "Your honor, Mr. Seale got up here this morning and was talking about attacking people." He tried to make it sound real bad.

"You're a liar," I said real loud. "You're a racist liar. You're a pig and a fascist."

He was up there talking and I jumped up and walked to the lectern and said, "Yes, I said something to the people this morning, but I didn't really say that. This is a bunch of racist lies, a fascist operation." Then I went back to my seat to sit down. Marshals were moving all around the room about to charge me. They were really coming in on me, man. Schultz was still trying to tell the judge that I had spoken about attacking people.



"You're a bold-faced liar," I said, and I stood up again.

The marshals ran over to me, grabbed me, and the big one hit me. When I stood up, he pushed me back into the seat. As I hit the seat, the whole chair went back over and I hit the floor. At the same time another cat, a big tall cat who we called Slim, came up and pulled my arm, putting it in a hammer-lock.

"Hey, man, you're hurting me," I said. Now this is Slim, trying to do his job, but at the same time trying not to mess up with me. So what he did is he pulled my arm back down and held it there. He said, "Hey, man, be cool."

"No, man," I said, and I was really yelling out. "You're lying to the court, I didn't say a thing about attacking anybody. I said something about self defense, our right to defend ourselves, and being cool."

Schultz continued at this point, telling the judge that I was trying to disrupt the court. By this time the marshals had let me go.

"Why don't you tell the truth about exactly what I said? What I said was, 'Be cool and don't do anything; we have a right to defend ourselves if attacked.' I didn't say anything like what you're trying to minimize. Isn't that right? Tell the truth!" I hollered at him.

And you know what Schultz did? He says, "Yes, your honor, I'm sorry; that is right; that is what he said." And Schultz went and sat down. I caught him in a cold, bold-faced lie.

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SEIZE THE TIME

[CHICAGO: SHACKLED, GAGGED AND BOUND]

THE DAY I HAD TO CALL Schultz a liar for trying to misquote me on what I'd said before court opened, I got gagged. I had demanded my rights. I told them, "I demand my Constitutional rights." I even banged on the table while I was talking. "And Judge Hoffman, you know it," I said. "I have a Constitutional right to defend myself." They recessed the court and then came back and Hoffman says, "Mr. Seale, are you going to disrupt this court anymore?"

"I'm not disrupting the court," I replied. "I am going to make my request and demand that I have a right to defend myself, because I know I have that right."

Then Hoffman told the marshals, "Take the defendant and appropriately deal with him." That's the way Hoffman said it. They took me back in the lockup right outside the courtroom. They got some tape and put it across my mouth. They handcuffed my hands down close to the legs of a metal folding chair and put the irons on my legs. They looped the chain through one of the rods running across the front of the folding part of the chair and brought it out and clasped it to my right leg.

The jury came back in, and Judge Hoffman says some kind of crazy crap, "Disregard this and disregard that." I shook my head at the jury and said, "Huh-uh, huh-uh." Some tears started rolling down one of the juror's eyes. I looked at the jury—"Huh-uh."

Hoffman said stuff like, "Mr. Seale is trying to disrupt the court."

I shook my head at the jury, "Uh-uh, uh-uh," to indicate I wasn't trying to disrupt.

I sat there and something else came. Hoffman said something about me, so I rattled the handcuffs against the metal chair—clang, clang, clang, clang, clang, as a means of objecting, still trying to defend myself. A little later they brought a witness on to testify, and my name was mentioned.

Through the tape I hollered, "I object," in a muffled sound, but it could be heard. The tape wasn't holding too well because of my beard. So I said again, "I object, I object, I have a right to defend myself."

So they took me out again. Two or three marshals lifted the chair up and just took me back into the lockup. They put the tape back on me, and put a rag around my mouth, and tied the thing, and took me back into the courtroom.

Later, Hoffman asked me if I would promise not to "disrupt" the court. He loved to use "disrupt" and "outburst" so the press could print "disrupt" and "outburst" so people wouldn't see what was really going on, because what was involved was really an issue of Constitutional rights. Hoffman said I should indicate my answer by shaking my head up and down for yes, or left to right for no.

I didn't shake my head up and down, nor did I shake it left to right. I said, right through that gag, "I want a right"—my voice was muffled but everybody could hear me—"I want a right to defend myself and you have no right to be gagging me and shackling me. I want to defend myself and that's all I'm going for."

People way in the back of the audience probably couldn't hear me at all, but the judge, the marshals, the press, and the audience close to me could hear.

The first day when I was shackled and gagged, a big black marshal put the iron around my leg real tight, to the point where the blood circulation actually stopped in my right leg. The second time they shackled me that day I motioned for this girl (a black law student sitting at the defense table) to give me a piece of paper, and I wrote a note that the blood circulation was being stopped in my arms because of the way they had the handcuffs at the bottom of my hands. The only way I could get some relief was if I slouched way down in the chair. Somebody in the court said that my blood pressure was being stopped, and another marshal came and loosened the handcuffs.

THE NEXT DAY THEY HAD some big straps instead of handcuffs, and they strapped me to a wooden arm chair. "Sit down in the chair," one of the marshals said. I sat down in the chair and said to myself, "Hoffman looks like a damn fool, sitting up there gagging me and carrying on. He knows damn well I've got a right to defend myself; he knows damn well I should have a lawyer here, a lawyer of my choice, and he's foolish." So this cat started wrapping these straps around my arm.

"Say, man, they're kinda tight," I said.

"That's just the way it's gonna have to be."

He wrapped one strap down my leg and said, "Is that tight?"

"No," I said, "they're not tight down there." Then he tightened them up some more. Later another marshal came by and I said, "Say, man, these things are too tight," so he loosened them. After that he put a lot of padding in front of my mouth, and tied a big large rag around it. The rag came across my mouth and went around the back of my neck. Another rag came up under my chin and was tied in a knot on the top of my head.

After I was gagged and everything, they went out and this same big nigger punk pig tightened the straps right back up again around my arms. Then he opened the door and said, "Come on," to one of the other marshals who was standing outside the door, and they picked me up and took me out to the table.

I kept trying to wiggle my hand, but wiggling it wasn't getting any blood circulating this time, so I started pushing the thing and pulling it, pushing and pulling, trying to get some blood circulation. I beckoned to the girl law student with my head. She was my means of communication with Garry. "What do you want?" she asked me. She'd say, "Do you want a pencil?" and I'd shake my head to indicate yeah. In fact I tried to talk through the gag.

While she was standing there trying to help me, Schultz interrupted and said something about, "Your honor, I'd like the court to know that the young lady touched Mr. Seale's hand in a very motherly way when he left the courtroom yesterday." He said that for the jury to hear, hoping to discredit her for trying to help me out.

Anyway, I wrote a little note and said my blood circulation was being stopped and told her to give that to Weinglass and tell Weinglass to tell the court. They were still doing some kind of cross-examining up there, but my blood circulation was stopping. I tried to move the straps. These wooden chairs, they're kind of smooth and varnished and everything. My arm was sitting on top of the arm of the chair, and I tried to slip my arm over to the side. The straps were going around the arm of the chair, and by moving my arm off of the chair that kind of loosened it, and I said, "Ah." So I just pushed my arm back and forth and then started wriggling my hands to get some blood circulation. This big pig looks down and sees that I've kind of loosened the straps and that I'm wiggling my hand to get some blood

circulation. He reaches over and grabs the thing. He was trying to tighten the strap up. Man, that hurt the hell out of my arm.

I started to mumble, but I couldn't half be heard. "I want my blood circulation, I want to get my blood circulation." At the same time he was reaching over me and jerking the chair. Two more marshals came up and grabbed at the chair. I bent forward and said, "Huh-uh," and the first pig struck an elbow in my chest. His elbow knocked me back against the back of the chair. He hit me again.

Then three more marshals attacked me, all at the same time with the other two still trying to pick up the chair. The whole chair went up in the air and fell all the way back into the press section. The press was sitting directly behind the defense table and I fell on top of them. They were frantically trying to get out of the way. All of the marshals ran up to me at once. This cat was still elbowing me, tightening this strap up on my left hand. Another marshal came rushing in, and the chair rose halfway in the air and fell over at an angle. The pigs rushed in, and an elbow hit me right in the balls, right in my groin area. It hurt the hell out of me.

At that point I finally got the tips of my fingers up near my mustache and yanked and pulled my head back, yanking that gag off my mouth. I hollered out: "You son of a bitch. You hit me in the balls. Don't hit me in my balls. I'm trying to get my blood circulation."

I said it three or four times. I cursed him out, and I called him a fascist and everything. At the same time the judge was hollering, "The court is adjourned, the court is adjourned." The jury was running out; it looked like all 10 or 12 marshals were beating me over there, and killing me.

Jerry Rubin, who was sitting next to me, got up and hollered out, "Look what you're doing. Elbowing that man. You hit him in the mouth."

The judge said something; he was adjourning the court; it was completely chaotic. This all happened because Judge Hoffman had gagged me, and then this rotten pig tried to brutally treat me while I was gagged and bound and shackled to this chair.

THE NEXT MORNING, WHEN THEY TRIED to gag me, I thought I was going to die—I mean really, literally, die, because of the way they were doing things. I was in the lockup before court convened, and they said, "Sit in the chair."

"Don't tighten these things too tight on me," I said. This one marshal said, "We're not going to tighten them too tight." So they strapped me down, and after they strapped me down, this one cat who said he wasn't going to tighten the things too tight said, "Bobby, we're going to put something in your mouth."

"No, you're not putting a damn thing in my mouth," I said. "Not in my mouth."

"Well, we have to put something inside your mouth. The judge has ordered it, and that's what we're going to do."

"Huh-uh, no sir, you're not putting nothing in my mouth." I'd already made up my mind that if he so much as got his fingers near my mouth, I was going to bite his motherfucking fingers off.

"You'd better not try to put it in my mouth, because I have a tonsillitis problem, and it's going to exhaust me."

With this other infection I'm being treated for and all this penicillin in me, my temperature goes up a degree, sometimes two degrees, and I have to go to sleep to get my temperature down. They have to give me pills to get my temperature down so you don't be putting anything in my mouth. I'm not letting you put it in my mouth no way."

"Grab his head," the marshal said. One of the marshals put the palms of his hands on top of my head. He stepped up to me—he had rubber gloves on and was holding a wad of rag that was rolled up. It was about an inch, an inch and a half long, and an inch in diameter. He was going to jam this junk down my mouth. I was shackled down—legs, arms, everything. He grabbed my nose and held the wad of rag about three or four inches from my mouth. He was going to wait until I needed some breath, and when I opened my mouth, he would move real fast and jam the rag into my mouth. "But it ain't going to work," I thought to myself. "It ain't going to work."

So I sat there. After a while I began to need some breath. I held my breath as long as I could. He was getting ready to jam the rag into my mouth, but before I opened my mouth, I jerked my head to the left and then to the right real fast, and got loose from the grip the other marshal had on my head and the grip that this marshal had on my nose. I put my head down and started catching my breath.

I looked up. They had stepped back. The next time they tried it, the cat put his arm around my head as if he were wrestling with somebody, only I was sitting in the chair and he was standing up behind me. He put his arm around my head, and the back of my head was sitting against his chest. He just held my head. His arm was coming around the top of my forehead near my hairline. My head was leaning back and his arm headed downwards, coming across my right ear. The cat grabbed my nose again. I was mad, man. I was mad as a motherfucker.

"You sons of bitches," I said. "You rotten dogs." They held me again and held my nose. When it began to look like I needed breath, he set the wad of rags right up against my lips and began to press real hard with the palm of his hand. He pressed so hard that I could even feel the blood seeping out of my gums and I could feel the inside of my lips busting because I was holding out. I was holding out as hard as I

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HERE AND NOW FOR BOBBY SEALE

by Jean Genet



a period of 16 months.

But if we do another calculation, this time from September 28, 1968, to December 8, 1969, we find that there were 373 cases against the Panthers. That was during a period of 15 months. It is now April 1970. Less than a month ago, Bobby Seale was extradited from California and sent to jail in New Haven, Connecticut. There were a few demonstrations, but they were really very weak compared with what happened during Huey Newton's trial.

WHAT ABOUT US: What are we doing? When the bombs hit Hanoi, we had some epidermal reactions. So did we during the Korean war. These massacres were taking place far away. Here and now, we are finding out that the colonized, within our own borders, who still appear to us like shadows in our midst, are about to become our adversaries, in our own country.

To a foreign observer, the deterioration of relations between blacks and whites is without mystery. In one year, police repression has so brutally escalated that white Americans are full of fears. All kinds of fears. First of all, there is fear of the police. Intellectuals know (or think) they are threatened by Agnew's bragging. Even if they've demonstrated their disgust with Newton's trial, today they are silent: Bobby may die.

and they began to wrap. They wrapped all the way around. They wrapped it tight, very tight. Then they brought it under my chin, and wrapped it above my head and under my chin—actually it was covering my throat, too. They got it real tight. I started losing my breath again. I was getting choked by the bandage. I started shaking my head from left to right, and the cat says, "I think he's losing his breath." So they unwrapped it real quick.

They started again and made it a point to come right under my chin and keep it away from my throat. But they wrapped it across my mouth and around my neck and all around my ears. They still wrapped it too tight, because I came out in the courtroom and looked to the left and looked to the right and that thing got tighter and tighter.

The blood began to stop coming up to my head. That was too much. I started shaking my head, shaking my head, and Jerry Rubin and a couple of other people stood up.

"He's passing out! That thing is too tight on him!" I started shaking my head and got my arm slightly loosened. I pushed my head down, and with the tip of my finger got ahold of the gag and pulled it off. I called Judge Hoffman every kind of thing I could call him. "Fascist, sanctioning cruel and unusual punishment, and breaking the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States." The marshal snatched up the chair and was trying to rush me back to the lockup.

I was calling Hoffman a fascist and constantly referring to the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States where it says there shall be no cruel and unusual punishment inflicted, and this big old pig marshal put his hand around my mouth, and then he put his hand around my mouth and nose and started pulling. The other marshals grabbed the chair and started dragging it, but when they got to the door there was a little rise caused by the carpet between the door and the concrete floor, and the chair stopped. I was still calling them about everything I could and the marshals were trying to jump all around me and trying to get the chair out. This big pig grabbed me around my face and covered my mouth and so I couldn't say anything, but I wiggled away from him. He grabbed me again and covered my nose and my mouth until I couldn't even breathe. He let go and I started hollering out again. The door was still open. He tried to reach to close it, but before he could, I was hollering so loud he reached back and grabbed my mouth and nose again so I couldn't breathe and he just kept holding me there.

The courtroom seemed to be filing out and everybody was going. The jury was going out while all this was happening. Judge Hoffman was ordering them out. It wasn't an outburst, and it wasn't an attempt to disrupt the court. What it was, was a man trying to gain his Constitutional right to defend himself or to have his lawyer there, a lawyer of his choice according to the United States Supreme Court. I was pretty sure the United States Supreme Court had said that you can have a lawyer of your choice who is effective, and if this is not possible the defendant has a right to defend himself.

Hoffman didn't see it that way and they re-gagged me, but real loose.

By intensifying the repression, the Nixon administration knew it could quiet the intellectuals who are comfortably set up in universities or in well-protected neighborhoods. Intellectuals owe it to themselves to take up the challenge, and to refuse the Nixonian order.

Liberals who hollered so loudly during the Chicago trial are now mute. And to justify themselves, they even say that the Panther Party is endangered by its own violence.

Another fear is showing its true colors, and without daring to call it by its proper name, everybody recognizes it. "Bobby Seale? After all, he's a black man."

This reflex, in each white man, is less abrupt than I have stated. Probably it's never expressed in these terms, even under people's breath. But in an even more surreptitious way, the thought goes through people's minds and corrupts them. The intelligence and political daring of the blacks makes white people uneasy and indignant.

Blacks who have kept their sensitivity intact even in the face of such threats once again recognize the appearance of the old enemy: racism.

If young white Americans in the past few years have tried to conduct themselves on an equal basis with blacks, police terror is about to throw them back into their forefathers' stupidity.

While middle-aged Americans in the lap of comfort huddle snugly in their security, the young will have everything to lose if they let themselves be dispossessed of their fighting spirit. If they want to bring themselves together with blacks, whose revolutionary maturity is evident, they will need courage—but also intelligence, which is much rarer in this country.

BOBBY SEALE'S TRIAL WILL BE A TEST for young white revolutionaries. It is their turn to prove how clearly they can analyze the situation and how skillfully they can go about finding the means for action. This, here and now, is the moment of truth—for Bobby Seale, for the Black Panthers, for young white Americans.

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SEIZE THE TIME

could. Then I began thinking, "I'm going to pass out, I'm going to pass out." I didn't want to pass out. And then I got scared.

I THOUGHT A WHOLE LOT of things. Things flashed off in my head. This cat was holding my head and I became aware of my feet being on the floor and wanting to push back and go to the left but the cat could feel the tension in my body and I could feel him holding tighter and harder. I felt like I was going to pass out and I didn't want to pass out. And this cat was pushing, pushing, pushing against my mouth.

So I pushed with the bottom of my feet, and somehow I began to use my weight with the chair. My legs were attached to the legs of the chair. I pushed real hard. I was about to pass out. I was thinking about Eldridge and everybody in the Party, and I was thinking about Nat Turner—

all kinds of crazy things. All of a sudden I just pushed all of my weight, and next thing I knew, I had this cat wed up against the wall. I had pushed all the way back, just two and a half feet, and he had let go of my head.

My body was between the wooden chair and the wall, and he was trying to push the chair away from the wall, and I was jamming him back against the wall. I was loose. I felt free and I started breathing.

This other cat said, "We can't put this in this cat's mouth. That damn judge. Why did he order us to do this shit anyway?" So they decided not to put anything in my mouth, at that was a battle I fought with them, being shackled.

While they were holding me, I thought about Eldridge, and I thought about the struggle. I even had the crazy notion that I wouldn't open my mouth, even if I passed out. Although I knew that when you pass out, before you die, your mouth sort of automatically opens.

The marshal holding my head was a white cat and the marshal trying to jam the rag in my mouth was a black cat. They were working together. They're both pigs. It doesn't make any difference what color they are. The black marshal said, "Well, we're not going to do it. We can't do it. We did what we could."

Then they got some bandage. It was a roll of the type that football players and basketball players use. You wrap it around your legs, and as you move, it becomes tighter. They had a piece about three inches wide. First they put some tape and some heavy padding all across my mouth,

THE FOLLOWING MONDAY, THEY didn't gag me. I didn't say anything, because my name didn't come up all day.

Then they brought a witness to the stand who was testifying against me. He mentioned my name, so I stood up and said that I objected to this witness testifying against me because my lawyer was not there. That was late Monday afternoon. I said that I had requested, and deserved, the right to cross-examine the witness myself.

"Mr. Seale," Hoffman says, in his little, sarcastic, dramatized, puny, racist manner, "I remind you that you have a lawyer."

Tuesday morning court convened, and I made up my mind that I was going to demonstrate to Judge Hoffman that I could adequately act in my own defense. This was another way of arguing for my right to defend myself. After the jury came in, Hoffman asked Kunstler and Weinglass if they wanted to cross-examine the witness. They both said, "No, the witness isn't testifying against our clients and we do not represent Mr. Seale."

I got up and I said, "I would like to approach the lectern and ask the witness, a San Francisco sheriff, some questions." I asked him if he had ever killed a Black Panther Party member or if he had ever participated in raids on a Black Panther Party office or on a Black Panther Party member's home. I asked him why he goes around following people in airports when they're traveling and when they're buying tickets.

"Sit down," Hoffman said.

"I'm going to ask another question," I said, and he told me to sit down again. I was just getting ready to sit down so I said, "This is a fascist operation," and turned and sat down. Hoffman cooled his marshals off. He didn't have them attack me like they had previously.

Hoffman adjourned the court and that afternoon he came back and read off a bunch of crap. He took everything out of context and didn't report things as they really happened. He just read the court record and said, *this* was contempt of court, and *this* was contempt of court, and *this* was contempt of court. In every last one of those instances I was talking about my right to defend myself, my Constitutional rights. He sat up and asked me if I wanted to defend myself, or if I wanted to speak in behalf of myself after he got through reading off all those so-called contempts. "I'm not going to beg you for no time," I told him. "How long have you been putting black people in jail and prisons, and railroad people, and denying people their Constitutional rights?" I asked him. Then I sat down.

He gave me four years in prison. He sentenced me unjustly. He sentenced me to four years in prison because I had demanded my Constitutional rights. He declared a mistrial, only on me, because the jury never would have gone along with him. That's the real reason. He tried to obscure it and say that it was something else, but four or five people on that jury were really mad. Those people didn't like Judge Hoffman. I was looking at them when I was gagged. Hoffman was observing that jury too. He knew what he was doing. So in essence, that is how the Chicago Eight trial turned into the Chicago Seven trial.

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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If the repression increases, it is obvious that the blacks will see a collective crime being committed against them, a crime committed in collective complicity. On the other hand, if whites who call themselves radicals are able to bring themselves together with blacks for this trial, theirs will be a great victory. The torment of guilt which supposedly is crippling them will lose its powers. Even a slight retreat in the repression would be a victory for the blacks, and also for the whites. One would doubt whether whites could prevent the trial from happening, but they could affect the verdict and its application. White Americans must do everything they can for Bobby, since this is how the blacks will see whether or not they must act alone. If they are forced to act alone, after the trial, they might have to act in desperation. And no one would dare want to be the cause of such desperation.

We must also be aware of the fact that blacks have been able to liberate themselves from the old terrors exercised by whites by means of the Christian religion. For more than 400 years, whites were able to use the Old and New Testaments with diabolic skill. We know what happened: to the blacks, the whites advised the gentleness of the evangelical moral which makes it a duty to respect the master—the white man; to suffer in silence; and to wait for divine rewards after death. At the same time, the Bible was read to them, filled with celestial threats against those who revolt.

Today, mixed with the descendants of their former masters on a common territory, the blacks want to be liberated from their former fears and to be free among men.

VIOLENCE. IF WE MUST, let's talk about it, but by seeing it first for what it is: a word. A word used by those who elaborated and imposed the language: the masses. According to how the word

will serve them, it can signify God's will; used against them, it can become a sign of shame and degradation. When white men use violence, violence is good. When blacks use it, they are considered animals. However, it so happens that the blacks have exposed the tricks of language, as they have exposed religious tricks, legal shams and social deformities. Blacks aren't afraid of words anymore, regardless of the coloration that whites might give to them.

It is evident that recommending non-violence to blacks is an effort to retain the Christian vocabulary which has kept them imprisoned in passivity for so long. However Christian the whites are, they don't feel guilty about using guns: that is violence. Asking blacks in America to be non-violent means that whites are demanding a Christian virtue which they themselves do not possess. That means that whites are once again trying to dupe the blacks.

White people call the blacks' revolt violent, their actions violent. The blacks don't give a damn, if they need violence in order to survive and to live. The blacks cannot be intimidated. They are already the stronger because they are right.

For the whites, the cry of the blacks is an act of violence which shatters their delicate eardrums. Apparently, these whites aren't conscious of the fact that black music was once a wall: today it's a battle cry.

Let's go back to the statistics I quoted earlier: from May 2, 1967, to September 28, 1968—a key date, the date that Huey was condemned to 15 years in prison—there were 55 cases recorded against the Panthers. From September 28, 1968, to December 9, 1969, there were 373 cases. The acceleration of the repression is staggering. It is aimed above all at the Black Panther Party. From March 1, 1968, to August 25, 1968, five Panthers were killed. From October 6, 1968, to December 20, 1969, 15 Panthers were killed. The figures are accurate. Here are some more: from

Huey would say, "a newspaper is the voice of a party, the voice of the Panther must be heard throughout the land."

The line dividing the progressive people from the machinery of repression is ever widening as the people begin to realize that there can no longer be a middle of the road position with regards to freedom for the people of the world; however, it has only been within the past four years that the amerikkkan people have shed their rose-colored glasses and patriotic blindness to face the reality of what their country was doing to the world's population. With the realization of the amerikkkan rule came the closer examination of all the things that had really never been questioned before...the 'Amerikkkan dream', the foreign policy, the treatment of minority peoples within this society, the real role of the 'police' and the press.

We found we as citizens of this country were being kept duped by the government and kept misinformed by the mass media,

by an effort to give the facts to the people, the so-called "underground press" developed with various groups setting up newspapers and magazines with differing emphases.

The Black Panther Party Black Community News Service was created to present factual, reliable information to the people.



July 1967--Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton (right) and Chairman, Bobby Seale (left) reading an early edition of J.P.P. Newspaper at the home of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information J.P.P.

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT:

Due to the temporary paralysis caused by striking airline workers, the Black Community News Service was unable to be printed last week. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver has said in reference to the working class that it is, "a most unrevolutionary reformist minded movement that is only interested in higher wages and more job security." The contradictions existing between worker and boss, employee and employer are undeniable, but also undeniable is the fact that revolution is the only solution. Articles are needed in reference to the efforts taken nationally and internationally to resolve these oppressive contradictions. We the information cadre, regret the inconveniences caused to our readers by this omission in our publication.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Ministry of Information
1048 Peralta Street
Oakland, California
465-5047

Jean Genet

March 2, 1968, to September 28, 1969, 130 Panthers were called in for questioning, as compared with 738 who were summoned from September 29 to December 9, 1969.

Therefore, in one year, the repression increased in a direct proportion of one to seven.

IF WE RECOGNIZE THE FACT that the Panther movement is the most profoundly revolutionary movement in America, it is time for us to act as quickly as we can to prevent its total destruction. Without a doubt it is a question of life and death for the Black Panther Party and for Bobby Seale—but also for all revolutionary movements in this country.

We might also add, for those who don't believe they are directly concerned with the revolution because they have material security: a critical, revolutionary mind doesn't necessarily develop only among the poor or the weak. In different ways it can develop in the minds of the rich and the strong. Even though it is fed by demands which are the result of social injustice and inequality, revolution is an act of intelligence and sensitivity. Above all, revolution *thinks itself* into being. As such, it uses the tactics most suited for its realization. The revolution will be made by everybody.

What is new about this situation is that in a nation where white people are in the majority, the revolutionary core is contained in the black community. We must therefore acknowledge the fact that its leaders are Cleaver, Newton and Seale.

We must save Bobby Seale because we must save the Black Panther Party because we must save the revolutionary spirit in America.

—Translated by JUDY ORINGER

REPRINTED FROM RAMPARTS

AN INTERVIEW WITH HAROLD MULVEY, JUDGE IN THE BOBBY SEALE CASE

In late November, 1966, Harold Mulvey, Forgham law graduate, age 51, and Attorney General of the State of Connecticut, was interviewed in a study of New Haven's power structure. Harold Mulvey, member of the American Legion, Knights of Columbus, and St. Aeden's PTA, and crony of state and national Democratic Party Chairman John Bailey, was widely regarded as one of the most influential men in the state. Three and a half years later, Mulvey, who, with the support of Bailey, had been promoted to the bench, was the presiding judge in the trial of Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale.

The interview reproduced below was conducted with other objectives in mind; in 1966 there was no reason to believe that Mulvey, who was, after all, just another Connecticut politician, would attain prominence as the judge in what was to become one of the most important political trials in American history. Yet that interview, as bland and undramatic as it is in its parts, taken as a whole reveals the racism of the man who will preside over the trial of Bobby Seale. The publication of parts of that interview raise a number of rather complex ethical issues. Mulvey, of course, had no reason to believe that his opinions on racial matters would be made public some four years later. But there is an over-riding issue here, and one which takes ethical precedence over the lower-priority questions of the ethics of social research. Bobby Seale could be executed for the part which he has so prominently and effectively played in the Black liberation struggle. It is our belief that he has been framed.

Hannah Arendt wrote about the "banality of evil." Mulvey's interview reveals the "banality of racism." No hysteria, no name-calling. Instead, the rationalized racism of the semi-educated White man in a position of power. Here are the stereotypes which come so easily to Whites--stereotypes which help perpetuate the system of White supremacy from which Judge Mulvey derives his authority. The reader of Mulvey's interview will not have to work very hard to gain an insight into the mind of the Judge on race issues. For example, Black leader Fred Harris' Hill Parents Association -- one of the few organizations in New Haven in 1966 which had not been bought off by May or Lee's highly publicized, disgracefully exploitative Community Progress, Inc.--is said by Mulvey to have a membership of "seven or eight. Sounds in the paper like 700 or 800." (Q. 14 NH). You know how these people exaggerate. Besides, there is no leadership among Black people, Mulvey observes--they're "all vying for a piece of the cake." (Q. 17 Y).

Back in the old days, though, we had good Negroes here--look at Mr. Crawford there. (Q. 31). Eighty seven years old now. He has respect. Now we're getting a different type of Negro: look at this guy--a sheriff, no less--who is "the boss for all these slobbs that come up off the farm. Anyone who drives a Cadillac has influence." (Q. 31). Of course, they don't work--even the kids don't do their homework. Anyone can see how their presence in White schools negatively influences the quality of education (Q. 33, 34, 35). But don't get me wrong. Some of our best friends are Negroes: "A little Negro girl sits next to my daughter." But you got to watch out for the violent ones, since "they have gangs, take money away" from kids. (Q. 37). So you got to be careful, right? Neighborhood schools? "I really think it's important. That was (a) consideration for us when we bought our house. Everyone takes that into consideration." (Q. 39). Even so, "we've been told by the Supreme Court to integrate," and "I think it is driving parents out of (the) city." And it's getting worse: "We'll have more Negroes--by 1970, over fifty percent." (Q. 18).

It is 1970, and Harold Mulvey sits in judgement of Bobby Seale. The charge is murder.

Respondent: Harold Mulvey
Position: State Attorney General
Date: January 21, 1966, 4:00 P.M.

14 NN. Some civil rights organizations have been called militant or radical. Are there any such groups here in New Haven?

We've got this group (Fred Harris is fooling around with. From what I can find out, the entire group is seven or eight (people). Sounds in the (newspaper like 700 or 800.

17Y. What are some of the more active nationality and ethnic groups here in New Haven?

Negroes--(there is) no real leader among Negroes. All vying for a piece of cake. Their leadership is poor.

18. Which of these (items) do you think are especially important in New Haven?

(Ranks "Negroes" and the first-ranked problem). (The) Negro problem we have done very well with, but I think it will become more and more important here. We'll have more Negroes--by 1970 (it'll be) over 50% (in the city).

21. What kinds of problems come to mind when you think of the New Haven schools?

I think we have a pretty good set of teachers. I think we have a good physical plant. The only problem that is sticking out now is what to do with these Negroes. Per-

sonally, I think Negroes (are) getting just as good (an) education in Dixwell as (in the) Westville area. But we've been told by (the) Supreme Court to integrate. (That is) hurtful because I think it is driving parents out of (the) city and we'll eventually have (the) same situation in Westville as Dixwell. No place to go except out to (the) suburbs. But found indication of it, for instance, Hamden hasn't one housing project. No Negroes in Woodridge.

24. Suppose some groups or organization wanted to have some major changes made in the way New Haven schools are operated or in school policy. Whose support would they have to get in order to get what they wanted?

We'll (they'd) have to bring it before (the) Board of Education. We have a very high level Board of Education here. For example, (in) Waterbury a group of Negroes just came in and sat in on (the) Board of Education transacting business, and kept saying, you've got to do something for us.

25. There has recently been some concern with alleged racial imbalance or de facto school segregation in the New Haven schools. What is your impression of this issue?

If bringing a number of Negroes from there and putting them here, then we've solved it. But I'm not sure this (a) solution, I'm not sure desegregation is to be desired if this is (the) way to accomplish it. Can't use quota system--can't do it by percent.

30. In your opinion, are most New Haven Negroes as concerned with the schools as with other conditions in New Haven?

Who knows? All you need is one loudmouth--I suppose all parents are concerned with the education of their children and Negro parents are no different. By (the) same token, Negroes from (the) Carolinas (are) not interested in anything except maybe finding (a) job and existing--it's going to take a long while. It's going to be their children--what do we have to (do), de-educate the South? It wouldn't be so bad if (you) take (the) group now--but then another group comes up.

31. Who in your opinion are the individuals -- either White or Negro--who have the most influence with New Haven Negroes?

George W. Crawford.
In what ways is (he) influential? (He) is an outstanding Negro man of a different era. He's now 87. He was highly respected. All the Negroes of his era are fine people. They were all church-going people. (had their) own Masonic lodge. Since WW II (an) entirely different group--no respect for anyone--not even themselves, Dr.



BOBBY SEALE CHAIRMAN, B.P.P.
POLITICAL PRISONER

Smith and Dr. Tipson (were) of (the) same era. So now there are some new leaders. I suppose there's a political leader. What's his name? He's the sheriff. He thinks he's the political boss up there. He's the boss for all these slobbs that come up off the farm. Anyone who drives a Cadillac has influence. Churches (are) all vying. Bishop Brewer has a new beautiful church. New ones, you know.

33. One of the major issues in other cities in the country has been the quality of education which Negroes and other minority groups are said to be receiving. What is your opinion about the quality of education which Negroes are receiving in Naven Haven?

In New Haven (the) level of education is (the) same in one school as any other school. Difficulty of administrating the education is much more great in some schools than others. What if (a) kid doesn't do (his) homework?

34. Do you think that most Negroes in New Haven feel pretty much the same as you do?

No, because they don't understand. They don't understand. You have to have kids do their homework, that they have to have some participation on (the) part of (the) parent. They think just because (the) kid goes to Edgewood School he's going to be brilliant--it isn't true.

35. Some people say that racially-mixed schools affect the quality of education. How do you feel about this?

I think it affects (it), alright.

I'm afraid it affects it downward instead of upward. At this stage (it) has (a) bad, not a good effect.

36. What do you think would be a good proportion of Negroes and Whites in New Haven schools?

Gee, I don't know. It's like a quota system. That's against the law. Supreme Court said you can't count.

37. Would you object to your child attending a school in which there were more than fifty percent Negroes in a class?

It would depend upon where it was. A little Negro girl sits next to (my daughter). I don't object as long as they behave themselves. Where (there are) little hoodlums rather than kids, I'd object. (They) have gangs, take lunch money away from them.

38. Do you think that many New Haven parents would object to sending their children to such a school?

I think it's a matter of behavior. The people in New Haven are so knowledgeable about things that happened, they are just fearful.

39. How important do you think it is that children attend schools in their own neighborhood?

Well, grammar school, I really think it's important. That was (a) consideration for us when we bought our house. Everyone takes that into consideration.

40. Parents in some cities have objected to the bussing of their children to racially-mixed schools. Do you think that they are justified in objecting?

In certain respects, sure.

CONT. FROM PG. 22

statement by Mr. NGUYEN MINH VY,

on behalf of the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, at the 66th Plenary Session of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam

Viet Nam war - now the Indochinese war created by the United States itself - can only lead the United States to ignominious defeats. It cannot make the United States achieve neo-colonialist goals in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, it can only waste the lives of many more American youths, squander the money of the American people in an extended war, causing great harm to the United States in all fields at home and abroad.

That is why, as soon as the Nixon Administration sent troops to invade Cambodia, creating another Viet Nam in the Indochinese peninsula, many people in the U.S.

political circles including in the Nixon Administration raised loud protests, and the American people, especially the students, in almost all major cities have come out in mammoth demonstrations, strongly condemning the extension of the war to Cambodia by the Nixon Administration and demanding total and immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Indochinese countries.

The wave of indignation against the U.S. aggression in Cambodia has rapidly spread to many countries in the world; under various forms, the world people have condemned the illegal and criminal act of the Nixon Administration

against the Cambodian people, demanded that the Nixon Administration immediately stop its war of aggression against the Indochinese peoples and rapidly withdraw all U.S. troops from the Indochinese countries.

These are severe warnings from the American people and the world people against the unjust action which the Nixon Administration is obstinately taking in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the face of the prolongation and extension of the war of aggression carried out by the Nixon Administration against the Indochinese countries, the Vietnamese, Laos and Khmer peoples

have no other alternative than to develop the tradition of unity and resolutely fight against their common enemy - the U.S. aggressors - until total victory, defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their countries, achieving the goals unanimously adopted in the joint declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese peoples.

Should the Nixon Administration blindly pursue the path of aggression, no matter how cruel and perfidious it may be, no matter how many schemes and manoeuvres it may resort to, it

cannot avoid total defeat. The threat many times repeated by Mr. Nixon can only expose the extremely brazen belligerent nature of the United States, cause the three Indochinese peoples to be ever more vigilant, resolutely defeat every new escalation by the United States, and lead American and world public opinion to protest even more strongly.

The United States must bear the entire responsibility of the prolongation and extension of the war in the Indochinese peninsula as well as of the continued deadlock of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam.

October 1966
**Black Panther Party
 Platform and Program**
**What We Want
 What We Believe**



*Huey P. Newton 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.



GUNS



"Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetrated against them by the armed, racist, power structure."

Huey P. Newton



Chairman Bobby Seale, and Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA ST.
OAKLAND, CALIF.

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, publicity 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

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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



KIM IL SUNG

LET US EMBODY
MORE THOROUGHLY
THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF
INDEPENDENCE, SELF-SUSTENANCE
AND SELF-DEFENCE IN ALL FIELDS
OF STATE ACTIVITY

NEW WORLD
LIBERATION FRONT
U.S.A.
1970



"Huey P. Newton's thoughts, like his action is clear and precise, cutting always to the very heart of the matter."

Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party

"Our People's Army should be built up into a revolutionary force equipped with the indefatigable spirit of fighting through thick and thin for the Party, the working class and for the fatherland and the people, into an iron army each member of which is a match for one hundred enemies, capable of smiting any reckless adventure of the enemy."

Comrade Kim Il Sung

"Drug addiction is a monstrous symptom of the malignancy which is ravaging the social fabric of the capitalist system."

Michael Tabor
N.Y. 21



"This means all of us have this power. But the power only belongs to all of us, not just some or one, but all. And that was the trick. That was the thing we never understood. And that is what statement these songs make."

Elaine Brown



"We have to use the only power that we have left and that's the power to destroy, the power to disrupt, the power to throw a nigger - wrench into the machinery."

Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party

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The students ... their rebellions on the campuses and the Working Class focuses its rebellions on the factories and picket lines. But the LUMPEN finds itself in the peculiar position of being unable to find a job and therefore is unable to attend the Universities.

The LUMPEN has no choice but to manifest its rebellions in the University of the Streets."



THE LUMPEN