

# THE BLACK PANTHER 25 cents

Black Community News Service



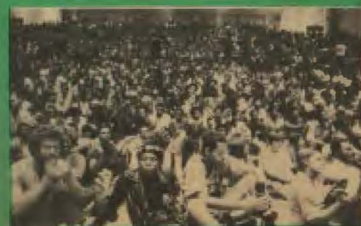
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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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REPRESENTATIVES FROM REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS CAME TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION PLenary SESSION FROM ALL OVER THE PLANET EARTH...

THE 15,000 PEOPLE WHO WERE IN PHILADELPHIA OVER THE LABOR DAY WEEKEND ARE THE REAL HEROES BEHIND THE SUCCESS OF THE REVOLU-

TIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. WE HOPE TO SEE ALL OF THEM AND ALL THEIR FRIENDS TENTATIVELY IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON NOVEMBER 4, 1970. WE CAN ONLY SAY, AT THE RISK OF BEING REDUNDANT, THAT THE PEOPLE ALONE ARE THE MOTIVATING FORCE IN THE MAKING OF WORLD HISTORY.

ARTICLES CENTER PAGE

INSIDE:

A FAMILY INSIDE UGLY AMERICA

NORTH KOREA/SOUTH KOREA

SAN QUENTIN PRISONERS KIDNAPPED

HUEY'S REPLY TO WILLIAM PATTERSON

DENMARK VESEY

# A FAMILY INSIDE UGLY AMERICA



MRS. WASHINGTON, WITH HER FAMILY.

Mrs. Addie Washington cannot leave her apartment because of a nerve collapse that resulted in drawing her leg. Three months ago, Mrs. Washington lost the screw from her leg brace, along with suffering from another illness added to preventing her from being able to go to a doctor.

On Mrs. Washington's last visit to Dr. Kouzack of Mercy Clinic, he assured her for the third time that because of her crippling condition, he had made arrangements to have telephone services for her home through the Public Aid Department of Cook County. Dr. Kouzack has been Mrs. Washington's doctor for three years now. Since then Mrs. Washington has contacted the Public Aid Department several times and they have refused to have the telephone services installed. We questioned the relationship between Mrs. Washington and her caseworker (Mrs. Underwood.) We learned that it has been eight months since Mrs. Underwood has made any contact with Mrs. Washington. The only thing that Mrs. Underwood has made possible in the last eight months is to keep Mrs. Washington from being able to reach her or even return her telephone calls.

In Mrs. Washington's apartment we found falling plaster, falling walls, holes from wall to wall, little or no running water from poor plumbing, leaking roof (in a top floor apartment) and she is paying \$88.00 a month rent to insane owners (Raymond-Milnes Realty) who has employed an 80 year old ill man to keep the building up.

We found that Mrs. Washington and her family are in severe need of food, clothing, shelter and medical care. Mrs. Washington and her family lives at 35th street and South Prairie, in the third ranking slum city (Chicago), in the heart of ugly America.

The center's A.D.C. committee arranged to have the screw replaced in Mrs. Washington's brace. We realize that the replacing of the screw is not the answer to the many suffering needs of Mrs. Washington and her family.

We explained to Mrs. Washington that this destructive system we live in forces all people of color to suffer, that there is an extra attempt made by this system (government) to keep Black people suffering in America. That is suffering for the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter and medical care. We know to well that this racist country has a genocide program and we are forced to suffer for the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter and medical care as a part of this program. When we

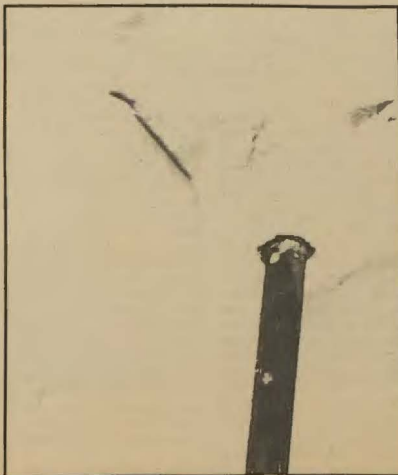


HOLES IN FLOOR OF MRS. WASHINGTON'S APARTMENT.

fool ourselves that we are not oppressed we become unreasonable animals like the animals that are killing our people and keeping us in this suffering. This destructive government and its institutions are apart of the continuing exploitation and genocide of our people. Our day to day suffering appear to be answered with jesters that are hypocritical. An example of

this is the present Public Aid Departments throughout this country. Mrs. Washington lives in this country and her suffering is a result of this destructive government and she is on Public Aid receiving a check and she is still suffering.

We believe that because we live in 20 story high risers (Lake Meadows, Prairie Shores, Noble



PEELING WALL PAPER AND FALLING PLASTER IN MRS. WASHINGTON'S APARTMENT MAKES IT UNSAFE

Square), that we have escaped the conditions of the apartment that Mrs. Washington lives in. If we would stop calling those things we see running around bugs and admit they are chemical roaches in our new high risers, we would find that all over the Black community, running is not our solution, just as Public Aid is not our solution. That does not mean that suffering is our solution, because

all suffering can do is cause us to destroy ourselves (with internal reactionary violence). We are our own solution to the problems of suffering that has been forced on us. We must first remove from or communities the guards (Fig Polices), who have been sent to watch and enforce our suffering the matrons (Daley) who is in office, not at the interest of our needs, but put there to approve all the activities of the guards (police), and anyone else who agrees with the suffering that Black people must live in from day to day. And the warden (Oliglive), who is in office to approve the activities of the matron (Daley) and send them on to Washington where the final approval is put on the type of suffering we must and should live in. We used the words guard, matron and warden because these words are used to address the officials in the prisons throughout this country. We wanted to show how very much alike our homes, streets and communities are very much like the whole structure of the present day prisons. We are guarded like those sisters and brothers in prison, we are watched and spoken to from time to time by pig Daley in the same oppressive manner as a matron speaks to the prisoners and we are a piece of paper to the governor pig OLIGLIVE like the prisoners are to the warden. Just like the prisoners more than anything else we too must free ourselves no matter what takes. As the ten point platform and program of the Black Panther Party states: "We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black community. We as a people must have freedom because we are now facing being totally destroyed. We find it possible to destroy ourselves (internal reactionary violence) because we are not determining our destiny.

No matter how strong the system we live under appears, this will not keep the walls of this system that is destroying us from falling down. From the inside of this ugly American system the walls of this system will be torn down by the means the people deem necessary. DEATH TO ALL THAT STANDS IN THE WAY OF US FREEING OURSELVES! LIFE TO ALL THOSE WHO ARE IN NEED OF FREEDOM! Ivory Black Panther Party Southside Office 253 East 35th street Chicago, Illinois

Black Panther Party Southside Office 253 East 35th street Chicago, Illinois



## BROTHER

### MATHEW HARDING, 83 YEARS OLD DENIED RIGHT TO DECENT HOUSING

Los Angeles

"Oppressed people have no rights which the pigs of the power structure are bound to respect." Two hundred years ago when the Constitution of the United States was drawn up THE Black man was considered 3/5 of a man. The Constitution, when it guaranteed all men the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, excluded Black and other oppressed people from these rights. As the years progressed, this pig power structure tried to deceive Black people particularly, and all poor people into thinking they were free; the mode of slavery had changed but not the substance.

Brother Mathew Harding, 83 years old, who resides at 1459 E. 54th St. had his Constitutional and Human Rights violated as a result of his desire to live in a decent home. He had borrowed \$8,000 from the government to buy a home for his family. A couple of months after they settled in their new home they received a notice from their realty company to vacate the premises. Mr. Harding wanted to know why he was being evicted from his home so he went to the realty company to investigate. He showed the realtor his bank receipts verifying that he had been making regular monthly payments, but he was still told that he would have to leave his home. Evidently, 83 year old Brother Mathew couldn't move quickly enough for the fascist pigs so he was arrested in March for trespassing on private property. Every man is supposed to be guaranteed a fair trial but Mathew Harding didn't receive any trial at all. Even if he had been tried and falsely convicted by a racist jury, the penalty for a trespassing charge is much less than five months. He served time at Lancaster, a farm labor camp, where he was subjected to inhumane treatment by these racist pigs.

The pigs finally released Brother Mathew last month. He returned to civilian life homeless and penniless. He and his wife Tina have been surviving from the good-will and cooperation of their family and friends because the government refused to issue Brother Mathew his old age pension checks. He is presently trying to find a lawyer to help him get his property and money returned.

Brother Mathew, like all poor oppressed people, needs a new Constitution that will be geared towards fulfilling his basic needs and desires. This present, decrepit Constitution has been the document legitimizing our oppression and exploitation for all these years. We're now a new nation of people, and we're throwing off the modern day shackles of chattel slavery and servitude. We are drawing up a revolutionary Constitution for all oppressed people, and we will ensure that the echoes of slavery, oppression, and exploitation are silenced forever.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY Southern California Chapter

# BROWNSVILLE -- A CONTINUOUS STATE OF WAR PEOPLE V.S. PIGS, PEOPLE VICTORIOUS

## PIGS EVICT WELFARE MOTHER AND CHILDREN

On August 3, about 9 a.m., a brother in the community came to the Black Panther Party office at 108-60 New York Blvd., and told us that a woman was being evicted from her home. When I arrived at her house at 109-47 Union Hall St., I saw two pigs standing in front of Mrs. Mary Rice's house and also a large moving truck. Inside her house was also a pot-bellied Marshall, smoking a big cigar named Pomar. He was giving orders to the two bootlicking niggers that were taking her furniture to the sanitation department. When I was entering Mrs. Rice's house two pig cops, badge Nos. 24772 and 26559 called me back and tried to stop me. I just kept on walking because I do not take orders from pigs.

Inside the house I spoke to Mrs. Mary Rice and she told me her problems. She has five children from the ages of 2 to 11 years old and welfare only gives her 200 dollars per month. She has to pay 135 dollars per month for rent. She also has to pay for gas and electricity and also medical expenses for her children. So we can clearly see that in this case as in so many cases the welfare department is not giving the people enough money to survive. In recent reports I read in the pig mass media that you would have to make over 10,000 dollars a year to raise five children. But the welfare department gives our people nothing but crumbs to survive on without taking into consideration the rise in the cost of living. Mrs. Rice also explained to me that the landlord is avaricious and wanted to sell the house to someone else without thinking about her or her five young children. Her landlord is a Black woman Mrs. Tucker.

Mrs. Rice also went to court in May for her house and they

told her to find a new one by August 3rd. She said that she had been constantly looking for an apartment and that everyone she had seen cost too much. The welfare department told her to file an application for an apartment and that she would probably get one. Later they told her there was no more room in any apartment. I also asked her how was the living conditions in the house when she was there. She replied that the toilet did not work and that she could not turn off her water in the sink. Mrs. Rice received a letter Thursday, July 30, from her landlord that she will be evicted August 3, 1970. She called the welfare department and told them that she is being evicted and they told her she will get a place to stay by August 3rd. Now Mrs. Rice has been evicted and the welfare department did not find her a place to live. On August 3, I told her to go down to the welfare department and tell them about her problems and she did. Those fools down there told her

to find a one room apartment for her five children. This is blatant contradiction because it is not fit for six people to live in one room. I see the living conditions of Mrs. Rice as the same conditions our people lived under 400 years ago when we lived on the big plantation in little shacks called houses.

Mrs. Rice is just another example of a Black woman struggling to survive on the meager allotments given to her by the oppressive forces of the New York City welfare department who work hand in hand with the greedy, deranged landlords.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Jamaica Branch  
Jamal

## JAMES "JACKIE" POWELL, POLITICAL PRISONER, BALTIMORE, MD.

James "Jackie" Powell is a political prisoner, Jackie Powell is a revolutionary and although his body is confined in steel and concrete his mind is as free as the Panthers of Connecticut, New York, California, and revolutionaries world wide, because the prison can never have victory over the political prisoners.

Kidnapped off the streets of Baltimore and charged with murder of a silly pig and the wounding of another pig that was too dumb to die. This revolutionary act was labeled a crime. Although witnesses could not be found it was labeled a Panther Pig killing. So of course Panthers had to be arrested first Jackie (along with a street blood Jack Johnson) then Marshall Conway. The three were shipped from jail to jail around the city to insure the lawyers who could have advised them of their rights would not see them. Two days after they were arrested the Grand Jury returned indictment against them, still they did not have

We stand in total unity with Jackie and all political prisoners and with all freedom fighters world wide. We remember what Dharuba (of the N.Y. 21) has pointed out that the ultimate struggle brings about the ultimate unity. And this unity is armed unity. And this armed unity moulded into torpedo shape will be propelled fast and deadly enough to sink completely the rat infested pig captained slave city ship complex U.S.S. Baltimore rupturing the starboard side of the most infamous slave ship the U.S.S. Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!  
FREE THE BALTIMORE  
PANTHERS!  
COATES

"A policeman is a servant of the people who works with the interests of the people at heart." If there is any conflict between the policeman and the masses of people the policeman is not helping them he is harming them. "A pig is a low natured beast that has no regard for law, justice or the rights of the people. A creature that bites the hand that feeds it. A foul depraved trader usually found masquerading as the victim of an unprovoked attack." This last description describes the so-called protectors of the Brownsville community (and all other oppressed communities throughout racist Babylon) the pigs of the 73rd pct.

Last Friday, four brothers were suspected of stealing a car on Sutter Avenue and Amboy Street. They were being chased by the blue uniformed, fly attracting pigs of the 73rd pct. The brothers abandoned the car on Amboy and got to stepping. Three escaped in a building and the fourth brother continued up Sutter Avenue with the pigs hot on his trail. This pig car

stopped up the street from the Party office where we were holding a Political Education Class. As the pigs hopped out of their car, the brother continued to run. This silvery racist dog drawing his gun on the brother shouting Stop or I will shoot. The pigs were no more than 2 or 3 yards away from the brother (who was about 15 years old). This pig would have murdered this young brother in cold blood at point blank range if the people from the community weren't there to witness what was going down. The brothers on the block were angered at this sight of attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon. They stood up as one man and demanded the pigs remove their hams from the Black community immediately and the pigs did just that.

The Sunday before the little brothers and sisters on the block were playing in the water from the fire hydrant and the pigs saw fit to send the Emergency Squad armed with 357 Magnums and a wrench to close the fire hydrant. These dogs understand their

strained relations with the people and they come prepared to deal with Black people, but Black people possess the spark that will light the pearly fire. The people of Brownsville live in a site resembling the city of Hiroshima after the atom bomb was dropped. Other Black people in Brownsville and other Black communities possess something far more explosive than the A-bomb or the Hydrogen bomb. They possess the ultimate weapon. The nigger wrench to throw into the machinery of capitalism, racism, fascism and open exploitation and oppression.

As soon as Black people come out of the nod from an over-dose of Richard the pig-hearted and the plague they will know how the nigger wrench can be used. What we need is community control, 12 gauge community control of the pigs.

DEATH TO ALL PIGS  
POWER TO THE GOOD SNIPERS  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Brooklyn Branch  
Steve

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM A BROTHER BEING HELD IN "THE TOMBS", N.Y.

As-Salaam-Alaikum Beloved Brothers and Sisters of the Black Panther Party:

I am writing this letter to you to make you aware of the unjust treatment that a fellow member in the struggle against this devilish pig society has received. On July 21st, I was picked up off the street while in the process of searching for jobs. I had many applications for jobs in my pockets, yet these police officers still picked me up bringing me back to a so-called "scene of the crime" where this woman testified against me. This was in direct violation of my rights. Because if they thought I committed any crime, they by law, are supposed to place me behind a line-up, so as to be identified with other men. The plaintiff stated \$58.00 was taken from her, yet when they picked me up six blocks away from the stated crime, all I had on me was \$48.00. Now this crime took place at 11:00 and three minutes later they picked me up six (6) blocks away, "walking" down the street.

Today I am being held in the Tombs, 125 White Street, for this alleged crime. My bail was set at \$1,500.00, and I need \$75.00 and some collateral. I believe \$1,000.00 which I can't pay because I just got out of prison from doing five (5) years and I live out of state in Boston, Mass., and my parents are so (mentally) brainwashed, they won't even think of helping me.

I have been a Muslim Minister in the prison house upstate, and was sanctioned to do so by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. I don't believe this devil pig case is strong enough to stand up, but I could be sure of that in the street.

Brothers I could use any help that you can bestow on me. I have no lawyer (except the devil Legal Aid). If you could help me with my bail I would really appreciate it, and be in your debt. Today I still believe in Islam, but my tactics will be revolutionary.

I wish you could put my letter in your inspiring newspaper for your readers to give me some

aid. For my bail I need from \$75.00 to \$100.00 and some collateral to get my immediate freedom.

I hope the Black Panther Party and the people who read this will help me gain my immediate freedom or give me aid, or clothes, money, legal assistance or whatever you can do for your Black brother. When I am released I am going to speak all over New York and the country, trying to unite our people to prepare for the coming Blood Bath of The People's Revolution. The answer to our problem is guerrilla warfare, not the talk of lip service.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
ALL THE PEOPLE, BLACK,  
BROWN, RED AND YELLOW.

Thank you brothers and sisters of the Black Nation for reading this. Your Brother and servant to the death!  
Minister Amir Al-Jabari Shahazz  
Known as - Edward X (Green)

## TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Reports have constantly gotten back to National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party and its organizing bureau in Winston-Salem the National Committee to Combat Fascism, concerning so-called Chapters and Branches and N.C.C.F. of the Black Panther Party being started in Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham and other cities in North Carolina. This statement is made to let the people of North Carolina know the N.C.C.F. in Winston-Salem is the organizing bureau of the Black Panther Party in the state of North Carolina. People in the Black community should be informed of the fact that there are numerous provocateurs, fools, and pigs running throughout North Carolina and fascist Babylon, claiming to be members of the Black Panther Party.

There have always been devious methods used by the pig power structure to discredit and vilify the Black Panther Party. Even on some occasions so-called Chapters of the Black Panther Party have been started by pigs who

commit all kinds of piggy acts against the people in the name of the Black Panther Party. These pigs along with their running nigger dogs have done irreparable damage to the Black Panther Party. With these pigs and fools committing this madness in the Black Panther Party's name, it becomes very difficult to organize in these cities, thus slowing up people's revolution.

The Charlotte N.C. is a classical example of how pigs and fools can do damage to the Black Panther Party. The city of Charlotte is the largest city in the state of North Carolina and has a heavy population of poor oppressed Black people. This city was an ideal place to organize people in, because of poverty and police brutality. The pigs were very hipped to that and that is why they paid some niggers to start putting on black leather jackets, berets, and pants and even got them some guns to go show off with shooting in the Black community. These fools

would go out at night armed and started marching and shooting up in the air and even shooting brothers from the community talking about "We are mighty, mighty Panthers and we don't give a hoot about the pigs." But when the pigs would come these Black fools would start running from their bossman.

Panthers do not commit crimes against the poor oppressed Black masses and any niggers running around committing crimes against the people talking about they're Black Panthers you can rest and be assured that they are fools and pigs and definitely not Black Panthers. People of the community should in no way aid such bandits and pigs rather they should expose them for what they are and report all information concerning these niggers to the National Committee to Combat Fascism in Winston-Salem or the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem

## RACIST 77th PIGS, ATTACK BROTHERS

L.A., Calif.

Saturday, August 29, the racist pigs from the 77th precinct pig station once again displayed their true fascist colors. At approximately 5 p.m., a brother named Ernie and his girlfriend were sitting and talking in his car when a carload of pigs pulled up alongside of them. Brother Ernie had some watches lying the back seat of his car, and when the pigs saw the watches they immediately ordered Ernie and the sister to get out of the car. Ernie asked them "are you looking for a couple of niggers to shoot?" and one pig, trembling in fear, put his hand on his gun. The second racist pig grabbed Ernie around the neck and began choking him until he was unconscious. After these racist marauders had finished working over Brother Ernie they searched his car with neither his permission nor did they have a search warrant. When these blood-thirsty pigs could find no incriminating evidence to arrest either Ernie or the sister, they got back in their car and inked away.

Several months ago on 56th and Broadway, members of the racist 77th precinct cold bloodedly shot down and murdered a brother in the street. These incidents are indicative of the types of daily harassments and brutalization the people are confronted with, particularly those people who live within the confines of 77th pig station.

No longer can the pigs of 77th or any other pig department invade our communities attacking and brutalizing our people. When "policemen" invade our communities like an occupying force, acting in the manner of criminals, we must deal with them like they are criminals. "THE RACIST DOG POLICEMEN MUST WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY FROM OUR COMMUNITIES, CEASE THEIR WANTON MURDER AND BRUTALITY AND TORTURE OF BLACK PEOPLE, OR FACE THE WRATH OF THE ARMED PEOPLE" Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS

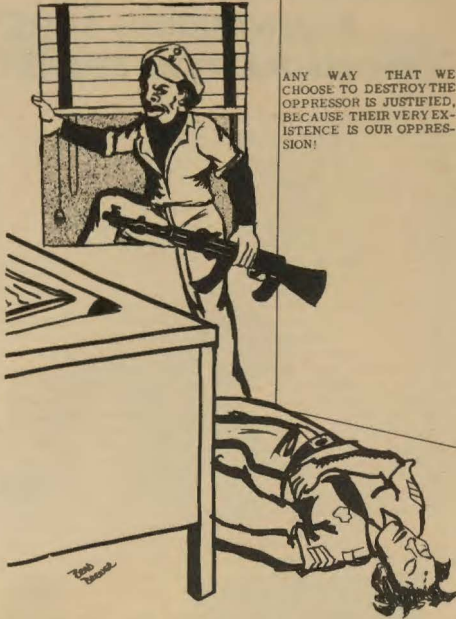
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
So. California Chapter.

## ARKANSAS BLACK LIBERATION FRONT UNDER ATTACK BY FASCIST PIGS

On August 7, 1970 the Arkansas Black Liberation Front officially opened its headquarters in the city of Little Rock, located 2615 E. 6th St. Since that time the members as well as the entire revolutionary organization has been under fire by the fascist established order. A typical example of these pigs out and out disregard for the rights of the Arkansas Black Liberation Front, as well as all oppressed Black people in general, is that these low-lifted pigs have tried to persuade the community to force us out of our headquarters by getting a few lackey niggers to ink to the people that we are a subversive group.

Of course these persuasion bids by the bootlicking niggers are one of the many tools that the oppressor has used to bring dissent and frustrations within the Black community throughout our 400 year presence here. We the members of the Arkansas Black Liberation Front, with the idea in mind of always dealing a death blow to the oppressor and his lackeys.

Another incident of harassment by the pigs came on August 13. On this date Comrade Henry San-



ANY WAY THAT WE CHOOSE TO DESTROY THE OPPRESSOR IS JUSTIFIED, BECAUSE THEIR VERY EXISTENCE IS OUR OPPRESSION!

## PHILADELPHIA PIGS, FACE THE WRATH OF THE PEOPLE

During the last weekend in the month of August, the bootlicking pigs of the Philadelphia police force found themselves licking their own wounds, and burying their own dead, instead of the vice-versa trend that usually occurs with them, and freedom loving people. The desires of the true revolutionaries, all over the city reached peak proportions, and the pigs technology as well as its health took a defeat.

In three different incidents, six key were wounded and one taken out for good, as revolutionaries arose to the call of liberation, and denunciation of this country's fascist system.

Let this be heard and known, to yellow-bellied Rizzo, and his

fools who think the people of Philly and around the world will play Jews to his "wild boarish" Hitler like tactics. The people are aware of their enemy, and even though the struggle has reached an even higher level, the real revolution has merely begun. There will be many more dark days ahead for the oppressive forces trying to dominate our communities, and when the light finally shines, all the walls of the pigs pen-iten-try, and all the will of the fools decreed ambitions will be torn down, and crushed.

RIGHT ON FELLOW REVOLUTIONARIES  
Ralph (Rayon) W.  
Philadelphia ALLY!

idents out of the many that have occurred since we opened our headquarters as well as the Information Center. But because of the acts of aggression against the people's vanguard organization in Ark., the people have become hip as to what these pigs are up to in trying to destroy us outright. Since many of the incidents, some people have responded by helping sell papers, giving various things to the center, and helping to organize a Free Breakfast Program. Others have helped paint, donated money and help set up speaking engagements so the masses of people can get first hand our beliefs and purposes as we relay them from our interpretations of Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver and David Hilliard as they are manifested in our Vanguard Party. So whatever these low-lifted dogs try, we will not be run out of our community! which we cherish as our Fatherland, and we will not be becoming to being slaves nor raising any, because we have decided to choose "Revolutionary Suicide".

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
PIGS ARE SCARED OF DEATH,  
BUT NIGGERS GOT NOTHING  
ELSE, UNLESS WE FIGHT!  
Arkansas Black Liberation Front  
Community Information Center  
Dep. of Information

## THE PEOPLE'S RESPONSE TO THE POLICE VAMP IN PHILADELPHIA

The call came in at 6:00 a.m. that the Panther Party offices in Philadelphia were under attack by the fascist gestapo pigs under the direction of Frank Rizzo, Police Commissioner. When arriving in Philadelphia about 9:15 a.m. William Coates, Willie Joyner and myself, Raymond Jones rode into North Philly to Columbia Avenue and saw how the fascist pigs had a two block stake-out around Columbia Avenue.

We left North Philly and went to our destination in West Philly: from early that morning when the pigs vamped on the office up until 5:00 p.m., when we left they still had the streets blocked with paddy wagons and police cars. Only the people who lived in that block on Wallace Street were allowed in, and some of them did not make it into the block. One brother had to climb his own backyard fence to get into his house on Wallace Street.

There was a round the clock pig patrol. At Wallace Street, 37th and 38th Streets there were 4 pig cars blocking each entrance of the street, in the block itself. There were two paddy wagons and about 30 pigs in all to see that nobody went into the Panther office. The pigs had two trucks to empty the house of its contents which included refrigerator, radios, Panther Papers, signboards, signs, literature, clothes, in other words everything was taken out but the kitchen sink.

Hearing the people talk among themselves and asking questions, the feeling that the masses of people had about the Panthers made you feel great to be a revolutionary, part of the solution not a problem. Three elderly women who were standing on the corner talked in the Panthers favor and praised the Black Panther Party in general.

They talked about the brothers and sisters before they became Panthers and Community Workers, and how they used to fight each other. They talked about how the nice neighborhood became after the Black Panther Party was established in West Philadelphia. They talked on how the Panther brothers and sisters gave candy to the children, how they came by houses to see if everybody was doing alright, gave food to families who needed it. They talked about the Free Clothing and Breakfast and Lunch Programs; about the Bar-b-Que, the Panthers had and how they, themselves and other people had participated in the Bar-b-Que. One elderly woman who lives on 37th and Wallace Streets, stated that she did not believe what was happening. She would not believe that a horrible thing like this could happen and how nasty the pigs were.

One sister stated how the pigs were scared when getting information on one side of West Philadelphia the response of the oppressed masses showed the Philly pigs what they (the people) thought of them. When two highway patrolmen were shot down at 59th and Cedar, and pigs came to help the wounded pigs, the oppressed masses numbering about 300 tried to prevent them from helping the wounded pigs. One pig was tripped by someone in the crowd while trying to chase a suspect, and suffered a broken arm. Other spectators most of them young stood behind barricades shouting out calls and heckling the pigs until they did know what to do. "The only good pig is a dead pig." ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE FREE THE BALTIMORE PANTHERS

Raymond Jones  
Baltimore Chapter  
Black Panther Party

## NOTE: CONCERNING THE VAMP ON THE NEW ORLEANS N. C. C. F.

DUE TO THE FASCIST TACTICS OF THE PIGS, WE DO NOT HAVE ANY ACCURATE INFORMATION TO REPORT ON THE INCIDENT THAT OCCURRED IN NEW ORLEANS. WE ALL KNOW HOW THE "APOLOGIST FOR THE SYSTEM" (NEWS MEDIA) OPERATE; HOW THEY LIE AND MISLEAD THE PEOPLE; MAKING THE VICTIM THE CRIMINAL AND THE CRIMINAL THE VICTIM OF AN UNPROVOKED ATTACK. NEXT WEEK HOWEVER, WE WILL HAVE ACCURATE INFORMATION AND REPORTS AND WILL BE ABLE TO TELL YOU WHAT REALLY WENT DOWN.

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS

# PIGS FRAME BROTHERS ON PHONY DOPE CHARGES IN BROWNSVILLE

Approximately 7:50 P.M. on August 25th, five pigs (3 White undercover pigs and one White and one Black T.P.F. pig) stopped brothers Charles Parker and Willie Osem, who were sitting in a parked car on the corner of Hertz street and Suter Avenue. The pigs forced them out at gun point, and began to search the brothers looking for drugs, which is a typical excuse for harassment in Brownsville. The people in the community began to gather around watching these mad dogs do their daily work (terrorize the people at the point of a gun). After the pigs searched the brothers and found nothing they began to ravage through the car, again they found nothing. They began to drink to one another, having failed in the attempted rip off. The pigs got back in the car (by this time the brothers were put in the unmarked pig car) and went into his pants pocket and brought out two bags of dope putting it in one of the brother's top pocket now the pigs had invented a reason for brandishing guns through the community and framing these two brothers. The community digging all this got uptight and began to tell the pigs just how they felt about them (the pigs) and what they had just witnessed. By this time three more pig cars from the 73rd precinct showed on the spot.

pigs and their cars (using what they had). The pigs being the cowards they are retreated about a block away, to regroup. Once down the block the pigs got out with their guns and began to shoot up the community. And then like the true cowards they are, they fled the Black and Puerto Rican community. This is not the first time this has happened in Brownsville. There have been incidents when pigs were chasing brothers in cars, have shot over the heads of our women and children, and in many instances have wounded and murdered people, all in the line of so called duty. The Black Panther Party 10 point program and platform point #7 states "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people. We believe we can end this by organizing self defense groups (Urban guerrillas) that are dedicated to defending the Black community from the racist reactionary U.S. domestic military. Since historically America has always reserved its most barbaric treatment for non-white people we believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to our total destruction.

## DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!

Nicky  
Brooklyn Branch

# PROSTITUTION RUNS RAMPANT IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF TRENTON, N.J., SUPPLYING BLACK SISTERS FOR PIGS

On August 21, 1970, brother Eddie was walking back home from a show with his woman. While walking down the main strip, they were repeatedly stopped and insulted by white men in cars trying to pick up the sister, thinking any Black sister is fair game for their thing.

The biggest insult came from a Black leechy, with two white pigs whom he said were his friends. This fool came up to brother Eddie and called him "Brother", while trying to kidnap the sister for his pig associates.

Eddie told him in no uncertain terms to keep his mouth shut don't call him brother and to take his associate pigs to the Chambersburg section of Trenton and try to pick up a white woman. The brother would be messed-up on sight trying to do his thing out there.

The sisters dealing papers in the area of Brunswick Avenue and Five Points, and Perry Street, another strip, have also been approached by these dogs and fools.

Most of the prostitutes are Black and have Black pimps and operate in an area of the community where there are families. Children are witness to these conditions inspired by and supported by the monster of capitalism.

Most of the flesh buyers are white. White workers for the state which are numerous in this State capital. Mayor Holland expressed to the news media that the prostitution problem, made public by a group of disgusted parents who live in the area and who call themselves parents against prostitution, would be dealt with.

The brothers and sisters in the area know that this is a lie, the

problem has been here for years, 400 years, and has not been dealt with yet. The same pigs who sit up in the State capital denouncing prostitution are the ones who infect our communities after dark.

Two German immigrants were killed "on the prowl" last year. Brother Bruce King is now serving a life sentence for serving the people by ridding the community of the pigs who degrade our very existence. The other brother who was with Bruce was released from the pigen only to be killed a short time later under very strange circumstances.

This is a prime example of how the pig deal with anyone who dares to struggle against the sick politicians, this is an example of how any brother is moved against who says later to the monsters of imperialism, racism and capitalism.

We say to these pigs that no longer can they come into our communities kidnapping our mothers and sisters and expect to leave safely. We are tired of our younger sisters and brothers seeing the sickness you have caused. We are tired of your lies and your pigs coming into our communities and protecting your sick interests. We are tired of the Black traitors who supply you with our sisters.

We say to all "buyers of Black flesh" who creep into our communities after and before dark that you must stop or you will be dealt with by any means necessary.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
DEATH TO ALL PIGS

Sister Love  
Trenton, New Jersey

## GEORGIA BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE

S.C.L.C., The Southern Clowns Leadership Conference, collected hundreds of dollars in donations for The Peoples' Free Breakfast Program.

The people of Vine City never received this money. On the morning of August 12, the Georgia Black Liberation Front peacefully walked into West Hunter Street Baptist Church to hear Rev. Abernathy speak and to ask him for the money he had collected. Accompanied by about 30 children, the members of the G.B.L.F. were attacked by S.C.L.C. members standing at the door. After the children entered they were attacked again, warning S.C.L.C. people that they entered peacefully and that they were there to listen.

At the conclusion of Abernathy's speech we approached the pulpit to ask permission to speak. We were told to come forward, but as we proceeded we were blocked and insulted and threatened and finally Community Organizer, Mombaza, and Coordinator of Information, J.N. Hayes were beaten and carried outside while defending themselves—two revolutionaries were ganged by 25 S.C.L.C. five nigger fanatics. Rev. Abernathy, seeing his prestige at stake, called his dogs off and allowed the peoples' leaders to speak. The people said that they wanted at least \$1,000 of the money that was collected for them.

S.C.L.C., a supposedly non-violent organization doesn't defend Black people, but attacks Black people and cheats Black people out of their money.

The people of Vine City are saying that Rev. Abernathy has cheated us for the last time. We demand our money or we will occupy the annex building at 20 Chestnut Street until our needs are met.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Georgia Black Liberation Front

## PHILADELPHIA

# PHILADELPHIA, PEOPLE VS PIGS, PEOPLE VICTORIOUS

Last week on the East Coast, Philadelphia Penn., section of the "new Babylonian empire, the people's liberation forces were attacked by the fascist-reactionary ruling regime of the empire. This attack was the initial contact of pig aggression directed at the People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention, Plenary Session in particular, and Convention in general. Analytically it proves that we are definitely on the correct path to revolution. However, we do understand that all acts of hostilities between the people and the pigs are correctly acts of war, in which the victory is determined by the people. Our comrades in Philadelphia faced the weight and brutal attack of the Babylonian Empire's determination to stop the Convention and the Revolution. Those brothers and sisters are very courageous, just as courageous as the masses of oppressed people who came to Philadelphia to help write a Constitution under the circumstances of pig aggression and war.

The order for this attack without any doubt came from the desk of "Richard Milhouse Nixon" the commander in chief of the Babylonian (America) Empire's reactionary forces of international thieves. It was carried out by the fascist pigs of Philadelphia (historic place of the creation of the Babylonian Empire), under the warzone directions of super-intendant Rizzo, a pig who is known nationally as "a pig's type of pig." At this point, I am sure it is conferring with the chief executive

# RACIST PIGS SHOOT AN INNOCENT CHILD IN TOLEDO, OHIO

At approximately 4pm, September 1, 1970, an incident occurred that again showed the people of Toledo, Ohio, that pigs have no respect for the lives or rights of Black people....

The pigs were called to investigate a charge of breaking and entering at 1235 Palmwood Ave. When the pigs arrived on the scene they were ready to kill.

A young brother approximately 12 years old ran from between the house of the alleged crime and the house next door, (1239 Palmwood) when the pigs saw the brother they "onked," stop boy or I'll shoot." The brother kept on gettin up. (This brother knew he would get no justice once he was in the hands of Toledo's racist pigs. This small child, hungry, ragged, scared—a product of this decadent American society, realized that people are oppressed for no other reason than being Black. Even at his tender young age he had seen or heard of crimes and injustices perpetrated against Black people in forms of beatings and senseless murders by Toledo's pigs and knew better than to give up and possibly face this certain doom. At the time that most young children are busy participating in baseball games, going on hikes or picnics, this young brother was fighting a life and death struggle for survival. The pigs started shooting at the brother as soon as he ran across the street. They didn't bother to fire "warning shots." They also didn't bother to notice that there were people in that immediate area

whose lives they were endangering. These people were sitting on their porches, playing in the streets, when all of a sudden shot at. No consideration was given for these Black people's lives.

The pigs didn't stop to think of the possibility that some passerby might be killed by their manic actions. There was no indication that the young brother was trying to break and enter. The complainant did not see who her so-called burglar was. The possibility of error was astronomical, but the pigs moved as if they had concrete proof that the young brother was guilty.

The Black colony of Toledo, Ohio, is fast becoming an "armed camp," a "police state" in which over-policing, wanton brutality and murder continue to plague its inhabitants.

We as human beings judge other people by their social practices. This is to say that if an individual carries himself in a manner that shows no respect for life, or liberty, or regard for property, and all the while hiding behind the "Tin Badge of Law and Order," then this person is a pig.

The people demand an immediate end to these blatant violations of human dignity. We also demand that the occupying army of pigs withdraw from our community or suffer the wrath of the armed people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Toledo N.C.C.F.  
Bob Watson

and other pigs, trying to develop new strategy to employ as a means to back out of the aggression "he initiated". We know that bundling reactionary Nixon, Rizzo and all the rest are faced with a "revolutionary design" evinced to make their every mistaken move a contributing factor for victory in the revolution.

The reactionary regime of Babylon has shown us their hand, because as social scientists we analyze their every move. With the travelling of Spiro Agnew to the various puppet regimes which form the "countryside" of Babylon, we are more convinced that our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, and our concept of taking internationalism to a higher level, whereas the destruction of statehood is its final conclusion, is a very correct concept. Social practice which is the criterion of truth plus the acts of war in Philadelphia, and Agnew's trip from urban Babylon into the countryside through analysis carries our struggle to a higher level, and makes more people aware of and prepared to deal with the true nature of our struggle. Which is correctly pointed out to us by our Supreme Commander as being an international struggle/war conducted from the "nationless empire of urban Babylon against the world's oppressed people out in the countryside. We understand that in this era of high technology centered in Babylon, it helps control and conduct systematic wars of aggression against oppressed people the world over, carried out

by aggressors of different nationalities united under the banner of international imperialism. Understanding this, we know that there are no revolutionary struggles for liberation in any country capable of defeating single-handedly the regime which controls the Babylonian war-machine; that is, outside of supporting the revolutionary people of urban Babylon here in America.

The oppressed people of Urban Babylon (America) have come to Philadelphia confronting and defying the aggressive reactionary precedent Rizzo tried to establish with his act of war against the peoples liberation forces and the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. It must be understood that the RPCC will be held, and that a common agreement among oppressed people will be established, at all cost. An agreement which will support theoretically and practically the actions of liberation towards ending all oppression of man. In this year of the people, of our Party, nothing short of complete liberation can stop the axioms (a statement that needs no proof) of Babylonian liberation, world liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
THE FASCIST U.S. GOVERNMENT  
WILL SURELY BITE THE DUST  
WITHOUT A DOUBT!

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Chicago Chapter  
Monk Teba

# DEMARK VESEY'S SLAVE CONSPIRACY OF 1822:

## A STUDY IN REBELLION AND REPRESSION

by ROBERT S. STAROBIN

### PART III

The hysterical reaction to the conspiracy by virtually all White Charlestonians indicated the pathological dimensions of the "mind of the Old South". Officials disagreed over the extent of the plot and the best means of repressing it, but no one at the time doubted that the Blacks actually intended to rebel. The whole White community seemed gripped by fear for over two months, and the panic persisted through the fall legislative session and beyond. Even Governor Bennett and his brother-in-law, United States Supreme Court Justice William Johnson, both of whom deplored the panic and criticized the procedures of the authorities, believed that a plot did in fact exist and became somewhat hysterical themselves (24). Bennett secretly communicated with Secretary of War John C. Calhoun to request federal reinforcements for local garrisons (military place or station); Calhoun complied by shifting troops from Savannah and St. Augustine to the Charleston area (25). Thus, the military preparations; the numbers of arrests, deportations, and executions; the harsh punishments; and the fears expressed privately by many Whites—all indicate the magnitude of the hysteria.

Most of all, slaveowners feared their "indiscriminate slaughter" and the rape and "prostitution" of White women. Such fears of so-called sexual "transgressions" were a prominent theme in both private and public utterances, just as they had been in earlier crises (26). A Charleston businessman, for example, disclosed that "the females were to be reserved for worse than death", while a Baltimore newsweekly reported that a slave of Governor Bennett "was to have had his daughter, a beautiful young lady, as part of his share of the spoils" (27). Even young Anna Johnson (whose father was urging public calm) believed that "we poor devils were to have been reserved to fill their harems—horrible—I have a very beautiful cousin", she added, repeating the rumor about Bennett's daughter, "who was set apart for the wife on more properly the 'light of the Harem' of one of their Chiefs..." (28). Thus one historian's view that "no conspiracy in fact existed" was not accepted by South Carolinians in 1822 (29).

Though some had already achieved notoriety, politicians manipulated the hysteria (which they had also created and promoted) for their own political purposes. By the fall of 1822, James Hamilton, Jr., the zealous mayor-prosecutor, was elected to the United States House of Representatives. Robert Y. Hayne, commander of the troops and attorney general, was chosen United States Senator. And John L. Wilson, owner of a slave informer, became Governor. By comparison, Bennett left the Governor's office in disrepute, and had his report on the conspiracy tabled by a legislature hostile to criticism of the repression of Blacks. Justice Johnson was denounced throughout the state for his dissenting view that the hysteria was unwarranted; eventually he was hounded from the state because of his opposition to nullification in 1833 (30). In general, the policies of the fanatical racists triumphed over those of the liberal politicians in the suppression of the Vesey Affair.

Given the savagery of White re-

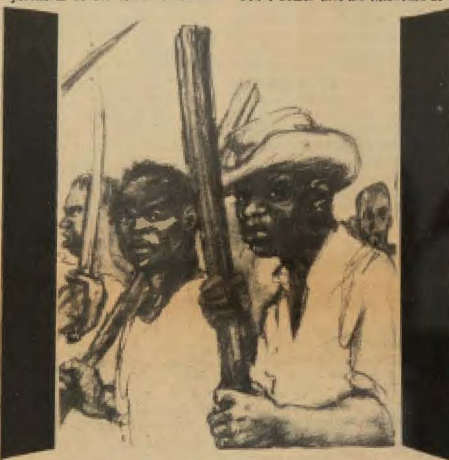
taliation against Blacks, serious methodological (system of methods) problems arise in assessing (impose a tax, set a rate) the evidence left from the plot. For all of the surviving sources derive either from terrorized Blacks or fearful Whites. The trial testimony came largely from witnesses who desired to escape death or to direct attention away from themselves. Though two leaders confessed, they did so under extreme duress; the rest of the leadership denied complicity or remained silent. The original court minutes survive, but the whole trial record was edited by the magistrates before publication and withdrawn from circulation thereafter. The Court stated that "the evidence (was) in most cases preserved as it was originally taken, without even changing the phraseology, which was generally in the very words used by the witnesses...it was thought advisable to lay before the public the whole narrative, as it was given by the witnesses, and not to suppress any part of it." (31) In sum, the evidence is inherently biased against the conspirators and must therefore be used with skepticism and caution.

The printed and manuscript trial evidence may be criticized on other grounds. Discrepancies appear between the manuscript confessions by Baccius Hammet and John Enslow and the printed version; contradictions also appear within the printed record itself (32). However, the manuscript confessions were taken when the slaves were in jail, while the printed version derives from similar, but not necessarily identical, testimony given or read in court. Moreover, the wealth of detail about the rebels' plans, the coincidence of names, and the correspondence of places contained in the printed record—all point more to common knowledge by Blacks than to testimony manufactured by Whites. Also, the rebel leaders had sufficient time to destroy their records and hide their arms, since Peter Poyas and Mirgo Harb were temporarily released, while Vesey and Gullah Jack remained at large for several days.

The means used to extract testimony from the Blacks also casts serious doubt on the reliability of the trial evidence. The authorities did not of course hesitate to use various forms of torture and coercion to gain information from Blacks. William Paul, for example, was kept in solitary confinement for nine days until he incriminated (accused) other slaves. Other suspects were lodged in separate cells to prevent communication among them. Peter Poyas was chained in his cell while another Black man was being interrogated nearby. Monday Gell, Charles Drayton, and Harry Hall confessed only after being sentenced to death and then promised clemency for cooperation. The court simply delayed their execution so that they had more time to implicate other rebels and testify against them. As a reward, the court then commuted their sentences from death to deportation. Little evidence bears on the extent of torture, but even Governor Bennett admitted publicly that "no means which experience or ingenuity could devise were left untried, to eviscerate the plot." (33)

The trials took place in a small room in the same building where the prisoners were confined. The

public was barred from the courtroom and Blacks were not allowed within two blocks of the building. Troops guarded the prison and court day and night to prevent Blacks from freeing prisoners and continuing the conspiracy. The trial procedure was far from equitable; owners and counsel were present, but defendants could not confront those witnesses who gave testimony under a pledge of secrecy. Thus, four out of five witnesses against Rolla Bennett were anonymous, and the fifth was a slaveowner. The court permitted hearsay evidence without objection, and attorneys did not bother to cross-examine those witnesses who testified openly. There was no jury; only a majority of the magistrates was necessary for conviction (34). Bennett and Johnson objected that these procedures were so unfair as to endanger valuable slave property, and the court later admitted that it had departed "in many essential features, from the principles of common law, and some of the sacred rules of evidence." (35) However, since Blacks were involved, Attorney General Hayne ruled that the procedures were justified, so the trials continued.



Moreover, the purpose of the trials clearly was not only to ferry (search) out and punish slave conspirators but also to terrorize and pacify the rest of the Black community. "The terror of example we thought would be sufficiently operative by the number of criminals sentenced to death," explained the magistrates. Governor Bennett conceded that the death sentences were intended "to produce a salutary terror." (36) Altogether thirty-five Blacks were executed, many in a mass hanging toward the end of July; more than forty others were deported from the state. Many awaiting deportation were still incarcerated in the workhouse as late as the beginning of 1823; others received public whippings. Those sentenced to death were hung publicly before crowds of spectators, and reportedly "their bodies (were) to be delivered to the surgeons for dissection, if requested." To complete the "terror of example", the Black community was prevented from dressing in black or wearing dark crepe to mourn its dead. (37)

In order to promote "proper" behavior by Blacks in the future, the original informers received substantial rewards from the state legislature in the fall of 1822. The owners of Peter Devany and George Wilson were authorized to emancipate their slaves. The traitors received life-time annuities and exemption from taxation. The assembly then granted William Pencil, the free Black who had counseled Peter to inform, \$1,000 outright, Scott, a free Black who had implicated a White man, received a \$500 award. Of course, the owners of banished slaves also gained

compensation for the loss of their human chattel. (38)

After an event with such awesome implications for the future of slavery, it was natural for Whites to search for the causes of the plot and to enact reforms to forestall further insurrections. Most Whites blamed the Vesey Conspiracy on the Haitian Revolution, the anti-slavery movement, Black religion and education, the influence of free Blacks and slave artisans, and the indulgence of urban slaves by white masters. One Charleston businessman, for example, attributed the plot to Black meetings "held under the perfidious cover of religion...aided by Black missionaries" from the North. "When your kind and tender-hearted Philadelphians, as well as Quakers, preach up emancipation," he warned, "let them ponder (think deeply about) the deeds of darkness and misery that would have taken place had this plot even in part succeeded." Similarly, a Savannah woman blamed the "wildest plans engendered by religious enthusiasm and a wrong conception of the Bible." Congressman Joel R. Poinsett's personal belief that the Missouri re-

public was barred from the courtroom and Blacks were not allowed within two blocks of the building. Troops guarded the prison and court day and night to prevent Blacks from freeing prisoners and continuing the conspiracy. The trial procedure was far from equitable; owners and counsel were present, but defendants could not confront those witnesses who gave testimony under a pledge of secrecy. Thus, four out of five witnesses against Rolla Bennett were anonymous, and the fifth was a slaveowner. The court permitted hearsay evidence without objection, and attorneys did not bother to cross-examine those witnesses who testified openly. There was no jury; only a majority of the magistrates was necessary for conviction (34). Bennett and Johnson objected that these procedures were so unfair as to endanger valuable slave property, and the court later admitted that it had departed "in many essential features, from the principles of common law, and some of the sacred rules of evidence." (35) However, since Blacks were involved, Attorney General Hayne ruled that the procedures were justified, so the trials continued.

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### FOOTNOTES

24. Hamilton, An Account, preface; public letter by Governor Thomas Bennett, Charleston, S.C.,

continued on next page

continued from last page

# DENMARK VESEY

August 10, 1822, in Washington, D.C., Daily National Intelligencer, August 24, 1822; Governor Bennett's unpublished Message #2, November 28, 1822 to the state legislature (SCA). (William Johnson), "The Melancholy Effect of Popular Excitement," Charleston Courier, June 21, 1822; William Johnson, To The Public of Charleston (Charleston, July 4, 1822).

25. Governor Thomas Bennett to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, Charleston, S.C., July 15 and 30, 1822; Secretary of War John C. Calhoun to Colonel A. Eustis, and to Major James Bankhead, Washington, D.C., July 22, 1822, Secretary of War Papers (National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

26. Winthrop Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Baltimore, 1969).

27. John Potter to Langdon Cheves, Charleston, July 10, 1822, Cheves Papers (South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.) cf. letters of June 29, July 5, 16, and 20, 1822 Niles' Weekly Register, 22 (July 13, 1822), 320.

28. Anna Hayes Johnson to Eliza-beth Haywood, Charleston, S.C., June 23, 1822, Haywood Papers; cf. letters of July 18, 24, and 27, 1822, and Martha P. Richardson to James P. Screven, Savannah, Ga., July 6, Aug. 7, and Sept. 16, 1822, Arnold-Screven Papers (University of North Carolina Li-brary, Chapel Hill, N.C.).

29. Wade, "Vesey Plot", p. 150.

30. Charleston Mercury, Dec. 4, 10, 11, 1822; Donald G. Morgan, Justice William Johnson (Colum-bia, S.C., 1954).

31. Official Report, pp. III-IV; confer original manuscript version of the trial in the SCA.

32. Manuscript Confessions of Bacchus Hammet and John Enslow, Hammet Papers (Duke University Library, Durham, N.C.); Wade, "Vesey Plot", pp. 155-156.

33. Official Report, passim; Ben-nett letter in Washington, D.C., Daily National Intelligencer, Aug. 24, 1822.

34. Lofton, Insurrection in South Carolina, passim; Official Report, passim.

35. Thomas Bennett to L.H. Ken-edy and Thos. Parker, Charle-son, July 1, 1822, in Official Re- port, pp. 70-71; Charleston Cou- rier, June 21, 1822; Official Re- port, p. vi.

36. Lionel H. Kennedy, et al., to Gov. Thomas Bennett, Charle-son, July 24, 1822, in Governor's Mes- sage #2, November 28, 1822, to the state legislature (SCA).

37. Charleston Courier, July 27, 1822; Charleston Mercury, Dec- ember 25, 1822; "A Colored American", The Late Co-tem- plated Insurrection in Charleston, S.C. (New York, 1850).

38. Charleston Mercury, Decem- ber 25, 1822.

39. John Potter to Langdon Cheves, Charleston, June 29 and July 10, 1822, Cheves Papers (South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston); Martha P. Richard- son to nephew, Savannah, Ga., July 6 and Aug. 7, 1822, Arnold-Scre- ven Papers (University of North Carolina Library); Joel R. Pol- sett to James Monroe, Charle- son, August 13, 1822, Monroe Pa- pers (Library of Congress); Colum- bia South Carolina State Gazette, Sept. 7, 1822; Charle- son City Gazette, Aug. 14, 1822; Henry W. Desaussure to Joel R. Polsett, Columbia, S.C., July 6, 1822, Polsett Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadel- phia); Anna Johnson to cousin, Charleston, July 18, 1822, Hay- wood Papers (University of North Carolina Library).

40. Hamilton, An Account, p. 2; Official Report, p. 41; New York National Advocate, quoted in Wash- ington National Intelligencer, July 20, 1822; Salem, Mass. Gazette, Jan. 10, 1823; New York Daily Advertiser, July 31, Aug. 6, 1822.

41. Public Letter by Governor Bennett, August 10, 1822; "A Columbian," (Chancellor Henry W. Desaussure), A Series of Num- bers Addressed to the Public, on the Subject of the Slaves and Free People of Colour (Columbia, Sept.- Oct., 1822); the Reverend Richard Furman to Governor Thomas Ben- nett, n.d., (ca. Fall, 1822), Fur- man Papers (South Caroliniana Li- brary, University of South Caro- lina, Columbia) cf. the Reverend Richard Furman's Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Rela- tive to the Coloured Population of the United States (Charleston, 1823); Martha P. Richardson to nephew, Savannah, Aug. 7, 1822, Arnold - Screven Papers; E.C. Holland, A Refutation of the Calumnies Circulated Against the Southern and Western States (Charleston, Oct. 29, 1822); Mem- orial of the Citizens of Charle- son to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, Nov. 1822, in U.B. Phillips, ed., Plantation and Fron- tier Documents (Cleveland, 1909), vol. II, pp. 103-116; cf. (Thomas Pynchney), Reflections, Occa- sioned by the Late Disturbances in Charleston., By Achates (Charleston, Nov. 4, 1822); the Reverend Frederick Dalcho, Prac- tical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures Relative to the Slave Population of South Carolina (Charleston, 1823).

42. An Act for the Better Regu- lation and Government of Free Negroes and Persons of Color, in House Reports, #80, 27 U.S. Congress, 3 session, Jan. 20, 1849, pp. 21-23; Hamilton, An Account, p. 1.

(END OF FOOTNOTES)

# INTERVIEW WITH JEAN GENET IN CANADA CONCERNING THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reprinted from La Masse, Quebec, Canada - June 15, 1970

La Masse: What kind of Political work are the Black Panthers doing? Jean Genet: As far as the general political line of the Panthers, I can say this; racism in the United States is such that certain Blacks have been obliged to start a move- ment capable to fight the Whites in the US. Little by little they have

character, but they must also be seen as a means of politicizing the children; they are taught who are Bobby Seale, Cleaver and Newton, what the Whites are doing, what leads the Whites, what repression they wage against the Blacks and what are the motivations of the Whites vis-a-vis the Blacks. There is also another means of infor- mation which is the Black Panther Party newspaper and other papers

movements but with the agreement of the Black Panther Party.

La Masse: What has been the role of the Black Panther Party in radicalizing the Whites?

Jean Genet: For the Blacks as well as for the Whites the priority must be given to the trial of Bobby Seale who is threatened by the judicial and political authorities to lose his life in the electric chair. Even if the authorities were to give ground in the Bobby Seale affair, however slightly, it would be a great victory for the American left; I think that if Nixon or Agnew felt a determination on the part of White radicals to make demon- strations in favor of Bobby Seale and in favor of the Panthers the res- pressive authorities would be obliged to hold off and it would be a great victory for the Panthers and the left.

La Masse: Could you give us a brief history of the repression against the Panthers?

Jean Genet: Everything seems to have started with the murder of Bobby Hurton and then with the arrest of Newton and the murder of Fred Hampton followed by many more murders, about thirty in one year. The Panthers reacted in several ways; first with a gun de- fending themselves directly against the police; they react more and more through their news- papers making known to large audiences the acts of repression of which they are the victims.

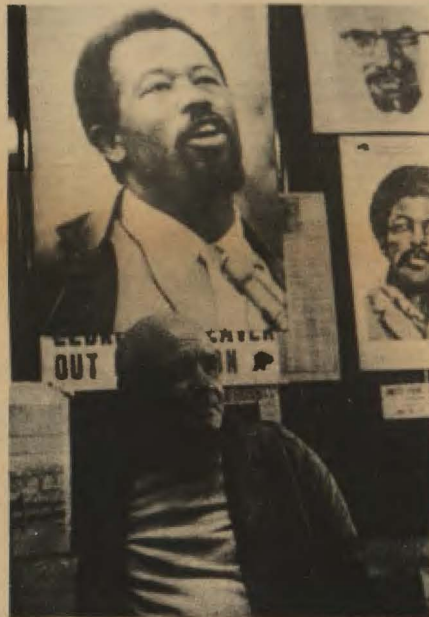
La Masse: Was the "public" image of the Panthers useful or not?

Jean Genet: In the United States more than here, the radical groups must face this uncontrollable and gigantic phenomenon known as pub- licity. That is to say that the image of the Panthers has been blown out of proportion to the detriment of their real action and their serious political work. The news- papers, television and the Ameri- can radio have used the image of the Black Panthers to make them appear diabolical and acceptable at the same time but without pre- senting them as real political men. La Masse: A committee of soli- darity of the Black Panthers has just been formed in Quebec, as in many other places in the world. What is the importance of this international support of the Black Panthers?

Jean Genet: First it seems to be very important from the psychol- ogical point of view that there should be support for the Black Panthers in White countries, which allows them to think that Whites are not totally disinterested in the Black struggle. Second from the political point of view the Black Panthers want to have a liaison with other revolutionary groups which have the same nature as theirs. It is in that way that the Quebec committee will work. I hope. And eventually the Panthers will play the same role in the United States for the Quebec movement, that the Quebec movement will play here for the Panthers.

Note: A Committee of Solidarity

The Black Panther Party is a most advanced group involved in the destruction of the American empire inside the mother country. It is also therefore the American group most victimized by the brutal and savage repression from the American fascist forces. This struggle waged against America cannot leave us indifferent, for the liberation of Quebec demands our liberation from American imperi- alism. This imperialism will not let go its hold on us as long as it can at home hold the Black people in slavery; in that sense there is a direct link between the struggle of the Black Panthers and the struggle of liberation of the Quebec people. That is why the Committee of Solidarity with the Black Panthers has been formed in Montreal in order to inform the public of the activities of the Black Panthers and to develop links between the Black American move- ment and the Quebec movement.



JEAN GENET

devised a means of struggle extremely complex because their situation is complex. That is to say that they see themselves, and they have probably good reason to do so, as an oppressed nation in the middle of a White nation; therefore their aim is to try to establish a socialism that would take into account their revendications to have the same rights as the Whites, without cutting themselves off from the White world but would oblige the Whites to rethink the Black question, to rethink it not only in the light of the usual domination or paternalism, but in the equality of relationships.

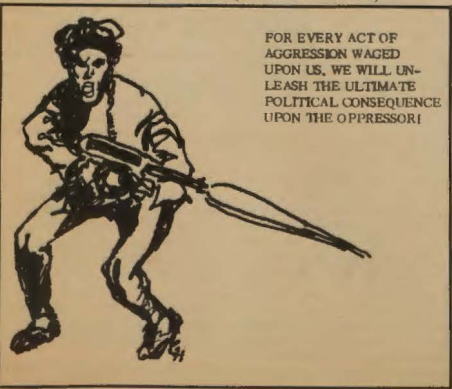
La Masse: What are their means of political interventions?

Jean Genet: Their means of inter- vention in the political life are of various kinds; first there is a direct information that is done among the militants; I have been present at meetings where young militants are taught how to man- uever in American political life. There is also what is called break- fasts for young children in the ghetto of the large American cities; these breakfasts have a charitable

usually published by Whites, the underground papers of which there are many and in which there is al- ways a page or a half a page de- voted to the Black Panther Party and its activities. Also there is a series of talks or conferences in the universities; there has been in the last few months something even better; an attempt to reach the workers inside the unions; but that experience is still too recent to derive conclusions, but that experiment is very interesting in that it tries to contact not only the young but also White American workers within the unions.

La Masse: What are the relation- ships between the Black Panthers and White American radicals, the students especially?

Jean Genet: For some time the Black Panthers have been involved with White radical minorities generally made up of students or leaders of the left such as the Chicago Seven, with whom they have short term tactical agree- ments for precise actions; for ex- ample the demonstration in New Haven a few days ago; everything was organized by White radical



FOR EVERY ACT OF AGGRESSION WAGED UPON US, WE WILL UNLEASH THE ULTIMATE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCE UPON THE OPPRESSOR!

# BOBBY'S APPEAL

PART VIII

A. CONTEMNORS MAY BE SUMMARILY PUNISHED PURSUANT TO RULE 42 (a) OF THE FEDERAL RULES OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ONLY WHERE INSTANT ADJUDICATION IS FOUND NECESSARY TO ENSURE THE ORDERLY CONTINUANCE OF TRIAL PROCEEDINGS.

Citation for direct contempt should not be delayed for months. It should spring fresh from the alleged obstruction of the court's performance of its judicial duty, although adjudication and punishment might well await the convenience of the court's business. (Parmelee Transportation Co. v. Keeshin, 292 F.2d 806, 810 (7th Cir. 1961))

Since the court failed to cite, adjudicate or punish appellant for contempt during the course of his trial, but instead waited until it had decided to declare a mistrial, summary punishment for the 16 different acts of contempt cannot be justified by any need to ensure the orderly continuance of trial proceedings. Having delayed action to that point, the trial judge was obligated to proceed under F. R. Crim. P. 42 (b) (19) rather than Rule 42 (a).

(119) "Disposition Upon Notice and Hearing: A criminal contempt except as provided in subdivision (a) of this rule shall be prosecuted on notice. The notice shall state the time and place of hearing, allow a reasonable time for the preparation of the defense, and shall state the essential facts constituting the criminal contempt charged and describe it as such. The notice shall be given orally by the judge in open court in the presence of the defendant or, on application of the United States attorney or of an attorney appointed by the court for that purpose, by an order to show cause or an order to arrest. The defendant is entitled to a trial by jury in any case in which an act of Congress so provides. He is entitled to admission to bail as provided in these rules. If the contempt charged involved disrespect to or criticism of a judge, that judge is disqualified from presiding at the trial or hearing except with defendant's consent. Upon a verdict or finding of guilt the court shall enter an order fixing the punishment."

Since summary punishment pursuant to Rule 42 (a) dispenses with virtually all procedural safeguards, it can be justified only by the most overriding necessity (120). This power to punish direct or in-court contempt summarily has from its very origin been justified only by the need for some means of immediately dealing with misconduct (121). While the fact that the misconduct is witnessed by the judge has been used to rationalize denial of any sort of hearing where necessity demands instant adjudication, it is clear that in the absence of such necessity fairness requires a hearing (122). (120) As Mr. Justice Frankfurter wrote in 1952:

Summary punishment of contempt is concededly an exception to the requirements of Due Process. Necessity dictates the departure. Necessity must bound its limits. (Sacher v. United States, 343 U.S. 1, 36 (1952) (dissenting))

See also Black's dissent in Green v. United States, 356 U.S. 15, 193, 213 (1958).

(121) See, e.g., Ex parte Terry, 128 U.S. 289 (1888); Cooke v. United States, 267 U.S. 517 (1925); In re Oliver, 333 U.S. 257 (1948); Ex parte Hawkins, 249 U.S. 378 (1919); Toledo Newspaper Co. v.

United States, 247 U.S. 402, 422 (1918) (Holmes, J., dissenting). (122) Thus in Cooke, supra n.121, the Court wrote:

Punishment without issue or trial was so contrary to the usual and ordinarily indispensable hearing before judgment, constituting due process, that the assumption that the court saw everything that went on in open court was required to justify the exception but the need for immediate penal vindication of the dignity of the court created it. (267 U.S. at 536) (emphasis added) (END OF FOOTNOTES)

Denying courts power summarily to punish trial misconduct at a point where it is no longer necessary to ensure the orderly continuance of trial in no way undermines their power to deal with such misconduct. They can summarily punish such misconduct at the point in trial where it appears necessary, or they can wait for the close of trial to provide for a 42 (b) hearing. Nor does such a rule compel summary punishment without allowing any opportunity for reflection, or cause any unnecessary delay and disruption in trial proceedings, since trial courts unquestionably have the power to cite for contempt during trial and defer adjudication and punishment until a later time (123).

(123) See, e.g., Parmelee Transportation Co. v. Keeshin, 292 F.2d 806, 810 (7th Cir. 1961); MacInnis v. United States, 191 F.2d 157 (9th Cir. 1951) (contemnor was told in court that his remark constituted contempt and that a certificate of contempt in accordance with Rule 42 would be filed; sentence was postponed to the end of trial); Hallinan v. United States, 182 F.2d 880 (9th Cir. 1950) (formal citation, judgment and sentence took place during trial; execution of sentence was stayed until the end of trial); United States v. Hall, 176 F.2d 163 (2nd Cir. 1949); Alexander v. Sharpe, 245 A.2d 279 (Me. Sup. Jud. Ct. 1968). (END OF FOOTNOTE)

In Sacher v. United States, supra, the first case censuring F. R. Crim. P. 42, the Supreme Court upheld convictions where at the conclusion of an eleven-month trial the court summarily punished contemnors for conduct during the course of the trial (124). Strong dissents by Justices Black and Frankfurter pointed out that since the trial had ended there was no need for instant adjudication to ensure order and, therefore, no justification for dispensing with basic procedural safeguards (125).

(124) The Court held that summary punishment under Rule 42 (a) could be deferred to the end of trial where the exigencies of trial required it and the delay in no way prejudiced contemnors. We shall show in Argument IV B, infra, pp. 108-11, that Sacher is distinguishable on these grounds from the instant case.

(125) Mr. Justice Black wrote: To achieve these ends—decorum and obedience to orders—courts must have power to act immediately, and upon this need the power of contempt rests... Measured by this test... there was no necessity here for Judge Medina's summary action, because the trial was over and the danger of obstructing it was passed. (343 U.S. at 21)

In this case Justice Frankfurter wrote: It is just the course of events to the very end of the trial shows that summary measures were not necessary to enable the trial to go on... Despite the many incidents



of contempt that were charged, the trial went to completion, nine months after the first incident, without a single occasion making it necessary to lay any one of the lawyers by the heel in order to assure that the trial proceed.... (343 U.S. at 36) (emphasis added) (END OF FOOTNOTES)

Even at the time decided, Sacher was an anomaly (abnormality) in the law (126). Previous cases upholding deferred summary action on contemptuous conduct without exception involved only deferral for a brief period prior to completion of trial (127). Commentators have consistently condemned the Sacher ruling (128). Most importantly, subsequent decisions by the Supreme Court soon signaled a return to the traditional view, vindicating the dissenting Justices' position, and making it clear that, in this respect at least, Sacher is no longer good law.

(126) See, e.g., 3 WRIGHT 168-69; Note, 2 STAN. L. REV. 763 (1950); Note, 37 CORN. L. Q. 795 (1952). (127) See, e.g., Hallinan v. United States, 182 F.2d 880 (9th Cir. 1950), and MacInnis v. United States, 191 F.2d 157 (9th Cir. 1951), supra n. 123, where the 9th Circuit affirmed convictions for contempt committed by two lawyers, in a trial lasting from Nov. 14, 1949 to April 4, 1950. In Hallinan the court delayed overnight (from Nov. 21 to Nov. 22) to prepare the contempt certificate and pronounce judgment and sentence. In MacInnis the contemptuous conduct occurred Feb. 1; the court delayed overnight to inform the lawyer that his remark constituted contempt and that a certificate of contempt would be filed. See also United States v. Hall, 176 F.2d 163 (2nd Cir. 1949) (upholding contempt conviction where immediately upon June 3 disruption contemnors were committed; formal citation and judgment were deferred only to June 8, still mid-trial). See generally Note, 2 STAN. L. REV. 763 (1950); Note, 37 CORN. L. Q. 795 (1952). For cases reversing on the ground that summary punishment could not be imposed after the need for such action had passed, see, e.g., In re Foote, 76 Cal. 543, 18 P. 678 (1888); People v. Burt, 257 Ill. App. 60 (1930).

(128) See, e.g., 3 WRIGHT 168-69; Note, 37 CORN. L. Q. 795, 797 (1952).

Thus in Harris v. United States, 382 U.S. 162 (1965), the Court redefined Rule 42 and effectively overruled Sacher, (129) holding that even in cases of direct contempt, Rule 42 (a) was to be reserved for exceptional cases where

instant adjudication was absolutely necessary (130). The Court pointed out that the fact that contemptuous conduct is witnessed by the trial judge cannot justify abandoning procedural safeguards, since a hearing may nonetheless be essential to such issues as criminal intent and mitigation of penalty (131).

(129) See, e.g., Note, 1966 DUKE L.J. 814, 822-23.

(130) In Harris the Court, specifically overruling Brown v. United States, 359 U.S. 41 (1959), held that a grand jury witness who refused to answer questions despite promised immunity from prosecution could not be brought before a court, questioned again, and then summarily punished for his refusal to answer.

"Rule 42 (a) was reversed 'for exceptional circumstances.... But swiftness was not a prerequisite of justice here. Delay necessary for a hearing would not imperil the grand jury proceedings."

...Rule 42 (b) provides the normal procedure....

...Rule 42 (b) prescribes the 'procedural regularity' for all contempts in the federal regime except those unusual situations envisioned by Rule 42 (a) where instant action is necessary to protect the judicial institution itself." (382 U.S. at 164-67)

Subsequent cases have interpreted Harris as applicable to direct contempt committed in the course of a trial, United States v. Pace, 371 F.2d 810 (2d Cir. 1967); cf. United States ex rel Roby v. Malone, 412 F.2d 848 (7th Cir. 1969).

In considering Harris' relevance, it is significant that any delay caused by holding a Rule 42 (b) hearing would have interrupted grand jury proceedings whereas, in the instant case, since a mistrial had been declared no delay in the trial proceedings could conceivably have been caused. Also in Harris the denial of a Rule 42 (b) hearing appears far less significant than in the instant case since in Harris the issue of guilt was clear-cut, and the contemnor was provided with at least the rudimentary safeguard of representation by counsel at both the grand jury and the contempt hearing.

(131) See also Chief Justice Warren's dissent in Brown v. United States, 359 U.S. 41, 53, 57-59 (1959), overruled in Harris, supra. Other recent Supreme Court decisions have made it clear that due process safeguards apply at sentencing proceedings and, therefore, that even if there is no question as to guilt on contempt charges, a hearing is necessary

to allow presentation of evidence and/or argument relating to the appropriate penalty. See, e.g., authorities cited in n. 143, infra. (END OF FOOTNOTES)

In *Panteo v. United States*, 375 U.S. 29 (1963), the Court made it clear that where there was doubt as to a contemnor's criminal intent, and where evidence outside the record would bear on that issue, a 42 (b) hearing was required (132).

(132) There the trial court found defendant guilty of criminal contempt in a 42 (a) proceeding after the trial had ended. Since there was some question as to contemnor's mental capacity for forming the requisite criminal intent, the Supreme Court reversed for a 42 (b) hearing. See also *Rollerson v. United States*, 343 F.2d 269 (D.C. Cir. 1964). (END OF FOOTNOTE)

It is clear in the instant case fairness demanded a Rule 42 (b) hearing. In the summary proceedings below appellant was given no opportunity whatsoever to present evidence or argument relating to guilt—he was adjudged guilty before the charges were even read to him permitted only to speak before the judge pronounced sentence, and given no chance to prepare and present facts relevant to mitigation. Under Rule 42 (b) appellant would have been entitled to notice, adequate time to prepare a defense, opportunity to present evidence and argument relevant to guilt and penalty (133), and representation by counsel (134). Additionally, of course, in the circumstances of this case, at a Rule 42 (b) hearing appellant would have automatically been entitled to a hearing before another judge, since that rule provides for disqualification of the trial judge if the contempt charged involves disrespect or criticism.

(133) *Cooke v. United States*, supra; *Ungar v. Sarafite*, supra.

(134) *Cooke*, 267 U.S. at 537; *Nilva v. United States*, 227 F.2d 74, 80 (8th Cir. 1955). If the contempt proceedings had been brought pursuant to Rule 42 (b) appellant would presumably have had the opportunity to get Garry to represent him.

(END OF FOOTNOTES)

A Rule 42 (b) hearing would have enabled appellant to present evidence that he was not, as the trial judge evidently believed, engaged in an attempt to sabotage the judicial system (135), but instead was attempting to present and preserve his objections to proceeding without counsel and without being allowed to represent himself. Evidence might have demonstrated conclusively that he had never agreed to be represented at trial by anyone but Garry; that he did not know Garry wouldn't be at trial until its second day, after the jury had been selected; that he was not advised by the other defendants' attorneys during the course of trial; and that he believed it necessary to preserve his rights for him continually to object to the court's rulings and to attempt to present a defense; or that he did not know that if he prevailed on appeal he would be entitled to a new trial. Such evidence would have been relevant to appellant's (Bobby) criminal intent and therefore guilty, as well as to penalty.

(135) See the Second Circuit's decision in *Sacher*, supra, p.7, n.3, reversing a specification of contempt charging a "deliberate and concerted effort to delay and obstruct the trial" on the ground that such a charge required procedural regularity for its determination (182 F.2d at 455; Frank, J., concurring; see also 182 F.2d

continued on next page



SAN QUENTIN

## BROTHERS KIDNAPPED TO FOLSOM FOR ADDRESSING THEMSELVES TO DEMANDS FOR BETTER CONDITIONS AND LIBERATION

"Liberation does not come as a gift from anybody" it must be seized by the masses with their own hands. And by seizing it they themselves are transformed; confidence in their own strength soars, and they turn their energy and their experience to the tasks of building, governing, and deciding their own lives for themselves." (A Dying Colonialism)

About noon on Monday, August 24, 1970, a number of prisoners gathered on the lower yard of San Quentin prison. At the same time, members of the Black Panther Party and other revolutionaries began to organize a demonstration outside the San Quentin gates. The demonstration was a show of protest against trials being held within the gates of the prison, against the repressive conditions under which prisoners are detained, and against the unjust incarceration of all political prisoners.

Having been mobilized by the presence of the revolutionary masses outside, the brothers in San Quentin proceeded to organize a march on the custody office to demand that the racist oppression which they experienced on a daily basis be brought to an immediate halt.

The mass march on the custody office began about 1:00 p.m. Before reaching the office, the brothers were closed off by the pigs between two gates; leaving the majority locked in the big yard. About 150 Chicano and Blacks made it as far as the Education Building on the prison grounds. At that time the pigs drew their guns on the brothers. Refusing to submit to this attempt by the pigs to suppress their desire for immediate change and recognition, the brothers presented the demands verbally to the warden. The warden, refusing to recognize these demands chose not to talk with the

prisoners and suggested perhaps he would be willing to discuss the matter the next day. Still feeling the unseen support of their comrades outside, and mobilized by their presence, the brothers decided to strike beginning at 8:00 a.m. the next day, Tuesday—Black, Brown and White included.

An attempt would be made to hold a conference with the warden, where the demands would again be presented and a response demanded.

For this "small sacrificial play" the brothers were ready to face any consequences they must surely suffer as a result of the pigs' refusal to accept the fact that these are men—political prisoners—fighting with every bit of unity and solidarity at hand for just treatment as human beings. These revolutionary brothers were testing their rights as men to seek liberation from "endless imprisonment and certain death!"

On Tuesday, the brothers began to carry out the strike as planned the previous day. On the yard and in full strike they gathered, chanting "Power to the People!" All this time the pigs were continuously taking pictures of the brothers so that at a later time they could easily identify who they classified (in their racist newspapers) as "ringleaders." Again refusing to let these acts of deliberate agitation break their solidarity, the brothers proceeded with their plans to address the prison officials. The demands were read. They clearly elaborated principles to break down the racist practices of the pigs at San Quentin; they stressed the changes that must be made to assure just treatment of all prisoners; and they demanded the release of all political prisoners. They demanded that "all men presently committed to Condemned Row awaiting State

Execution, immediately be granted prisoner asylum or political asylum in those countries under the Flags of Africa, Asia, North Korea, and other socialist countries and other points of the world where the American Revolutionaries have established the Free World Solidarity Pact for All Oppressed People." These demands were read in behalf of Black, Brown and White prisoners.

All the time these demands were being read, voices of the pigs agitated "racial riot" over the loudspeaker. To counteract the efforts of the pigs to make their demonstration appear to be a racial confrontation, more Black, Brown and White prisoners joined in the group of protestors to show their support of the demands. About 1,000 prisoners came together with "clenched fists raised in solidarity" shouting "Power to the People!" The pigs are confused. Our brothers were aware that the pigs might have taken this opportunity to take the lives of more revolutionaries, but as revolutionaries for this too they were prepared.

The result was that under the cover of early morning darkness (as to their usual method of attack) on Wednesday, August 26, 1970, four brothers—2 Blacks, 1 Chicano, and 1 White—were kidnapped from San Quentin Prison in shackles and chains. These brothers were transported to Folsom Prison like animals for "security measures." They were charged with: addressing themselves to demands for better conditions AND LIBERATION.. ALL POWER TO THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

SAN FRANCISCO

## FASCIST PIGS ATTEMPT TO MURDER ANOTHER BLACK BROTHER

On August 29, 1970, the San Francisco Pig Department tried to murder another Black brother. Thirty-four year old Jeff Davis was viciously attacked and shot by the San Francisco pigs on the pretext of having committed a felony.

The brother Jeff and a sister by the name of Josephine were having an argument. Jeff decided to leave so he walked off right in the heat of the argument. Josephine not knowing where Jeff was going assumed that he was going to get a gun or weapon to deal with her. Under this assumption, Josephine called the S.F. Pig Department and filed a charge of assault with a deadly weapon on Jeff Davis. Josephine gave the pigs the description and license number of Jeff's car.

The pigs located Jeff's car on the corner of Third St. and Paul Ave. What these pigs did was cruise up behind Jeff's car and fire a round into the back window of his car. The bullet hit Jeff between the upper right shoulder blade and the spine. We charge attempted murder of another Black man by the S.F. Fascist Police Department.

These pigs not satisfied with the fact that they only wounded and not killed him, tried to make the brother bleed to death. After the brother was shot the pigs snatched

the brother out of the car, brutalized him in their devilish nature of interrogation. Knowing the brother's condition, half conscious and badly bleeding, these pigs tried

to force the brother into saying that he had a gun. Before the brother fell unconscious he denied knowing anything about a gun.

When Jeff arrived at S.F. General Hospital where his mother came to see what had happened, the pigs refused Jeff his right to full medical treatment. The x-rays that were taken below the bullet wound, and his mother requested that another x-ray be taken. The doctor agreed to this. When Jeff's mother went to Palo Alto to get Jeff's wife and arrived back at San Francisco General Hospital, her son had not been re-x-rayed but railroaded to the city prison on the trumped up charges of reckless driving and assault with a deadly weapon. The only damage done to Jeff's car was a shattered window from a .357 magnum handgun. The pigs found no weapon on Jeff or in his car.

We charge brutally and attempted murder against Alloto, Reagan, Nixon and their lackey occupation troops who occupy the Black communities all across Babylon.

The brutality and attempted murder of Jeff Davis illustrated the fact that the established order has no mercy for Black people in Babylon. The established order will suffer for such injustice, if we take it to the streets and snipe the hog.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Leonard Donald  
Community Worker, S.F.

NEW YORK

## NEW YORK 21 TRIAL STARTS



Rally for N. Y. 21 in New York

The people's defense made motions to have Murrugh remove himself because he is a crook and a thief and has been hand picked by D.A. Hogan. Hogan had cur Murrugh loose on graft charges, 20 years ago and now he's handpicked Murrugh to persecute the Panther 21.

Trial has begun. The first juror has been reluctantly settled for. James Fox is 57 years old, (hardly a member of my peer group) and of that peculiar class called bourgeois artists. He is a composer of those antiquated (old) classical sounds (with an African basic). He is also a lecturer on music. I doubt very seriously if Mr. Fox understands the average reasoning man of my community, even if he is Black. I know Mr. Fox has a certain amount of contempt for this country because of his fidelity to his music. He had to leave Babylon to have his compositions performed or listened to. Because he is a sensitive person, he remembers America for its barbaric nature regarding his music.

One woman who was questioned, Afeni Shakur (N. Y. 21)

RIGHT ON COMRADES  
VICTORY CANNOT ESCAPE US!

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!  
LONG LIVE JONATHAN JACKSON!

continued from last page

## BOBBY'S APPEAL

at 423, 430). Judge Frank noted that out-of-court evidence was relevant to such a charge since it essentially involved a conspiracy. (END OF FOOTNOTE)

In *Offutt v. United States*, 232 F.2d 69 (D.C. Cir.) (136), cert denied, 351 U.S. 988 (1956), the court indicated some of the sorts of evidence that might be relevant both to guilt and sentence in direct contempt cases. There the court reversed because at the hearing

below the judge had decided the case solely on the basis of the transcript of the trial proceedings out of which the contempt charges arose, refusing to allow the contemnor to present additional evidence. While the case relied in part on the fact that the judge below was not the judge who witnessed the contempt and therefore evidence regarding demeanor was relevant, the decision was also explicitly grounded on a finding that evidence going to contemnor's intent was relevant to guilt and penalty and he was there-

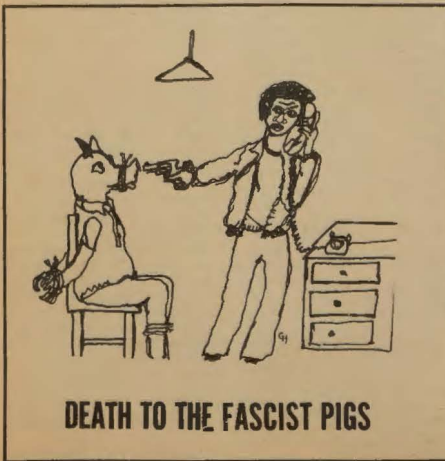
fore entitled to present such evidence (137). Appellant (Bobby) was entitled to a similar opportunity.

(136) On remand following the Supreme Court's decision in *Offutt*, supra,

(137) With regard to the charge that the contemnor had "asked of witnesses questions that were highly prejudicial to the witnesses and for which there was no foundation", the court ruled: It may be true that a finding of contemptuous intent is not always a prerequisite to a contempt conviction under 18 U.S.C. §401(i); absence of such intent may go only to mitigation.... But a finding of "misbehavior" is essential.... Thus, when the conduct in question is not clearly blameworthy, consisting, as here, of asking witnesses incompetent questions, there is no contempt unless there is some sort of wrongful intent.... If *Offutt* were able to introduce evidence tending to prove that he believed there was a foundation for the questions he asked the witnesses, the court might conclude that he was not guilty of misbehavior in asking them.

... (He should have the opportunity to introduce such evidence for the court's consideration. And, in addition, some of the evidence offered no doubt would be relevant and material to the question of mitigation (232 F.2d at 72).

See also *Widger v. United States*, 244 F.2d 103 (5th Cir. 1957). (END OF FOOTNOTES)



DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS

## EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Our publication of "The Black Panther Party - A Force Against U.S. Imperialism" by no means reflects the agreement, position or attitude of the Black Panther Party.

Without any endorsement or recognition of the points alleged in this article we print it because as Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party has said "...some people call themselves Marxist-Leninists who are the downright enemies of Black people. Later for them, We want them to step boldly forward, as they will do--blinded by their own stupidity and racist arrogance--so that it will be easier for us to deal with them in the future.

We make these criticisms in a fraternal spirit of how some Marxist-Leninists apply the classical principles to the specific situation that exists in the United States because we believe in the need for a unified revolutionary movement in the United States."

\*FROM THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY by Eldridge Cleaver

## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY A Force Against U.S. Imperialism

By William L. Patterson, Communist Party, U.S.A.

Emerging in the Fall of 1966 from the most depressed sections of the White police-ridden Black ghetto of Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, has in a remarkable short time been raised by its leadership to be an extremely significant force in the political battles against American reaction. Frenzied-like imperialist top governmental agents have continuously sought the extermination of the Black Panther leadership and the destruction of its Party.

What social phenomena brought the Black Panther Party into being? First: police brutality, unrestricted, unrestrained and legalized as constituting "law and order".

Second: Deep emotional and political frustrations brought on by the failure of White labor leadership and liberals among the White masses to recognize not only the validity of the demands of Blacks for equality of rights and opportunities NOW but as well the inseparable relation of those demands to the progressive American political scene. More, exactly how support of those demands would revitalize national morality and check the process of dehumanization initiated by racism.

Third: The consequent political conclusion that Blacks seeking freedom had to go it alone. Plus a determination on the part of Black youth to fight racism in its own way, regardless of the price they might have to pay. This conclusion came from a failure to understand that to save Black, Brown, Red and Yellow Americans from the destructive ravages of genocide the whole of the U.S. has to be saved from the menace of imperialism.

Objective conditions were ripe for the emergence of the Black Panther Party. Its birth, its development, the desperation of its ideological and political struggles are unique in the annals of the magnificent battles Black Liberation fighters have waged in the U.S.A., before the Civil War against slavery and after. It did not come onto the stage of history as did the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) piloted by the Black middle

class and a White liberal bourgeoisie that dictated policy. It came from the very bowels of the ghetto's deprived and harassed youth. These events testify to the fact that the Black communities, Black ghettos, politically and otherwise warped and stunted in their growth by the foul plague racism has foisted upon them, are fighting fronts that contain unsurpassable reserves for the mounting struggle against imperialism, U.S.A., the fight for peace, a democracy of and for the people, and freedom. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was dedicated to the struggle to end murderous police violence. Police violence was rampant in Oakland's Black ghetto. The ruling class had launched a wave of terror against Black citizens. It was fearful of the high tension in the ghetto and sought to quell the democratic struggles for national liberation that seemed imminent.

When this youthful Black leadership moved into the arena of organized political struggle it believed that police terror if sharply challenged, could readily be brought to an end. It was to find, however, through struggle, that the police were not an independent social force. The police, as the communist Party had declared, was a terrorist agency of government used to brutalize all who would not passively accept violation of their inalienable and constitutional rights, which included the allies of the "colored" citizenry.

Racism had been pushed to genocidal proportions in Oakland. Large numbers of Blacks had migrated there during World War II from Louisiana, Texas and other points South. The ship building industry gave work to thousands. The end of the war saw thousands ruthlessly thrust jobless into the streets. Peace time economy can make unlimited jobs. It made jobs but in the aircraft factories that opened up Blacks were the last to be hired. They were discriminated against in the skilled jobs. Thousands of Blacks found themselves among the unemployed and almost utterly ignored by city, state and Federal governments when re-

lief was considered.

During the war imperialist ideologists had vocally proclaimed that American imperialism was out to destroy the murderous racial practices of the ruling class of the German Reich and smash its leadership. Nazi war criminals who had borrowed heavily from the bestial racist arsenal of America's ruling class were condemned, tried and punished. Justice Robert Jackson, the American prosecutor had made an outstanding condemnation of bigotry and racism in his opening remarks at Nuremberg's trial. U.S. imperialists and racists had signed the Charter of the United Nations. The Government again formally committed itself to end racism reaffirming constitutional and legislative pledges its leaders never meant to keep.

Millions of Black Americans were once more deluded. Many believed that the American brand of racism was also to be a victim of the war crimes trial. They did not realize that racism was inherent in capitalism. Nor did they appreciate how deeply racism had been dehumanized. They did not understand the nature or scope of the struggle against it nor did they see it as a struggle for country and mankind as well as for themselves.

Blacks in Oakland, as elsewhere, demanded work or adequate relief. They got neither. The terror that had been slackened during the hot war was now renewed as the cold war was intensified. It was revived with greater consciousness. The bourgeoisie felt the need to smash the natural trend toward unity that had begun to develop as Black and White worked side by side on the war jobs. America's White ideologists began by painting anew the picture of Blacks as a shiftless cowardly people with incurable criminal tendencies. Blacks were terrorists!

The situation in Oakland was worse than in many other places because the war and the depression before it brought an influx of politically backward White southerners literally steeped in the myths of White superiority. The picture of Blacks painted by ruling class ideologists was acceptable to those Whites now that a new fight for jobs had been sharpened. Labor had done little or nothing to help its rank and file study the complexities of the question of racial persecution.

The leadership of White labor had been brought off or duped by the "Establishment." It ignored the democratic demands of Blacks even though these demands clearly reflected the needs of all of American labor. The political demands advanced by Blacks should have been embraced by labor as it developed as a class for itself. It was wise to sing "We ain't goin' study war no more" but wiser to stop studying...the class nature and consequences of racism.

Communists on the West Coast had called for unity in struggle of Black and White. They spoke casually of the menace of racism to labor but not to Whites generally. The call though clear was ineffective in the ghetto save around questions of Civil Rights. Reaction had launched a systematic and persistent anti-Communist crusade in the ghetto. It had no little effect because it was picked up by Black middle class leaders who felt their own organizations challenged by a scientific approach to the struggle.

The leading Black organizations on the liberation front, the NAACP, was anti-Communist. It was under the leadership of White philanthropists and their Black sympathizers. It was not prepared or able to wage a militant class struggle for the rights of Blacks or for labor's unity with Blacks. The leadership of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense stepped into what seemed to be a political vacuum.

But a program of self-defense,

no matter how militant in and of itself, gets an oppressed people nowhere. The police of an oppressor uses force and violence under the direction of business and political leaders who label it "law and order". It is a method of political relationship of the administrative branch of the government with minority groups.

It is to the great credit of the Black Panther leadership that it quickly recognized this structural set-up. The Party's name was changed. "For Self-Defense" was dropped. The organization became THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. The Party's outlook was broadened. It was now a more effective weapon for self-defense because it sought a line of offensive activities that could, if consistently pursued, put an end to police terror. It now began to see the historical necessity to remove the racist from the seats of power in the economic and political life of the country. That Party had taken a leap forward in its theoretical outlook but by no means had it mastered the science it espoused.

The Black Panther Party called itself a Marxist-guided organization. It made the study of Marxism-Leninism compulsory among the leading cadre. This step was unprecedented in the history of the Black Liberation struggle. The Panthers did not lift the Black Liberation movement to an international level. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. had already done that. That is why it was feared and all progressive steps were charged to it. Black and White Communist had stood in international bodies to proclaim an inseparable relation of the struggle of Blacks in the U.S.A. to the world-wide freedom struggle. The Black Liberation struggle no less needs the guidance of a science than does every other liberation struggle. Social revolution is a science, as the Communists have said many times, a science to be creatively used has to be mastered and the science guiding revolution must of historical necessity be a universal science. That science is Marxism-Leninism.

During the war against slavery, Karl Marx has said that labor in a White skin could not emancipate itself while labor in a Black skin was branded. That axiom still holds true. It reveals the inseparable relationship of labor and national liberation.

For the first time in the history of the Black Liberation struggle an exclusively Black-led political party had sought the aid of science in its leaders efforts to find a solution to a problem provoked by the avarice, lust and murderous greed of a system of society. Capitalism has divided a powerful segment of mankind along the color line and has dehumanized millions in the process.

To adopt a social science as a guiding line in the struggle for liberation is a far-reaching forward step. Those who are able to take such a step at once become a menace insofar as the exploiter's analysis goes. At the same time, such a group deserves the respect and the serious political attention of all who regard themselves as revolutionists. For that reason the Black Panther Party deserves the closest constructive attention that can be given by all forces in the revolutionary ranks. The vocal espousal of a science and its political and ideological mastery in life are two different matters. It is not difficult to see that the police are not bosses but servants with a license to murder all who fight to put human rights on a plane above that occupied by property rights. After being arrested by the police and given the customary beating, Black Panthers were bailed before the court to get more than a birds-eye view of the capitalist machinery of home warfare before being imprisoned. Confronted by the terror of the Court,

before a judge who was a legal despot with control even over the defense counsel who is considered an "officer" of the Court, the Black Panthers did not know how, even with the science of Marxism-Leninism to effectively strike back. It had not yet learned from others or through experience of its own, the political power of mass action.

There were among the Panthers those who immediately argued that "liberation comes out of the barrel of a gun." Some who argued this were honest but had not serious appreciation of the relation of forces. They were moved by emotionalism - not science. Others were agents whom the Department of Justice had inspired to join the Panthers in order to destroy it, if possible, from within.

There is, of course, an element of Marxist-Leninist truth in the assertion that liberation can come out of the barrel of a gun but its value is determined by the objective situation, the existing relation of forces and not by emotional fervor. A resort to arms does not mechanically apply to all situations simply because it may apply to one. To attempt implementation of the assertion that liberation comes from guns under today's conditions in the U.S.A. is to commit a provocation for which one will pay dearly. The Panthers have learned that neither Black nor White America en masse is ready for the gun as a major instrument of freedom, or for guerrilla warfare, nor for that matter was any of the Black Panther leadership. Those who argued for the provocative step were voted down. But propagation of their anti-Marxist step had left its mark on the organization and its political program. It had been an aid to blood-thirsty Black-hating police and a detriment to Black Panther development and the National Liberation struggle. Instead of clarity, it brought confusion.

There were among the Panthers those who believed that the use of vulgar and obscene language makes the words of a platform or street speaker more effective. For a revolutionary's words are weapons that inspire, enable and galvanize into action. They are not something with which to titillate or to arouse to an orgy of passion. Words can alienate, or educate and endear. They can sign people off or on. The Panther top leadership has come out against vulgarity when used for the purpose of securing a laugh or exciting an emotional spasm. But again an alien thesis had been introduced into their generally progressive program of action. These lessons from life are of far-reaching value if seriously studied. They add to the arsenal of liberation struggles.

The weaknesses of the Black Panther Party on the ideological and programmatic fronts are now weaknesses of growth and not of deterioration. However, if not systematically and persistently combated they can lead to deterioration.

It has been asserted by some within the Black Panther Party that: "The world of Marxism-Leninism has become a jungle of opinion in which conflicting interpretation from right revisionism to Left dogmatism, foist off their reactionary and blind philosophies are revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. Around the world and in every nation, people, all who call themselves Marxist-Leninists are at each other's throats." American imperialism seeks to inject this line of thought into the heads of all who seek a scientifically developed program of struggle against its wars, its racism, its persecution of the working class. But one who wishes to be a revolutionary should make well the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin which so recently took

continued on next page

## MINISTER HUEY NEWTON'S REPLY TO WILLIAM PATTERSON'S ARTICLE:

## "THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY / A FORCE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM"

### THE ARTICLE APPEARED IN THE JULY 4, 1970 ISSUE OF THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER

When Mr. Patterson discusses the social phenomena that brought the Party into being, he makes no mention of the economic exploitation of Blacks which is a primary aspect. His conception that the Party was primarily a self defense group against police brutality is a most narrow interpretation of the concept of self defense by the oppressed masses. He also seems to have no understanding of the historical predecessors of the Party, especially Malcolm. He fails to understand the lessons learned by the Party through the failures of such civil rights organizations as SNCC, NAACP, etc. (i.e. power politics, mass force). Mr. Patterson questions whether Blacks should have their own organization to fight for national liberation. While he often says the struggle is for national liberation he really does not believe that Blacks in the U.S. are a colony. He says Blacks made a mistake when they decided that they had to control and lead the fight for their liberation and freedom. He talks about "the price they might have to pay." Does he propose that Blacks wait for White labor to lead the liberation struggle at a time when White labor subjectively views itself as a beneficiary of capitalism? Labor unions are presently the stooges of the capitalist warmongers. In an attempt to label the Party as nationalist (that is, not interested in the struggles of people of other races) he completely fails to understand that our freedom and dignity is necessarily tied to the freedom and dignity of the oppressed masses of the world.

Mr. Patterson never specifies what he means when he talks about the desperateness of the Party's ideological and political struggles. Were they "desperate?" or merely intense as we sought to confront the enemy and move the struggle to a higher level. What does Patterson mean when he refers to Blacks as "reserves" in the fight against imperialism? If Blacks are the "reserves" then who is the forefront of the struggle? It is apparent to any sane person that Blacks are the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism in the U.S.

Patterson tries to make the people think that the B.P.P. thought that police terror could be "readily brought to an end" if it was "sharply challenged". This ties in with his earlier notion that the Party was organized by fools who were just reacting on a gull level to the police brutality they had seen all around them. He forgets or dismisses all of my early writings and all of Eldridge Cleaver's early writings about who the police are and to say that the Party did not understand that the pigs are an agent of the ruling class. I wrote in "Functional Definition of politics" (while the Party was still the B.P.P. for Self Defense) that police are an occupying army." I further stated that "there is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the occupation of our communities by the racist police. The armies are there not to protect the people of South Vietnam, but to brutalize and oppress them for the interests of the selfish imperial power." or "Eldridge from Soul on Ice." "The police department and the armed forces are the two arms of the power structure, the muscles of control and enforcement...they use force to make you do what the deciders have decided you must do...Both police and armed forces follow orders. Orders flow from the top down." Patterson will not admit that the Panther Party

leadership understood this relationship from the very beginning because he is a revisionist and opposed to armed struggle. He tries to hide my major point in the article on "Functional Definition of Politics" because he does not want to meet those arguments head on. The Black Panther Party picked up the gun and concentrated on point seven of the program because in this way we could most clearly communicate to the Black community the necessity of picking up the gun to gain liberation and freedom, not because we could end police terror merely by "sharply challenging" the police. This of course is not to say that by challenging the police the Party did not begin to show that if a few people with guns challenged the police they could have some effect, but it was done in the context of educating the masses of the potential power of an armed Black community. Our program is an attack upon U.S. imperialism in all its forms and faces. We have used the police as a catalyst because the people on the bottom of the government agency we call it a government agency because the police act like a government in our community. We realize that the police departments are arms of the deciders who tell their unleashed dogs who to kill and when to kill. This is true of the military as well as the police. The Vietnamese who are fighting the military realize that the military is but a foot soldier with a decider behind him; nevertheless, the military must be, and is reckoned with in an appropriate manner. The police are the foot soldiers in our community and that is why the Vietnamese people call for the American people to unite and topple the reactionary regime in this country so that they can win their fight for liberation.

We call upon the people of the world to struggle with us (which they are doing) to topple imperialism so that we'll become free from the local evil gentry and corrupt officials. This is all the way up the line from the foot soldier to his master somewhere in Standard Oil, General Motors, Bell Telephone, Chrysler Motors, etc. We don't even acknowledge the electoral administrative civil government because we realize they're only puppets of the avaricious businessman.

Patterson's comment about the bourgeoisie needing to smash the natural trend of unity that was developing between Black and White workers is crap. What evidence can he present of this upsurge under imperialism. Do White workers independently of vanguard leadership and Black struggle automatically begin to see their interests as in common with Black workers? Did the ruling class really have to begin anew to paint racist conceptions of Blacks? Did these conceptions ever stop. This whole position seems to be a cover up to justify the CP's position on WW II and Roosevelt.

He tries to explain the Party with some brand of Oakland particularism. As if the oppression was not as great or greater elsewhere in the large Black ghettos in Chicago, New York, Boston, Newark, etc. This is actually a cover to say that southern workers were more racist than their northern counterparts. As if racism is not rampant all over the country. As if our native born racists in California are not every bit as vicious as the ones from the south. It was Malcolm who pointed out that the Mason-Dixon line was at the Canadian border.



HUEY P. NEWTON  
Minister of Defense

The Party never had a program of self defense in the sense that Patterson speaks of. He fails to understand that the Party wanted to explain and demonstrate that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

He gets hung up on the formalism of changing the name of the Party as if that represented a broadening of the Party's views. He does not understand the conception of self-defense that the Black Panther Party originally formulated. When we used "For Self Defense", we realize that all oppressed people or legitimate revolutionary oppressed people never are the aggressors; all of their action is in self defense. The Vietnamese people are merely using self defense; it's the capitalist, imperialistic exploiters who initiate violence and aggression. So whatever the people do for their liberation, for their freedom is a self defense tactic. When we use self defense, we use it in the broadest sense. We've expressed time and time again, if one would take the time to look at our history as a Party (and it's recorded in our early papers and pamphlets) that when we used the words "Self Defense", we said that we're defending ourselves against poor medical care, against unemployment, against poor housing, all the other things that poor people of the world, and oppressed people of the world suffer. How else can it be explained that even while the Party was the BBPFD that we had the same ten point platform and program that we have to this day.

What we have to do is find out what will mobilize the people. I think the Black Panther Party is doing more in three years to mobilize the masses than the American Communist Party has done in twenty years. I challenge the Communist Party's claim that they "prepared the way for the people". The U.S. government, except for a brief period has not taken the American Communist Party seriously; and the people have not been concerned at all. That is precisely why the Communist Party members in the U.S.A. have not been jailed and murdered in large numbers. I think that in the whole history of the Communist Party in the U.S.A. only about five or six people have been incarcerated for a lengthy period. Is this what leads Mr. Patterson to believe the Communist Party has done everything right? This is not what Chairman Mao teaches us. Chairman Mao tells us: "when the enemy strikes out at you blindly, crushing you left and right if he possibly can, then you know you're doing everything right." So I would charge the Communist Party with having been no threat. And they've done

something wrong, because they haven't been crucified as the enemy is attempting to crucify us.

But of course Mr. Patterson thinks the other way around, and I think it's because his bourgeois ideology lets him see things through a bourgeois perspective. He claims that because our line is so provocative it's given the established order an excuse to kill us. Well, what excuse has the Vietnamese people given them? I say the only reason the Communist Party's members haven't been strung up by their toes is simply because the Communist Party is no threat to this country--not with the classical line they're teaching. They haven't captured the imagination of the people, and as far as laying down a foundation for us, we find the road so rocky until we're sure that no one has cleared the way. If they had cleared the way, we would have smooth sailing now because they've had thirty, forty years in which to do it.

Patterson says that "the Panthers have learned that neither Black nor White America can make

continued from last page

## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

### A Force Against U.S. Imperialism

place in Moscow to say nothing about studying the theoretical conferences on "Leninism and Contemporaneity" which took place in Prague late in 1969.

Representatives of Marxism-Leninism thought were present from most of the countries of the world. And to the dismay of world imperialism the voices of the representatives of Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world were almost as one. Gus Hall-General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., speaking in Moscow, said among other things:

"The revisionist opponents of Marxism-Leninism have adopted the typical capitalist tactic of divide and destroy...they are out to separate the national liberation struggles from their socialist source of strength..."

"The attempt is to destroy the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Then separate them and by so doing to destroy the science of Marxism-Leninism..." Gus Hall concluded:

"On this, the Centennial of Lenin's birth we can confidently say to the vulgar revisionists: your attempts are coming too late in history; your efforts may cause disruption here and there. But the very processes of life and the class struggle have condemned you to failure. Marxism-Leninism is the process of truth. It is indispensable and indestructible." The same can be said to the Left sectarians of whom there are some among the Panthers.

It cannot be denied that the relentless struggle for equality of rights and human dignity pursued by the Black Panthers has both awakened and inspired millions of White youth who, until the emergence of the Panthers, paid little heed to the dehumanizing effects of racism on them or of its effect on national morality.

There are among the leaders of the Panthers those who believe that the United States is already in the throes of fascist terror; they generalize their own experiences. That is wrong. Despite the fascist-like nature of the terror from which Black nationals have suffered for a century and the fascist-like racist terror now rampant, the possibilities that remain openly to fight for the completion of the bourgeois revolution and its

is ready for the gun as a major instrument of freedom, or for guerrilla warfare, nor for that matter was all the Panther leadership." I agree with him; apparently everyone is not ready for the gun. But I would also ask does he mean we should stop talking about the gun? Should we stop defending ourselves? Is he saying the gun is not a catalyst for oppressed people? Is he saying that the gun is not a tool that we will

eventually have to use? Should it not be introduced to the people? If his answer to these questions is affirmative then it follows that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. should drop its Marxist-Leninist line (for which the masses are evidently not ready) and start a new line. And I suppose their new line would be the bourgeois democratic electoral politics line which the American Communist Party has embraced. I see very little difference between their line and the Democrats Party line, both of which are archaic and ready for their positions in the museum.

transference into a Socialist revolution offers irrefutable proof that this position that fascism dominates the American scene is not consistent with reality. The Courts reversal of the vicious decision that had sent Huey Newton, a founder of the Panther Party, to prison, is also proof that the trend toward fascism in the U.S.A. can successfully be fought.

Propagation of the idea of existing fascism can only weaken the struggle to destroy fascist trends, and the development of an anti-fascist coalition. As has been said in the introduction to the New Program of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

"Wherever one looks, there is struggle in the United States today. People are on the march. More and more are engaged in struggles for peace, for Black and Brown liberation, for economic advancement. More and more are seeking fundamental solution. There is radicalization..."

We will fight increasingly for the constitutional rights of the Black Panther Party for we know that:

"Through immediate struggle workers organize and learn the need to battle further. They learn who the enemy is and how to fight ultimately to the socialist revolution" (Ibid, p. 89)

"Class consciousness begins with recognition of the fundamental community interests of Black and White workers. (Ibid, p. 73).

The Black Panther Party is in the process of growth and development at a moment when the anti-imperialist struggle sharpens and deepens. It is on a vital front of that struggle. History demands that all aid to overcome its weaknesses of growth shall be forthcoming. The position of the Communist Party U.S.A. is in support of history. A wide diversity of views exists on the American Left. We are internationalists with an awareness that the Black Liberation struggle is of vital significance to the world revolutionary movement. More constructive aid must be given to the Black Panther Party.



ZAYD

From the very "get go" when the Black Panther Party announced its call for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention the reactionary forces of fascist oppression have been moving at a deathly pace to sabotage our efforts to bring about a new Constitutional Convention that will truly represent all of the oppressed people of dying Babylon. The national rally and press conference of June 19, and the Planning Session of August 8th and 9th, (both held in Washington, D.C.) were plagued with covert (hidden) blocks by the racist U.S. government.

But the government's unceasing attempt to foil the R.P.C.C. really surfaced when the fascist dog "Mussolini" Rizzo washed and without provocation ordered his gestapo pig cops to attack three of our offices in the "not so city of brotherly love" --- Philadelphia. At our North Philly office the mentally depraved fascist swine ordered our brothers to strip their clothing in the street, (and the sensationalist pig news media was present to photograph this barbarous indignity).

"Bozo" Rizzo called a press conference and called the Panthers "cowards" and "imbeciles" and sold all the "wolf tickets" imaginable. What he failed to tell the people was the piggy manner in which his savage dog police acted. All the windows were torn from the brick structure of the three Panther houses. They used the walls for target practice. In one house they completely destroyed the boiler. All of the Panthers' clothing was ripped off and \$1,500.00 in paper money and all our office equipment and guns were stolen. The neo-nazi beasts had even broken up all of the furniture and stole one of our cars.

But the Black community and progressive people of Philadelphia were outraged! Black people were humiliated at the sight of seeing our young warriors standing naked before the world. It had conjured up visions of the not so ancient slave mart, and was more reminiscent of South African diamond miners. It was a resounding testimony to the fact that the oppressed still have no rights that the racist oppressor is bound to respect.

However, Rizzo and a whole sty of gestapo pigs were not enough to stop the R.P.C.C. Plenary Session. And the irate progressive Philadelphians bought all of Rizzo's "wolf tickets". The day following the bust of the Philly 14, all of our offices were reopened. We also announced to the world that the Plenary Session to the R.P.C.C. would go ahead as scheduled whether Nixon, Agnew, Mitchell or Hoover and their mamas liked it or not. And that we would hold it in the streets, if necessary. The fascist power structure had been blocking our efforts to obtain the Temple University Gymnasium from the governor on down. In North Philly, two rival gangs had made a truce and had said that they wouldn't gang war anymore. They emerged on the North Philly 200 - 300 strong and when 15 carloads of pigs drove up and asked who gave them permission to open up the people's office, their arrogant reply was, "the people," and Bozo's "kill machines" had to eat mud instead of facing the wrath of an angry armed people.

# THE NEW CONSTITUTION WILL BE THE GUIDELINES UPON WHICH WE WILL BUILD A NEW WORLD, FOUNDED ON THE RUINS OF DECADENT BABYLON

Bozo's mad dog cops even had the gall to return our clothing, bagged up in plastic bags and reeking of tear gas. We refused to accept this and told Bozo's nigger lackeys that we would only accept the clothing after it was cleaned and pressed, on hangers, free of the odor of tear gas and fit to wear to the R.P.C.C. Plenary Session.

Defense Captain Reggie Schell had a bail hearing on Wednesday, September 2, 1970. Bootlicking nigger Judge Reed would only allow one hearing per day and the defendant's peers were removed from the courtroom. There were wall to wall pigs in the courtroom. The case was held over to the following day. But due to the tremendous force of the power of the people, by Friday, all the 14 Panthers were released on \$3,000,000 cash ransom. Originally the ransom was \$100,000.00 each.

On Friday evening when our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton along with our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard and Attorney Charles R. Garry arrived at Philadelphia International Airport, they were greeted with revolutionary love by hundreds of well wishers. By 10:00 p.m. that evening, close to 2,000 people had registered in the Church of The Advocate. There were signs in store fronts which read "WELCOME PANTHERS."

On Saturday afternoon the Plenary Session was opened up by Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor of the N.Y. Panther 21, who dealt with the irrelevancy of the present Constitution. "Cet" captivated more than 5,000 people for more than two hours.

The same evening the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton, addressed the 5,000 to 6,000 people in McGonigle Hall (Temple University Gymnasium). Brother Huey delivered the preamble to the new Constitution which was warmly received by the thousands of people at the Plenary Session.

We had told the people that Huey would speak to the 2,000 to 3,000 people who were assembled at the Church of The Advocate and the several thousand people who were unable to get into McGonigle Hall. But we were unable to meet this commitment, due to our inability to facilitate all of the many people who wanted to embrace brother Huey.

The only real confusion that went down was when the Progressive Labor Party and a group of pork chop nationalists got together and marched arm-in-arm on City Hall. But these anarchists must have covered before they got to the local pig headquarters, because we had checked out the situation within an hour after the march had started. And there were no jack-n-apes to be found.

Sunday we dealt with the workshops on the self-determination for national minorities, women, street people, male homosexuals, lesbians, the family and rights of children, control and use of the military police, the means of pro-

duction, the educational system, the land, the legal system and political prisoners of war. There were also workshops on the distribution of political power, Internationalism, and the relationship of liberation struggles throughout the world, religious oppression and the new humanism and drugs and health. Sunday's Plenary Session dealing with the reports from the many workshops were just as well attended as Saturday's session and the reports were received warmly by the 5,000 to 6,000 people.

On Monday there was a general meeting of representatives from the various workshops. A continuance committee was formed and various proposals that were not covered the preceding day were submitted. A press conference ended the R.P.C.C. Plenary Session, spelling out what had gone down during the colossal event. Even though welfare rights people and G.I.'s were present, we still didn't receive proposals dealing with welfare rights and the rights of a G.I. Proposals dealing with these social works or any other social groups that were not covered at the Plenary Session should be sent to the Regional Headquarters in your area.

Representatives from revolutionary organizations had come to the R.P.C.C. Plenary Session from all over the planet earth; from Florida, Winston-Salem, N.C., from every corner of Babylon. Representatives from the "country-side" had come from Columbia, South America, Germany, the Palestinian Liberation Struggle, colonized Africans, oppressed Canadians, Brazilians testifying to the fact that the spirit of Carlos Marighella still lives...and the Black Philadelphians turned out in force.



THE MASSES, THE MOTIVATING FORCE

The 15,000 people who were in Philadelphia over the Labor Day Weekend are the real heroes behind the success of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. We hope to see all of them and all of their friends tentatively in Washington, D.C. on November 4, 1970. We can only say, at the risk of being redundant, that the people and the people alone are the motivating force in the making of world history.

The new Constitution will be the guidelines upon which we will build a new world, founded on the ruins of decadent Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!  
Zayd Shakur  
N.Y. State Chapter  
Black Panther Party  
Deputy Minister of Information

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT AMERICA REDUCES ALL OF ITS PEOPLE TO BE ACTORS.

BUT WE IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY ARE REVOLUTIONARIES

WHO ARE INTRANSIGENT (UNCOMPROMISING) IN OUR LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE

AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM

AND WE WILL NEVER BE REDUCED TO ACTORS OR ENTERTAINERS.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE,

The Black Panther Party has always taken the position of being one and one with the people. We welcome any criticism because we know that through constructive criticism there is strength in unity. We also like to keep our word.

On Saturday evening, our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, delivered the Preamble to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention's Plenary Session. Upon arriving at the 4,200 seat Temple University Gymnasium and seeing the several thousand people who were not able to get into the already over-flowing gymnasium; it was announced that Brother Huey would speak again at the Church of The Advocate where several thousand more people were listening to Huey's message over loud speakers.

At the time that announcement was made, thousands of people were beating on the glass doors of the gymnasium, trying to gain entrance. Only after we made the announcement saying that Brother Huey would speak again, did the crowd start acting in an orderly manner. Upon leaving McGonigle Hall, we still had to wade through

a sea of people.

At the Church of The Advocate, the situation was just about the same: thousands of people surrounding the Church with a seating capacity of 2,500, and again we didn't have a place large enough to facilitate all of the people. Looking objectively at what had went down at McGonigle Hall and the existing situation at the Church of The Advocate, we thought it best to cancel our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton's speech at the Church. Thus making us appear as liars before the many people who had come to Philadelphia to hear and see the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party and did not see and hear him at McGonigle Hall. And the Black Panther Party takes this opportunity to apologize to the many people who were unable to hear and see Brother Huey.

But it also must be pointed out that Huey P. Newton is not an entertainer. Some people were in Philadelphia simply relating to the "singer" and not the "song" and had lost sight as to why we were even in Philadelphia. We were not there for a rally. We were there to discuss our common grievance

with the present Constitution and through various workshops, come to some type of unity of will in making proposals that would bring us one step closer towards a new Constitution. The reporters from the many workshops were right on and were warmly received by the general body of people at Sunday's Plenary Session. And we had dealt with our primary objectives of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention Plenary Session.

It has been said that America reduces all of its people to be actors. But we in the Black Panther Party are revolutionaries who are intransigent (uncompromising) in our life and death struggle against U.S. imperialism and we will never be reduced to actors or entertainers. For we know that this is Babylon's final act and the oppressed people, the world over, are moving to bring down the curtain, once and for all.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS!  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
New York State  
Dep. Minister of Information  
Zayd Shakur

## "THE LAST WARNING"



"CET"

From the very moment that the Black Panther Party first issued the call for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, the barbaric forces of fascist repression have used virtually every conceivable trick in their criminal attempts to stifle the will of the people to be free.

The job of preventing the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention Plenary Session from coming off was assigned to the notoriously fascist police commissioner of Philadelphia Frank Rizzo. On August 31, Rizzo ordered his gestapo forces to launch illegal raids on Constitutional Convention Registration Centers and Black Panther offices in an attempt to further persecute the Black Panther Party and frighten the people out of attending the Plenary Session.

Having failed in his attempt to destroy the Plenary Session through the use of flagrant and cold-blooded fascist repression, Rizzo used police paid agent provocateurs and worked with other enemies of the people. This fool's parade consisted of members of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and cultural nationalists who tried to create a situation that would have resulted in countless people being injured and murdered by exploiting the revolutionary fervor of over a thousand unarmed participants in the Plenary Session and led them in a foolish march on "City Hall".

If it were not for the quick action taken by members of the Black Panther Party and other righteous people who were on the scene, and who recognized the situation for what it really was and made the people aware of the fact that they were not equipped to deal with the pigs at that time, the fools and agent provocateurs would have led them into a death trap and countless injuries and deaths would have surely resulted. The pigs were ready for the kill.

This was conscious and deliberate attempt to destroy the Plenary Session of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. Moreover, Rizzo's agent provocateurs, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the cultural nationalists would have perpetrated the slaughter of hundreds of people. The actions perpetrated by these fools can only be viewed as a "Declaration of war" against the people.

Let it be clearly understood by all the enemies of the people that the Black Panther Party stands determined to ensure the success of the Constitutional Convention for the people. Let it be clearly understood by all the enemies of the people that no force is capable of deterring us from this goal. This is our "Last Warning" to all those who seek to sabotage, undermine, and destroy the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. All provocateurs (Black and White) will be dealt with as "enemies of the people". ALL POWER BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE AND DEATH TO ALL FASCIST PIGS, REGARDLESS OF WHAT FORM THEY APPEAR IN!  
Michael "Cetawayo" Tabor  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

# ON LONNIE MCLUCAS



Lonnie McClucas, revolutionary, now sits in Litchfield Prison awaiting his sentence on September 18, for conspiracy to commit murder.

On that date, Lonnie will be brought back to New Haven to face the fascist judge and hear the sentence meted out to him, derived at by a compromising jury. The Black Panther Party contends that Lonnie McClucas is NOT GUILTY!

It is at this stage of the revolutionary struggle that the people must give justice to the courts and FREE LONNIE!

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS**

## LORETTA LUCKES STATE'S WITNESS GIVEN SUSPENDED

### SENTENCE BY THE STATE

Loretta Luckes who was arrested along with Lonnie McClucas and others of the New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party received her crumbs for being a good nigger. The state gave her a suspended sentence and 2 years probation for turning state's witness in the Alex Rackley case. Loretta enabled the state to indict Chairman Bobby Seale for a murder he did not commit, along with helping to sentence Lonnie McClucas to a prison term of up to 15 years. She is also responsible, along with Warren Kimbro, for selling their souls down the drain in order to walk the streets of Babylon while innocent men and women face the electric chair and life imprisonment.

Loretta Luckes is an enemy of the people, a weak woman whose name can be added to the list of traitors and counter-revolutionaries over centuries who have always sold out to the racist power structure at the expense of seeing their people free.

# SLAVE OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION WITHIN THE WALLS OF NIANTIC CONCENTRATION CAMP

I walked within the confines of Niantic prison seeing all the potential revolutionaries and I approached them speaking on this present day decadent society trying to politically educate the sisters.

They related to what I was saying for a little while then they become disinterested as if life has no functional meaning, no hope. I then related to them about genocide which is what they could definitely relate to since this is basically their reason for being incarcerated.

I explained to them that capitalism plus dope equals genocide and I broke it down hoping, with extended P.E. classes to eventually elevate their minds to a higher level. But even with me capping as another sister from the sisters still wanted to go into a metaphysical bag, about what brother was throwing the hardest brick to get the bag or who was acting in a pizgish manner or even homosexually which plays an important part in prison life.

P.E. seems to have left no relevant mark, which made me feel so worthless, yet I know that the position of the Black Panther Party and N.C.C.F. is that if you fall, try again and again. Because this fascist, racist system has the people's minds so distorted with their methods of oppression and exploitation that the sisters and people in general just have to be educated

so that they'll no longer manipulate our people's minds, programming them to act as robots, without personal feelings.

The lackey administration staff placed me in the so-called maximum security building and that building was the worst building of them all. It's inmates are subjected to the worst rules and regulations in the Niantic Concentration Camp and most of the building's population (25 inmates) approximately 20 are angry niggas! They have a graded cottage system where you graduate from building 1 - 3 and the niggas in this building have to bootlick to move from one to the other. While I was there, sisters related to the power sign and saying All Power to the People and Death to the Fascist Pigs and the gestapo acting matrons filed a report against me, saying I was indoctrinating the prisoners to tolerate to the Party.

I was subjected to continuous intimidation, and unprovoked verbal attacks, I was constantly watched and when I first came I wasn't allowed out of my room, as if I would contaminate others. I was given approximately 15 minutes to shower, clean my room and smoke, yet the other 5 or 6 sisters in the cottage were usually able to spend the entire morning doing this exact same thing.

When I finally realized what was happening, I of course blew on it. I called the fool who was doing this a fascist, racist dog and told her

that it was because of me being a member of the N.C.C.F. and as such I was considered a Panther and the two irrelevant excuses she had given me were lies made up not to hide anything from me, but just to have an excuse ready to use against me in case I blew on someone.

The fools believe that I had no rights which they were bound to respect. They in fact think this way of all the prisoners and most definitely Panthers and N.C.C.F. members.

But none of their fascist methods weakened me, I remained strong. The spirit of the people was greater than the man's technology. RIGHT ON!!! And its the power of the people that freed me, and will help us to free ourselves.

As a revolutionary I'm not afraid of concentration camps and as long as I'm serving the people these low-lived dogs mean nothing, I will help to destroy this system by any means!

**ARM YOURSELF OR  
HARM YOURSELF  
POWER TO ALL BROTHERS AND  
SISTERS IN PRISON  
Lottie Brown**

Note: This article was written by Lottie Brown, a member of the Hartford N.C.C.F. Hartford, Conn. Lottis was arrested in the raid in Hartford of the N.C.C.F. August 2, 1970. She served a short stay at Niantic State House of Corrections and is now out on a \$4,000.00 ransom.

## REPORT ON PROCEEDINGS IN CIVIL COURT NEW HAVEN RE: PEGGY HUDGINS, GUS WHITE, RICHARD TIMPSON VS. STATE OF CONN. (ELLIS MCDUGALL, JANET YORK)

Judge Wright presided over the case concerning Peggy Hudgins in regards to her present medical condition. The issues presented were the coalition of 10 Black doctors here in New Haven requesting that they be permitted to extend their medical services to all inmates detained in the state of Connecticut's jails and prisons. This was the overall generalization of the suit. In particular today, Dr. White and Dr. Timponson were requesting that they be granted a temporary injunction allowing them to enter Niantic prison to treat Peggy for what has presently been diagnosed as rheumatoid arthritis. Arguments were Scott-Black lawyer). He called Dr. White to the stand. Dr. White is a bone and joint specialist. He stated that Peggy's attorney and family had requested that he render his medical services to her. In return, he and Dr. Timponson along with a group of eight other Black doctors here in New Haven sent the Commissioner a letter asking to be permitted to examine her. He did not receive a reply. They then proceeded to Niantic to talk to Mrs. York. She told them that she could not allow them to come in and treat Peggy because Lise were her orders and it was a policy of the institution not to allow outside doctors in to examine inmates. McDougall return said that it would only cause administrative problems. White and Timponson also sent Dr. Friedman (Peggy's doctor in prison) a letter requesting a report on her present health. He did not reply. White then called Friedman and got a negative reply.

Dr. White said that he believed that Peggy was suffering from rheumatoid arthritis but he could not be sure because he had not examined her and he was just going on her medical records that he had read during the previous suit if Federal court and what



PEGGY HUDGINS,  
POLITICAL PRISONER

the attorney and family had said. The judge then ruled that an examination take place in a vacant place in the courthouse and upon reaching a joint agreement by the doctors (including the state doctors) he would then hear further testimony. Court was recessed until the completion of the examination.

Upon returning the judge asked Dr. Timponson to report his findings. He reported sensitive parts of her joints, swollen wrists and fingers, blood count below normal, long sighs as if to try and catch her breath, swollen legs, etc. He recommended that x-rays be taken (which have never been taken before) blood tests be made for anemia and sickle consultation with an orthopedic specialist (Dr. White) and splinting should be done immediately on joints. Physical

therapy is also needed to disrupt crippling and she needs to be in a warm area (as opposed to the cold and damp conditions that she is presently subjected to). The judge then asked what was the urgency about this particular treatment. Dr. Timponson said that it should not go untreated any longer because it could lead to permanent crippling and/or deformity because it was rapidly increasing. The judge then called Peggy to the stand. She said she had this medical problem since September '69 and the only treatment she received was aspirin up until March '70. No tests or x-rays had been made nor any physical therapy. She said that her living conditions were very unfavorable and she had constant pain. At this point the judge asked Peggy to place her hands on the table and let the doctors show him what effect the arthritis was causing. Dr. Timponson then explained to him. The prosecutor asked Peggy why she had at one time referred to Dr. Friedman as a racist and she said because the relationship that we had was very cold and not the type of rapport that a patient/doctor should have and also by the way he would act toward her in particular. The defense said that mentally she could respond to treatment better with a doctor of her own liking. Timponson was given Peggy's medical records to go over. He noted that none of the prescribed treatment that he had given had ever been administered.

The arguments continued on throughout the afternoon and finally the judge decided to review what had been gone over so far. He said that in view of the fact that Peggy was not a convicted person and was just being held in custody pending trial, and that she had already been detained for one year and four months and the

continued on page 16

# CHAIRMAN MAO'S STATEMENT

## PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITED TO DESTROY THE AMERICAN AGGRESSORS AND THEIR LACKEYS



At the present time, a new upsurge in the struggle against American imperialism is asserting itself on a worldwide scale. Since the end of the Second World War, American imperialism and those carried in its wake have not stopped waging wars of aggression, and the peoples have always had recourse to revolutionary warfare to vanquish the aggressors. The danger of a new world war remains and the people of the world must be prepared for it. But today in the world the principle tendency is revolution.

The American aggressors unable to win the war in Vietnam and Laos fomented a reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, shamefacedly sent their troops into Cambodia and resumed the bombing of North Vietnam, all of which has given rise to indignant resistance on the part of the three Indochinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, head of State of Cambodia, against American imperialism and their lackeys; I warmly support the joint statement of the summit conference of Indochinese peoples; I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union placed under the aegis of the National United Front of Kampuchea. In strengthening their unity, in assisting each other with mutual aid and help and in persevering in a people's war of long duration, the three Indochinese peoples will be able to overcome all difficulties and seize total victory.

American imperialism, while lending itself to massacres abroad, is killing White and Blacks in its own country. Nixon's fascist violence has made the ardent flames of the mass revolutionary movement in the United States surge forth. The Chinese people bring their firm support to the revolutionary struggle of the American people. Heroic in combat, the American people will conquer and fascist domination in the United States will suffer ineluctable defeat--such is my conviction.

The Nixon administration is assailed by numerous difficulties, both internal and external; it is locked in struggle with a country in full chaos and is very isolated in the world. The mass protest movement against American aggression in Cambodia is unleashing itself throughout the world. Less than ten days after its formation, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia has been recognized by almost twenty countries. The war of resistance of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples against American aggression and for national well being is experiencing an ever-better situation. The revolutionary armed struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia, the

armed struggle of the peoples of Korea, Japan and the other Asian countries against the resurrection of Japanese militarism perpetrated by the Americano - Japanese reactionaries, the struggle of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples against the Americano - Israeli aggressors, the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation as well as the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of North America, of Europe and Oceania are all developing with impetuosity. The Chinese people firmly support the three Indochinese peoples and the other peoples of the world in their revolutionary struggle against American imperialism and its lackeys.

American imperialism has the aura of a colossus but in reality it is no more than a paper tiger and it is struggling desperately. In the final analysis who is afraid of whom in today's world? It is not the peoples of Vietnam, of Laos, of Cambodia, of Palestine, of the other Arab countries and the rest of the world who fear American imperialism, it is American imperialism which fears the peoples of the world. At the slightest movement, it panics. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause always enjoys wide support whereas an unjust cause finds little. A weak country is in a position to defeat a strong country, and a little country to defeat a large country. The people of a little country will definitely triumph over the aggression on a large country if they dare to stand up in the struggle, have recourse to arms and take in hand the destiny of their country. Such is the law of history.

Peoples of the world, unite, to destroy the American aggressors and their lackeys.

## ON CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG'S DECLARATION OF MAY 20, 1970

*In this declaration, Chairman Mao Tse Tung has set forth a brilliant and timely analysis of the qualitatively new situation that exists in the world as a result of the treacherous new acts of aggression launched by the fascist, imperialist Nixon-Pentagon clique against the Chinese peoples.*

*This declaration pulls together into clear focus the revolutionary struggles and the liberation struggles of the people of the whole world, including the revolutionary struggle of the American people themselves.*

*Speaking specifically for the Black Panther Party, but reflecting the sentiments of millions of oppressed people inside the United States, it has become crystal clear to us that rampant imperialist aggression on the international scale and vicious fascist repression on the domestic scale are the two faces of the criminal government of the United States and the calculated policy of the American ruling circles. For 400 years now, Black people inside the United States have been the long-suffering victims of fascist violence and repression.*

*But under the Nixon-Pentagon clique, this reactionary violence and repression has been escalated to new heights of barbaric cruelty. At the same time, in order to put down the already gigantic and still growing mass movement among White Americans against the wreckless and sanguinary policies and imperialist adventures of the U.S. government, the cowardly Nixon-Pentagon clique has unleashed a bloodbath against the American people as a whole, creating for itself new enemies who have joined hands with those who were already determined to carry out a struggle to the bitter end against an economic, political, and social system that is dominated by the madmen in the Pentagon and that is responsible for the misery and bloodshed all over the world today.*

*Chairman Mao Tse Tung captures the truth of the situation when he points out the unprecedented isolation of the Nixon-Pentagon clique. Never before have these criminals been so exposed and isolated as they are today. And never before has it been so clear that this criminality*

*can only be ended by the people rising up to seize their own destiny from the handful of willful exploiters and murderers that now have the power in their hands.*

*Coupling a revolutionary call to arms with revolutionary optimism in the assurance of victory, Chairman Mao Tse Tung, the great leader of the Chinese Revolution, hero and teacher of the revolutionary people of the world, has performed an invaluable service to all mankind by stepping forward at this time to renew the people's indictment of the common enemy of us all--U.S. Fascism and Imperialist Aggression. These courageous words of Chairman Mao Tse Tung will give new heart to the peoples in their lonely and difficult struggles to throw off the shackles and chains of oppression now being held in place by U.S. Fascism and Imperialism.*

*Lastly, we wish to point out that only the enemies of the people and those who shirk their revolutionary duties and who are afraid of their*

continued on next page

# RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this Party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national, 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 crime 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 Platform and Program of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all Chapters and Branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS--all Chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and Components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No Chapter or Branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All Chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

PRESS RELEASE

# NEW HAVEN BLACK DOCTORS FILE SUIT

Ten New Haven Black Doctors filed a suit in Superior Court charging Ellis McDougall, individually, and as State Commissioner of Corrections with interfering with their right to practice medicine by refusing two of the plaintiffs admission to the women's correctional center at Niantic. The doctors had gone there for the purpose of examining and delivering medical treatment to Mrs. Margaret Hudgins, who is presently being held in pretrial confinement for charges pending against her in Superior Court. Mrs. Hudgins had requested through her family and attorney the services of Dr. Augustus White, a Specialist in Orthopaedic Surgery and Dr. Richard H. Timponso because of an illness involving pain and swelling of the joints.

An order to show cause was issued on last Wednesday, August 26, 1970 by Judge John David Fitzgerald, ordering the defendant McDougall and Janet York, Deputy Commissioner of Corrections, at the Niantic Institution to appear at the Superior Court on September 9, 1970 to show cause why a temporary injunction should not issue ordering them, and all persons in contact with them, to cease and desist from denying the Doctors access to the patient, Mrs. Hudgins, in order to deliver to her the medical services which she requested.

As duly licensed practicing physicians in the state of Connecticut, the Doctors are also seeking a declaratory judgment that they have a right to be granted access to a state correctional center upon request from a patient.

The above statements describe our legal position. Our human con-

tinued from last page

**ON CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG'S DECLARATION own shadows will find fault with Chairman Mao Tse Tung's declaration. For our part, we welcome it, because we have learned, by shedding our blood, that only through relentless struggle, by resorting to arms inside the very house of U.S. Fascism and Imperialism itself, can we gain our freedom and liberation. This is what our experience has taught us and this is the faith that will sustain us as we push forward our struggle..**

**LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG!  
LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLES' WAR!  
DEATH TO THE U.S. FASCISM AND IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION!  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
Eldridge Cleaver,  
Minister of Information  
Black Panther Party, U.S.A.**

vicition is that the denial of the free choice of physician to persons in pretrial detention is inhumane and inconsistent with fundamental democratic principles. It is important for the public to realize that this policy can be applied to anyone. Because of the race and/or the political conviction of Mrs. Margaret Hudgins, many people seem to miss the very basic and vital issue of human rights that is involved. We are therefore entering this suit on the above described basis as we assume that the society has the capacity to reform itself and change this unjust policy.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONTACT:  
Mrs. Edith Rawls  
(203) 432-4581

continued from page 14

## PEGGY HUDGINS

defense had sufficiently presented their case that he would grant the preliminary injunction allowing the doctors to go in and examine Peggy thoroughly. He also stated that after two weeks and after the examinations he wants them to return and give their findings to the court and he will reopen the case for any further discussions.

We feel that we have forced the pigs into dealing with Peggy's condition, we must not stop here, we must struggle until Peggy and all political prisoners are free.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Connecticut State Chapter  
Frances Carter

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

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

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

The Black Panther Party Black Community News Service is the alternative to the 'government approved' stories presented in the mass media and the product of an effort to present the facts, not stories as dictated by the oppressor, but as seen from the other end of a gun.

ALL POWER  
TO THE PEOPLE!  
SEIZE THE TIME!



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

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# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

**N. KOREA "THERE ARE NEITHER UNEMPLOYED NOR BEGGARS IN OUR COUNTRY. FREE MEDICAL CARE AND FREE EDUCATION HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED. INDEED, OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A PEOPLE'S COUNTRY, A BIG UNITED FAMILY, A SOCIALIST PARADISE ON EARTH WHERE EVERYONE ENJOYS A HAPPY LIFE KNOWING NO WORRIES ABOUT FOOD, CLOTHING AND HOUSING."**

**COMRADE PAK O**

What follows is the third part of an interview with Comrade Pak O, a high official of the North Korean embassy in Cuba. In this section, he discusses the development of socialism in the North—the emphasis on both material and cultural and ideological factors. The tremendous contrasts between North and South are brought out and we are given a feeling of profound optimism concerning the liberation of the people of South Korea from U.S. Imperialism. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made almost unbelievable strides in transforming a devastated and backward country into a modern liberated nation. Comrade Pak O's analysis emphasizes the oneness of the people and their great leader Premier Kim Il Sung, and he demonstrates what can be accomplished when the creative energies of the people are released and guided toward the total transformation of society.

—Robert Cohan,  
Havana, August 4, 1970

Today the northern half of the Republic has entered a period of big leap forward and great prosperity unprecedented in the history of our country. Some 20 years ago, harsh exploitation and oppression, centuries-old backwardness and poverty prevailed over our land. With an advanced-socialist system established today, however, exploitation and oppression have been completely done away with, and backwardness and poverty are a story of the past.

Our independent national economy with a solid foundation is developing day by day. The defense power has been fortified impregably to safeguard the country against the attack of any imperialist aggressors. National culture, too, is in full bloom and develops rapidly.

There are neither unemployed nor beggars in our country. Free medical care and free education have been introduced. Indeed, our country has been turned into a people's country, a big united family, a socialist paradise on earth where everyone enjoys a happy life knowing no worries about food, clothing and housing.

Whenever our people think and sing in praise of their happy life, they think of their Leader and sing to the praise of him. This is because the great Leader of our people, Premier Kim Il Sung has brought a genuine people's society for them.

In the dark days of Japanese Imperialist rule when even the midday sun and full moon had lost their luster, the image of Premier Kim Il Sung, peerless patriot, national hero and the respected and beloved Leader of the 40 million Korean people, was kept alive in the hearts of our nation as a star of national liberation, as a beacon of hope and as an immortal sun. And his great revolutionary ideas and outstanding

leadership instilled in our people an invincible might and a great happiness and opened up the road of eternal prosperity for the generations to come.

The revolutionary path of great Leader Kim Il Sung over 40 years from the days when he took his first step in the revolution until this day, is a glorious path of dedication to the struggle for the freedom and welfare of the Korean people, for the triumph of the socialist and communist cause in Korea, for the glorious advancement of the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle.

Marshal Kim Il Sung waged an arduous anti-Japanese armed struggle for over 15 years to build a new society free from oppression and exploitation in our beautiful land and ensure a happy life for all people.

Indeed, the socialist system of today is inconceivable unless our people and such a great Leader as Premier Kim Il Sung, peerless patriot, national hero and ever-victorious, iron-willed brilliant commander, in the 1930's, and unless there was an anti-Japanese armed struggle organized and led by him. The socialist system established in the northern half of the Republic sprang up from the deep roots of the anti-Japanese armed struggle organized and unfolded by Premier Kim Il Sung, who the Korean people unanimously look up to and revere, and it is a brilliant fruit of his sagacious leadership.

Our country's situation was very complex after the liberation on August 15, 1945. It became more acute when the overthrown exploiter classes and their remnants were active, their manoeuvres and the U.S. imperialists, the most heinous aggressors, occupied the southern half of our country.

Under this difficult situation, our respected and beloved Leader Kim Il Sung set forth a revolutionary line of building a democratic base in order to unify the country entirely by our own forces, attain a nation-wide victory of the Korean revolution and build up a firm revolutionary base in the northern half to bring a happy, new life to the people.

Our people, in accordance with the line put forward by Premier Kim Il Sung, firmly took power and carried out the land reform, the nationalization of industries, Labor Law, Law on the Equality of the Sexes and other democratic reforms, thereby successfully fulfilling the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in the northern half of the Republic.

On the basis of all achievements made in the northern half and the successes gained in uniting the democratic forces in North and South Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the sole fatherland of the Korean people, was founded on September 9, 1948, and Marshal Kim Il Sung, their

respected and beloved Leader, was appointed as Premier of the Cabinet.

The founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was a realization of the ardent desire of Korean people and a great event to usher in a new era in the struggle for the development of our revolution and the unification of the fatherland. The people in the northern half who took power in their own hands and became master of their own destinies, displayed all their revolutionary zeal in building a rich and strong country.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors launched a war in Korea on June 25, 1950. The entire Korean people, under the leadership of genius military strategist Premier Kim Il Sung, rose as one to deal an annihilating blow at the U.S. imperialists, holding aloft the slogan, "Everything for victory in the war!" In the three-year severe war unheard-of in the annals of war history, our people, under the outstanding command of Premier Kim Il Sung, gave full scope to their sacrificing spirit and heroism and defeated the U.S. imperialists and other armed forces of 15 satellite countries, thus defending their glorious fatherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The U.S. imperialists who boasted of being "ever-victorious", "invincible", suffered a most shameful defeat, the first of its kind in their history.

Peace came to our land, though temporarily. War wounds were deep and damages tremendous. Towns and villages were destroyed, burnt to the ground. Even magpie nests could be found in the crumbling smokestacks of factories reduced to ashes. During the war more than 8,700 factories and many other enterprises and cultural establishments were razed by bombing. The living conditions of the people were indeed difficult.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors clamoured that "Korea would not be able to get back on its feet, even in 100 years' time." In this serious and arduous historical moment, the people set out on construction and a new life. They were quite at a loss what to begin with and how.

It was just then that our respected and beloved Premier Kim Il Sung clearly penetrated into the postwar situation in our country and the prospects of our revolution and advanced the wise line of economic construction with priority given to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with development of light industry and agriculture. Thus he opened up the road of prosperity and progress before our people and led them to the glorious path of victory.

Premier Kim Il Sung taught us that "the Korean people should set an example to the Yankees also in rehabilitation and construction." Upholding his teaching, our people came out as one body in the struggle for postwar reconstruction and performed great labor feats in the



Long live the Korean people who are closely united around Comrade Kim Il Sung

same spirit of smashing U.S. imperialism during the war.

There was no division between day and night and the whole country became a seething construction site. Songs of rehabilitation and reconstruction could be heard everywhere. In the postwar reconstruction, however, every task and every process was confronted with great difficulties. Materials and funds, labor and techniques were scarce. Our people pulled through all hardship, bearing in mind the Premier's teaching that reconstruction is a battle to defeat the U.S. imperialists.

Boundlessly inspired by the outstanding command of the respected and beloved Leader in the vanguard, the people went through all difficulties and hardships, tightening their belts. Days of creation and construction pass on. Numerous factories, enterprises and mines started operation in a few months after the armistice, though the U.S. imperialists prattled "It would take 30 years to restore them."

Under the sagacious leadership of our respected and beloved

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## N. KOREA

# "INDEED, OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A PEOPLE'S COUNTRY..."

Leader, we dashed ahead to capture a height of the postwar Three-Year Plan for the National Economy at a breath. Gross industrial output value envisaged in the plan was fulfilled in two years and 8 months and overfulfilled by 122 percents in 1956. Total value of industrial output in 1956 increased 2.8 times as against 1953, 1.8 times the 1949 level and 2 times the pre-liberation level of 1944. During the three years the production of the means of production grew four times and that of consumer goods 2.1 times.

Big successes were also scored in the restoration and development of agriculture. Grain output in 1956 surpassed the prewar level by 108 percent. Agricultural cooperativization to transform individual peasant farming on socialist lines already reached a stage of decisive victory.

People's livelihood was improved remarkably. At the end of 1956 the real wages of factory and office employees and the real income of the peasants outstripped the prewar level.

We have also exerted great efforts on urban construction to stabilize the people's living and bring about the country's eternal prosperity. The war played havoc with towns and remote villages, small and large cities. Take Pyongyang, our democratic capital for example. The US imperialist aggressors showered it with more than 428,900 bombs, or one for every square meter. Not a single house or tree was left as it had been before the bombing. One could see only Moranbong Hill located in the center of Pyongyang and the River Daedong-gang winding its way around the Hill, which reminded one of the features of the capital and an inforgettable life before.

Our people rebuilt the democratic capital Pyongyang and other cities and villages throughout the country into modern ones. In the course of urban construction many miracles were wrought. A wall was prefabricated in three minutes and an entire apartment in 14 minutes. In Japanese imperialist days before liberation, it took seven years to build the Daedong Bridge in Pyongyang. But we constructed the much longer and wider Okryu Bridge in a matter of one year. The Japanese imperialists spent seven years and nine months in the building of a "department store" in Pyongyang, whereas we erected the Pyongyang Department Store in only 45 days, which is several times larger than the former, and the 23 times larger Pyongyang Grand Theater in only one year.

Our towns and villages where birds were unable to find a tree to rest on immediately after the ceasefire are now turned into modern cities, magnificent and beautiful.

Days of innovations passed on in a tough battle. A significant revolutionary struggle for the socialist transformation of the old production relations gained momentum in town and countryside. This accompanied acute class struggle. Class enemies and the foes of revolution desperately maneuvered to restore the old system of privilege and exploitation. The US imperialists continued to aggravate tension, instead of drawing lessons from their miserable defeat in the war.

At this juncture, the respected and beloved Premier Kim Il Sung

announced the thesis, "All efforts for the unification and independence of the country and for socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic." In the thesis he made an analysis of the different political situations in North and South Korea and elucidated the masters of principle — to powerfully promote socialist development in and further strengthen the revolutionary base of the northern half of the Republic, the fountainhead of the Korean revolution and a decisive force for the country's unification and thereby hasten the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution.

It was a most pressing task for the continuous promotion of revolution in the northern half of the Republic to reorganize the old production relations on socialist lines. It was imperative to realize socialist industrialization for the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, and to give priority to the development of heavy industry for this purpose.

Drawing on the basic line of original economic construction on ensuring priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with development of light industry and agriculture, Premier Kim Il Sung gave an orientation to national economic development and set concrete tasks to achieve the country's economic independence and the independent development of the nation.

Our people marched ahead triumphantly along the road indicated by our great Leader Premier Kim Il Sung, registering brilliant results in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

A new phase was opened in the development of the revolution. The postwar Three-Year Plan for the National Economy was brought to successful conclusion; industrial and agricultural production outstripped their prewar levels by far. At the same time, great achievements were made in the socialist revolution of transforming the production relations in town and country.

The successful implementation of the Three-Year Plan was only an initial step towards what was to be done. Premier Kim Il Sung mapped out the First Five-Year Plan whose tasks were to further expand and develop socialist relations in all branches of the national economy, dynamically accelerate the building of foundations of industrialization, increase light industry and agricultural production and continually improve the material and cultural standards of the people.

During the five years we had to refashion the relations of production on socialist lines and lay the foundations of socialist industrialization. Also in city and countryside, we had to push ahead powerfully with the socialist revolution so as to complete agricultural cooperativization and the socialist reorganization of private trade and industry.

Tremendous indeed were the tasks of the Five-Year-Plan. It was envisaged in the plan to increase total value of industrial output more than 2.6 times and total value of agricultural production more than 2 times.

This means that more industrial goods than were turned out in the whole period of the postwar Three-Year Plan would be produced in one year towards the end of the Five-Year Plan Period.

The entire Korean people, closely rallied around their great Leader Premier Kim Il Sung and the Worker's Party of Korea, dashed forward for fresh victory with lightning speed. Tasks were heavy and the way to go was long and thorny, but the Party and the people were welded into a single battle formation and galloped on in the saddle of Chollima for the great cause and victory illumined by the great Leader.



The Chollima statue; a symbol of the stamina of the heroic Korean people

Chollima refers to a mythical winged horse that, according to legend, ran 1,000 ri a day jumping over steep mountains and fields and breaking through thick mist and clouds. The word Chollima represents the speed of socialist construction in our country and the revolutionary spirit of the people. The Chollima movement, a collective innovation movement of the working people, had just been initiated by our great Leader in those days. This movement was expanded and developed on a full scale between the end of 1956 and early in 1957 when the socialist transformation of production relations was nearing completion and the absolute majority of the people became socialist working people. This movement became a great revolutionary one to sweep away all that is outmoded and make continuous innovations in all fields of socio-economic life — economy, culture, ideology and morality; it developed into a movement not only to change nature and society but also to educate and remould man. Thus the Chollima movement became the general line of the Party in socialist construction.

The successful fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan needed great funds, manpower and materials. But we were too short of them. Our Party put up the slogan, "Let us practice economy and increase production!" to encourage the people. We had to accelerate socialist construction to the maximum.

overcoming all difficulties. And we had to take 10 steps when others took a single step forward, and 100 steps when they ran 10 steps because we had led a poor life in the past and we required much.

The goals set under the Five-Year Plan which provided for an increase of 2.6 times in gross industrial output value were fulfilled in two and a half years. In the four years from 1957 to 1960 the total value of industrial output rose 3.5 times. During this period the average annual growth in production was 36.6 percent. As a result, our country came to have the firm foundation of socialist industrialization and turned into a socialist industrial-agricultural country with the foundation of an independent economy.

A great amount of work of which our fore-fathers could never have imagined, was performed amidst the grand march of Chollima. Remarkable changes took place in the minds of people so that they could lead all their life in a revolutionary way. The looks of the country fundamentally changed, and so did even mountains and rivers. War wounds were healed. Modern villages and towns sprang up. Big factories and enterprises were built. Good harvests were gathered up every year. The average span of human life was extended by 20 years. So, people sing in praise of our era when the prime of youth comes back at the age of 60, and the longevity celebration is given at 90.

The Chollima march brought about great innovations and leaps forward in postwar reconstruction, pulling through one difficulty after another. Our enemies, who asserted our Republic would not regain its feet, became dumbfounded before our great achievements.

The course of building an independent national economy in our country was a course in which we trained an army of national cadres capable of administering the state and running the economy by themselves. Whether we could build an independent economy or not, whether we could put an end to economic backwardness and dependency or not, and whether we could preserve national sovereignty or not, depended largely upon whether we had our own national technical cadres. But we did not have foundation enough to train national cadres on our own. Under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism the Koreans were denied technical labor and were not permitted to become, say, a locomotive engineer, not to speak of becoming any other kind of engineer or technician. Before liberation there was no institute of higher learning in the northern half of the Republic.

In April of 1948, the joint conference of representatives of the people of all walks of life in North and South Korea was convened at the personal initiative of Premier Kim Il Sung. At that time a South Korean journalist asked Premier Kim Il Sung "What is the bottleneck in democratic construction in North Korea?" To this our respected and beloved Leader Premier Kim Il Sung answered: "...A most difficult and important question confronting the people's power after liberation is a question of cadres."

Our country was very short of cadres, technical cadres in particular. This was one of the greatest difficulties in state administration and economic and cultural construction. Under the wise leadership of Premier Kim Il Sung, we have followed the line of boldly trusting, above all, old intellectuals, educating and remoulding them inducing them to take an active part in building a new society. At the same time, the greatest concern was paid to training many new intellectuals of worker origin. In October 1946, when the conditions of the country were very hard, Premier Kim Il

Sung founded a university to develop national cadres systematically. Since then he established numerous colleges and special schools for industry, agriculture, public health, education, culture, etc. Even in the fierce flames of war, the training of national cadres was not interrupted in any generalized fashion. In 1956 a compulsory primary education system and in 1958 a compulsory secondary education, were introduced both for the first time in the East. Later in 1967 the compulsory nine-year technical education, the first of its kind in Asia, was also introduced. In the meantime, our respected and beloved Premier arranged research institutes in safe places to protect our educators, scientists and technicians from enemy bombing during the severe war and provided them with all possible conditions and benefits to carry on scientific research work for the eternal prosperity of the country.

Now our country has more than 100 institutes of higher learning. Some 425,700 engineers, assistant engineers and specialists are now working in the different branches of the national economy. There are many factories and enterprises where more than 1,000 technicians are working. These are to be found in many parts of the country. Thus we are in a position to solve successfully all the difficult and complicated problems arising in the revolution and construction, relying on the might and wisdom of our own national cadres.

With the successful implementation of the First Five-Year Plan in our country, the people's livelihood was stabilized and enhanced on the solid material base of an independent national economy. During the postwar Three-Year Plan period the foundation of an independent national economy had been prepared, the people's living markedly improved and the poor peasants disappeared. Furthermore, during the Five-Year Plan period the foundation of an independent national economy was fortified more solidly, the question of food, clothing and housing was solved in the main and the peasants' living was raised to the level of the middle peasants on the whole.

Today, 2,690,000 students, one fourth of our population, are studying free of charge or receiving stipends at the schools of all levels from primary to college. Creches and kindergartens, too, are being run entirely at state expense.

Provisions are supplied almost gratis to all people independently of their families. Free medical services are introduced. Factory and office employees enjoy 14 to 24 days of paid holidays a year during which they can spend their vacations at state-run holiday resorts, according to their wishes. Women in our country have a 6-hour workday. Seventy-seven days paid maternity leave is established for the working women.

In 1958 a passenger plane flew to the northern half from the South. One of its stewardesses expressed deep admiration for the fact that the people in the North were working freely and proudly and had no worries about food, clothing and housing. She envied very much the northern half where there were neither particularly well-clad people nor ill-clad people but all were evenly and adequately dressed, where large quantities of cheap daily necessities instead of "luxurious" goods were stocked in the shops and where especially rice and clothing were plentiful and inexpensive.

Mention should be made of the fact that Premier Kim Il Sung pays the deepest personal attention to children and spares them nothing, saying that our children are the "kings of the country." Thanks to our respected and beloved Pre-

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## N. KOREA

# "INDEED, OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A PEOPLE'S COUNTRY..."

mier, our children are growing into the happiest generation in the world.

During the postwar Three-Year and Five-Year Plan periods, all the achievements and precursors experiences gained in successfully implementing the line of transforming the forms of economy on socialist lines, the basic line of socialist economic construction giving priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with development of light industry and agriculture, the line of building an independent national economy, and of unfolding the Chollima movement which became the Party's general line in socialist construction, — constituted more reliable assets to scale the new height of building the socialist future.

On the basis of all results registered so far, the Seven-Year Plan for the National Economy of epochal significance in our socialist revolution and construction, was mapped out and the entire people were called upon to take mother-giant strides of continuous advance and uninterrupted innovation.

If the Five-Year Plan was defined as a plan for completing the building of the foundations of socialism, the Seven-Year Plan would be a magnificent plan to capture the more brilliant eminence of socialism. The central task of the Seven-Year Plan set forth by Premier Kim Il Sung was to carry on a full-scale technical, cultural as well as an ideological revolution. The goal of the Seven-Year Plan is really high. During this period, total value of industrial output will increase 3.2 times and total value of agricultural output 2.4 times. Towards the end of the plan period, greater industrial goods will be turned out in one year than the total output of the entire Five-Year Plan period. Then our country will proudly rank among the most developed countries in the world.

During the seven years our countryside will enjoy more than 80,000 tractors and other numerous farm machines. They will make man's labor easy and joyful and boost grain production steadily. And rapid progress will be made in the cultural revolution. Our science will attain the world's level. Thanks to the compulsory nine-year technical education, we will have a large contingent of some 800,000 technical personnel. During the same period the national income will increase 2.7 times, or 9 times greater than the prewar level. The tax system, a hangover from the old society, will be eliminated once and for all, and the people will be completely freed from tax burden. Additional benefits for the people through the outlay of the state budget including free education and free medical care, will also grow sharply.

Our country will be thus converted into a powerful socialist industrial country with up-to-date industry and developed agriculture or the people to enjoy a bountiful and joyful life in well-furnished modern cities and villages.

Our country of today is good to live in and tomorrow when the Seven-Year Plan will be summed up it will be still brighter. A

country which was subjected to harsh oppression of die-hard feudal rulers for ages, a country whose whole population was mobilized and forced into backbreaking toil for the building of a Royal Palace, a country which the Japanese imperialists deprived of its national wealth and even its mother tongue. But now our country promises a paradise on earth for the people.

More than 20 years have passed since liberation. Owing to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the country remains divided and the Korean revolution is unable to develop evenly on a nation-wide scale. North and South Korea take quite different roads.

In the northern half of the Republic the people have become masters of the country and the most advanced socialist system has been established, whereas South Korea has been turned into a complete colony and military base of US imperialism.

The northern half becomes a socialist power with an independent national economy, whereas South Korea's industry depends on foreign capital, its agriculture is devastated and its economy as a whole is dislocated only to bring tears and poverty to the masses.

The northern half, the beautiful and resourceful socialist national culture blooms and develops and the people are engaged in revolution and creation, assuming lofty virtue. On the contrary, in South Korea decadent Yankee "culture" and way of life, and corrupt ethics and morality prevail. And national culture and beautiful manners and customs are totally trampled underfoot and thrown into the mud.

In the northern half the working people are masters of the country, take part in state affairs and manage the economy. All enjoy a worthy life without any worries about food, clothing, housing, medical treatment and the education of their children. But the South Korean people are subjected to all sorts of national oppression and exploitation and suffer from hunger and poverty.

Owing to the occupation of South Korea and the partition of our territory by the US imperialists, the gulf between the North and South is growing wider and national community of our people formed through a long history is gradually disappearing. And the country's wealth and the people's wisdom and talents cannot be enlisted and utilized in a coordinated way for the prosperity of the fatherland and the enrichment of the nation. The people in South Korea are languishing in unheard-of miseries and distress. The South Korean revolutionaries and patriotic people have undergone severe sufferings for over 20 years under the military fascist rule of US imperialism. The South Korean people and revolutionaries, boundlessly yearning after the northern half, paradise on earth, where the people are leading a worthy, happy life provided by Premier Kim Il Sung, have risen in the struggle to set up such a society, such a social system as the northern half of the

Republic. The revolutionaries, workers, peasants, patriotic youth and students in South Korea have continually waged a heroic struggle after they overthrew the Syngman Rhee puppet regime in the April Popular Uprising.

The March 24 struggle and June 3 uprising in 1964 and mass demonstrations in August 1965 to smash the "ROK-Japan talks" and the "ROK-Japan agreements" were the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist patriotic struggles to oppose the aggressive policies of the US and Japanese imperialists and to overthrow the military fascist dictatorship.

Recently the revolutionaries and patriots are waging an ever more energetic struggle on all fronts under the banner of the anti-US national salvation, resistance, following the struggle against Pak Jung Hi's amendment of the Third Constitution.

Upholding the teachings of Pre-



Millions of the unemployed are roaming about on the streets of South Korea under the U.S. imperialist occupation



Upon occupying South Korea the U.S. imperialists enforced military administration and have perpetrated atrocities of arresting and imprisoning innumerable patriotic people at random

mier Kim Il Sung, the great Leader of the Korean revolution, the South Korean revolutionaries are valiantly fighting in the mountains, underground and from prison, and are firmly building up the revolutionary forces through hard trials and ferocious repression.

Scated by the intensified anti-US, national-salvation resistance of the South Korean people, the US imperialists and their stooges are raising reckless "anti-communist" crises by strengthening brutal suppression and war policy. This does not serve to consolidate their position, but, on the contrary, it accelerates their ruin.

US imperialism in Korea meets with a fate like the setting sun in the West and its downfall is inevitable. The downfall of US imperialism is the trend of development of history which absolutely cannot be checked.

The day is approaching when the revolutionary struggle of the South



Innumerable school-agers in South Korea are doing shoeshining or panhandling

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Demonstrating youth and students of South Korea, shouting aloud the slogan for the overthrow of the Pak Jung Hi puppet bandits to frustrate the nation-ruining "revision of the constitution for a third-term election"

continued from last page

# N. KOREA "INDEED, OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A PEOPLE'S COUNTRY..."

Korean people who enjoy the powerful support of the people in the northern half will win victory.

Premier Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved Leader of the 40 million Korean people, fully understands, more than anyone else, our nation's miseries and distress resulting from the country's division and earnestly declared that "we will surely accomplish the cause of the country's unification in our generation and hand down the unified country to the coming generations."

As Premier Kim Il Sung said, the most correct road of the country's unification is the road of independent unification, that the Korean people should solve their own national question with their own efforts on their own responsibility, rejecting any foreign interference. He announced on behalf of our dignified nation: "We consider that the U.N. has no right to discuss the Korean question and meddle in the internal affairs of our country. The Korean question should not be discussed by the people of other countries in New York or Washington but should be discussed by the Korean people themselves in Pyongyang or Seoul."

But the traitorous clique in South Korea, at the instigation of US imperialism, is raving about the so-called "unification under UN supervision" like chanting a sutra. This means introducing outside forces to meddle in the internal affairs of our nation and leaving Korea at the mercy of the US imperialist aggressors. It is tantamount to breeding a sheep under the care of a wolf.

Such allegation of the traitors aims at extending the colonial regime of the US imperialists to the North. It is a delusion and nonsense. They say that the question of unification can be taken up in the "latter half of the 70's," clamouring about "unification prevailing over communism." This clearly shows the true nature of the traitors is to oppose unification and perpetuate division, and to make the South Korean people colonial slaves of US imperialism forever.

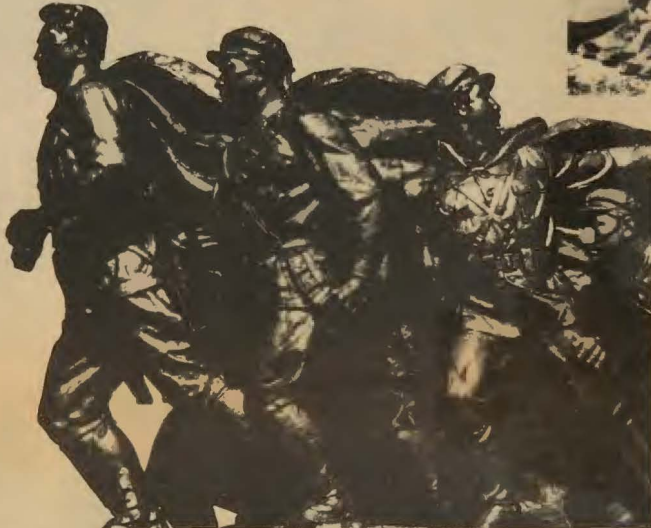
On the personal initiative of the respected and beloved Premier Kim Il Sung, the DPRK has time and again advanced realistic pro-



The U.S. imperialist murdering devils beastially killing innocent people, lording it over South Korea which is not their country, not their territory



Miserable plight of these South Korean people, to whom even plank-hovels are not available



Monument to the Victory in the Bocheonbo Battle - Premier Kim Il Sung in the lead

**"WE DO NOT WANT WAR, BUT ARE NEVER AFRAID OF IT. OUR PEOPLE AND PEOPLE'S ARMY WILL RETURN RETALIATION FOR THE "RETALIATION" OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS, ALL-OUT WAR FOR ALL-OUT WAR. THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS MUST FULLY BE AWARE THAT IF THEY AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION AND PERSISTENTLY TAKE THE ROAD OF WAR DESPITE OUR WARNINGS, THEN THEY WILL SUFFER A HEAVIER DEFEAT."** KIM IL SUNG

posals on unifying the country. The DPRK has exerted every effort to open a favorable phase for the country's unification such as the issuance of an appeal in 1954 for expediting the peaceful unification of the nation, proposals on

free travel between North and South, the exchange of correspondence, economic and cultural intercourse, the reduction of the armed forces of both halves, and the convocation of an international conference of the countries con-

cerned, North-South negotiation on transitional measures to achieve complete unification. Our sincere and just proposals, however, were turned down by the US imperialists and their henchmen. Meanwhile, the US imperialists and their lackeys have had no scruples about committing barbarous atrocities of threatening at the point of the bayonet, arresting, imprisoning and executing the patriotic people in South Korea who supported our reasonable proposals.

It is true that there can be various ways for the achievement of our country's unification. But no matter what the way may be, the country must be unified by the Korean people themselves on independent lines. There will be no other way. Therefore, the US imperialists must first of all be withdrawn from South Korea and their puppet regime be overthrown, and the South Korean people must win genuine democratic rights. This makes it possible for the socialist forces in the North and the democratic forces in the South to join efforts and thus unify the country.

US imperialism is the main obstacle to our country's unification, the root cause of miseries and sufferings of the South Korean people and the unpardonable sworn enemy of the Korean nation. So long as they remain in South Korea, there will and can be no peaceful unification and the danger

of war will not vanish in our country.

Whenever the cold wind blows and rain falls, our great Leader Premier Kim Il Sung looks through the window at the southern sky thinking of the comrades of the South who are leading a hard-pressed life in hovels and board houses. When he thinks of the successes of socialist construction in the northern half, he turns his mind to South Korea and is deeply grieved not to share the happy life in the North with the people in the South.

Over 20 years have elapsed already. But his lofty aspiration is not yet realized owing to the heinous US imperialists.

The country in which the working people participate in state administration and there is no exploitation and oppression; the entire people have rallied into a great Red family; everyone enjoys equal rights and liberties and labor becomes pleasure and honor; hovels and straw-thatched houses disappeared and modern homes are provided for the people; free medical service and free education from primary school to university have been introduced and the compulsory nine-year technical school enforced for the first time in the East; the peasants were unburdened of taxes for the first time in the world and socialist national culture and art are flourishing. This is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today.

Therefore, 600,000 Korean nationals in Japan take great pride in their being citizens of the DPRK. Large numbers of our patriots have already cast away their sad life in the alien land and returned to the bosom of the socialist fatherland where Premier Kim Il Sung is. They are now living in happiness.

We are giving active support and encouragement to the revolutionaries and patriotic people in South Korea in their sacred revolutionary struggle to drive the US imperialists out of South Korea and to smash their puppet clique who are bent on treacherous acts.

The South Korean people will surely win victory in the not distant future and enjoy a happy life with the brothers and sisters in the northern half under the leadership of Premier Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved Leader of the 40 million Korean people.



South Korea's national industry is totally bankrupt and ruined because of the colonial enslavement policy of United States imperialism

# INTERVIEW WITH THE PEOPLE



**BEVERLY PRICE**  
in Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

LAURYN: Yeah.

BROTHER: And it's like undignified. I think they deserve a certain amount of dignity, a little more than they are getting, there should be something like a bulletin board, even a Panther Bulletin Board if necessary. And then the people could get the message along with maybe a weekly bulletin of what's going on in the community.



LAURYN: Where would you suggest such a spot?

BROTHER: I don't know, even if you could rent a spot, where they are now is very tacky. It's very run down and it's degrading to the people that are up there and I think that they've done a great deal for what they believe.



LAURYN: Which one of those posters do you relate to the most?

BROTHER: Not to anyone in particular, because I think that everyone of them represents an individual who has done what he thinks he could do and has put forth a whole lot of effort to accomplish what he believed in. And I have to appreciate all of them, I do appreciate all of them. They have their own different ways of

going about doing things, but they all have to be appreciated because they have given up a lot. Considering they are in exile, in jail or what have you.

(James Ramsey, 30 years old)

LAURYN: I want to ask you about your opinion of all those posters that have been put up on the walls like this by the Panthers.

BROTHER: I think the posters are relevant to the people here, and in an educational nature.

LAURYN: Do you think the people are getting a real message from these posters?

BROTHER: I think the people that are concerned are getting the message. I think all people are concerned at this time, because this is the time of confusion and therefore they reach their point of interest, they (the posters) reach everyone, they're relevant to everyone.

LAURYN: Do you read the Panther Paper?

BROTHER: The Panther Paper I purchase when it is attainable to me, as I say I just came home, I've been incarcerated for the past ten (10) months, so the Panther Paper and other political papers of that nature are not allowed under the conditions I was living under, I was in Westchester County Penitentiary.



**JACK CHISAM**

LAURYN: Had you heard anything about the Party while you were in there.

BROTHER: Yeah, I had read about the posters being posted and the run in you had with the municipal courts here, in the Daily August and other publications. From reading the New York Daily News, I heard about the New York 21, and the others I've been trying to keep abreast of the Panther Party as much as possible.

LAURYN: Could you kind of give the opinion of the Panther Party that the other brothers had, who were up there with you?

BROTHER: Most of them are at this time very sympathetic but then again as I say this is the time of confusion. There is so much being done and so much being said that

we can't wish to have everybody totally you know. That's why the posters are essential because I feel that we can get them for at least a moment of the day; somebody will relate to the relevancy of the Panther Party.

(Lauryn asked the brother about his opinion of a bulletin board being put up in one spot for the posters, so that the people can always find them and look at them. His reply was that it is better that the posters be put up like they are. This way when someone wakes up one morning, all of a sudden he is looking at it and at least for a moment he is confronted with the issue, whereas if it was only in one spot, it would be easier for the ones not so concerned to always avoid being confronted. He said that he thinks they should stay where they are.)



**JAMES RAMSEY**

**OTHER COMMENTS:**

Beverly Price said that the posters are very interesting to her, they mean to her that the brothers and sisters should get together and start fighting one another and stop fighting the oppressor.

Frank Wilson said the pictures give him the message of self-defense for himself and the people, and it's hard to talk to the brothers though cause they're strung out on dope, a lot of them.

The Black Panther, Black Community News Service is a paper for the people, by the people, and about the people. The only way for it to fulfill all these areas, we the members of the Black Panther Party who are responsible for the printing of this paper must ask the people for advice and criticism on the paper that they may have.

If you have any advice, criticism, questions about the Party, or any other information of something that has happened in your community or to someone in your community, that you think all the people should be aware of, then please send your information or comments in to the nearest Black Panther Party chapter, branch or N C C F nearest to you.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

Community Information Center  
45-B E. 3rd Street  
(914) 868-8430  
Lauryn Williams, B P P



One of the best ways to find out how the masses feel about the work Panther members are doing is to go out and ask them directly. Members of the Black Panther Party have been putting up posters all over the Black communities across the country. Everywhere there is a Black Panther Party Chapter or Branch you will find revolutionary posters done by our Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas. These posters are usually of brothers and sisters showing that the only way to deal with the problem of oppression of poor people is to pick up the gun or anything else that will stop, hinder, hurt, or paralyze these fascist dogs within our communities, who are trying to kill and terrorize the people in any way or manner that they can easily justify.



**FRANK WILSON**

You will also find pictures of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party among these posters, such as Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, of the Black Panther Party, David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, and others.

Here are some of the general comments from the brothers and sisters who live in the community where these posters have been put up. This interview was done in Mount Vernon, New York, on W. 3rd and 7th Ave. the heart of the Black community.

LAURYN: Sister, could I ask your opinion about all these posters that the Black Panther Party has posted up on the walls here?

SISTER: I think it looks bad the way the posters are put up.

LAURYN: What do you think about the pictures themselves?

SISTER: Well, they're not too bad, some of them I like. (She points to the ones she likes.)

LAURYN: Which ones don't you like?

SISTER: The one with "All Power to the People" on it.

LAURYN: What is it you don't like about the posters?

SISTER: It just looks phony to me.

LAURYN: How about the one with the brother holding the gun?

SISTER: That one looks Right On to me.

LAURYN: How about the one with the sister holding the gun?

SISTER: It's all right too.

LAURYN: You dig that one?

SISTER: Right On

(Jack Chisam, 31 years old)

LAURYN: What do you think about those posters that the Panthers have been putting up in the community?

BROTHER: I think they're fine.

LAURYN: What do you think about them?

BROTHER: Well, I think they should be put up in a place where they will be a little more dignified, maybe on a community bulletin board.

LAURYN: What do you mean when you say where they will be more dignified?

BROTHER: Because as you notice, the places that they are posted up on are stores that are closed, run down and will be probably be torn down eventually, right?

## THE PEOPLE OF WINSTON-SALEM SEIZE THE TIME TOWARDS A BETTER CONSTITUTION

From the very first moment Tucker's Raiders learned that the People of Winston-Salem were going to attend the Revolutionary People's Plenary Session they made an attempt to kill them. The pigs had informed local bus companies not to charter any buses going to Philadelphia. They feared that when the participating brothers and sisters returned with a higher level of revolutionary consciousness that the people would be even harder to deal with. However, the people of Winston-Salem were determined that they were going to attend at any expense so they traveled on trucks and in cars. In Philadelphia the brothers and sisters were once again exposed to tactics of the pigs. They saw how Rizzo's genocidal forces occupy the community in marked and unmarked cars, plainclothes and

armed to the gills whereas the people attending the Plenary Session were unarmed. They also got a good look at agent provocateurs when several agents tried to get revolutionary minded people to march on City Hall. This is something that Rizzo's blood-thirsty pigs had been waiting for all week. They had hopes of provoking a riot where the unarmed participants of the Plenary Session would suffer heavy losses. The masses were even tipped to his foul plan. When the pigs learned that they couldn't destroy the Plenary Session they decided to try to join the bandwagon. In Winston-Salem pig press published an article stating that the Panthers and the pigs worked together to make the Plenary Session a success. Even this out-right lie failed because it only exposed the pigs as being fools.

Some of the people from Winston-Salem who attended the Revolutionary People's Plenary have expressed a desire to further educate the masses about their need for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention and the Black Panther Party. The Plenary Session helped the people of Winston-Salem to understand the Black Panther Party's 10 Point Platform and Program better. Especially when Huey P. Newton, the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, ran it down to the masses. The people of Winston-Salem are very proud to have taken part in the making of a new Constitution that would benefit all poor and oppressed people. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE DEATH TO THE PIGS N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem, N.C. Fox



# 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.



**REVOLUTIONARY INFORMATION**

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
 CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_  
 CASH \_\_\_\_\_ MONEY ORDER \_\_\_\_\_ CHECK \_\_\_\_\_  
 PLUS POSTAGE \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE MAKE OUT YOUR OWN ITEM LIST



ALBUM -- Seize the Time by Elaine Brown, Black Panther Party. 3.50 each



ALBUM--Dig by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. 3.50 each

**POSTERS**



Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party 1.00 each



"You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail the revolution. You can run a freedom fighter around the country, but you can't run freedom fighting around the country. You can murder a liberator but you can't murder liberation." -- Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman, Ill Chapter of the Black Panther Party -- Born: August 30, 1948. Murdered by fascist pigs: December 4, 1969. .50 each



Chairman Bobby Seale, and Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton 1.00 each



"After three hundred years of slavery and caste oppression, unmitigated terror and torture, physical and otherwise--which continues today though opposed by every means possible of human conception--while all the time remaining faithful to this government in time of war and peace, we feel the United Nations must give a hearing to the plight of Black Americans." --Brother Malcolm (left to right) Eldridge Cleaver, Huey P. Newton, Malcolm X; Bobby Seale 1.00 each



**PIGS**  
 "If we worry about what's going to happen to us, we couldn't accomplish anything...Justice is gonna come when the masses of people rise up and see justice done...The more they try to come down on us, the more we'll expose them for what they are...PIGS." Chairman Bobby Seale .25 each



Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party 1.00 each



Chairman Bobby Seale, Black Panther Party 1.00 each



Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party 1.00 each



Black Studies .10 each



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"The revolution one wins or one dies." .10 each



"Each one teach one" .10 each



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"Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory." -- Che Guevara .10 each



Only on the bones of the oppressors can the people's purposes be founded -- Only the blood of the oppressors can fertilize the soil for the people's self-rule. .10 each



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I SHO NUF KNOWS ONE  
THING I'S GONNA  
HAVE SOME FREEDOM ONE  
WAY OR NUDDER EVEN  
IF I HALF TO DIE FOR IT.

