

THE

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BLACK PANTHER

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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

P.O. BOX 8641
EMERYVILLE BRANCH
OAKLAND CALIF., 94608

STOKELY CARMICHAEL DRAFTED!

by Executive Mandate

no. 2

STOKELY CARMICHAEL; THE man who stood before the world and pledged that he would rather go to prison than be drafted has finally been drafted! Stokely is on record as saying "Hell No! We won't go!" It takes great courage to stand up before the most powerful and corrupt regime ever known to history and refuse to be impressed into the roll of a hired killer for the International Public Enemy Number One. It is even more remarkable to find a man who is willing to step forward and be counted while the overwhelming majority of the other people submitted blindly and unquestioningly to insane edicts vomited up by the rotten power structure.

When Stokely first took his stand against the draft, he was virtually the only internationally known Afro-American leader to do so. Ironically enough, now that other prominent Afro-Americans, like Muhammad Ali, Martin Luther King, and Redd Fox, have fallen in behind him, Stokely has been served with a draft notice.

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CARL DOWELL, A HARDCORE BLACK PANTHER, STANDS POINT AT A BLACK PANTHER RALLY



guns baby guns

N. RICHMOND RALLY

The people of North Richmond have the spirit of revolution. They are tired of the intolerable and inhumane conditions under which they are forced to live. They are sick and tired of being poor and powerless.

Grassroot elements of the Black Community of North Richmond have united with the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is beginning the peoples drive for incorpor-

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SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE

Merritt College Refuses Opportunity To Keep Promise To Black Students

MERRITT COLLEGE RACISM

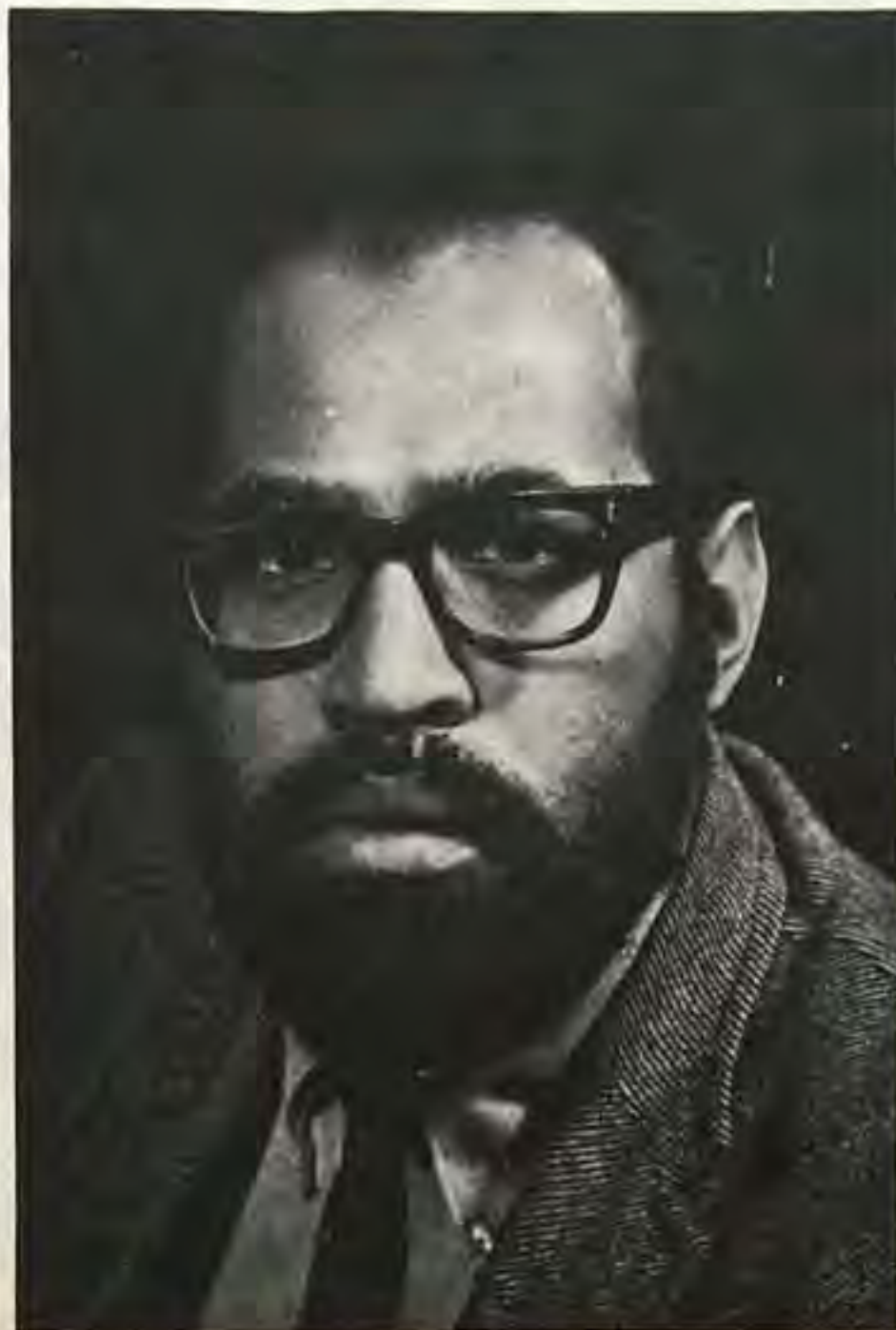
OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

Black Brothers and Sisters: Merritt College and the President of Merritt College have lied to the Black Students. Actions on the part of the College in the past two weeks have implied that the attitude of the President of Merritt College is the "Black Community can go to hell". We feel that the white dogs have at last been flushed out of their liberal camouflage by a Black Brother who forced them to match their words with deeds. Now dig this, the Brother was so uptight and so qualified that some white professors at Merritt College asked the Brother to apply for the job of Dean of Student Personnel and Community Services.

We interviewed Brother Sylvester Hodges who was the only blood on the committee that screened the job applicants and he said, "Walton's oral and written presentation was beautiful! That cat cooked! His written presentation was so detailed, thorough and complete that many of the questions we were asking the White applicants were answered by Walton's paper before he came in the room to interview with us in person. I was proud of the confident and articulate manner in which he answered the many questions fired at him in the interview. I personally feel that he was the best candidate for the position and that he was more than qualified for the position".

When our reporter asked Brother Hodges how he thought the Black Community would react when the incident was reported, he replied, "The Black Community will never forgive them for this and will feel that the administration has been lying all along. Actions speak louder than words, and their actions say that they are not going to put a qualified Black person who represents the views of Black People in a Dean level administrative position. No matter what whites say, Black people can only go on what whites do and they have done us wrong".

The Black Panther says that the College and its President have lied; in the past Black Students demands for Black administrators were always met with the same tired, old, white-assed phrase, "We will bend over backwards to find and hire a qualified Black person if any administrative vacancies occur, but we have such a difficult time finding qualified 'minority' persons who are willing to come to Merritt College on the salaries that we pay."



BROTHER SID WALTON, COUNSELOR AT MERRITT COLLEGE APPLIED FOR POSITION AT THE COLLEGE AS DEAN OF STUDENT PERSONNEL. HE WAS REJECTED BECAUSE HE IS BLACK.

The Black Panther interviewed Brother Sid Walton, a counselor at Merritt College, and asked him for a statement. He presented this newspaper with the following copy of his presentation to the screening committee:

TO: Committee for screening of applicants for the position of Dean of Students Personnel Services and Community Relations

FROM: Sid Walton

SUBJECT: Factors to consider concerning my application.

DATE: June 21, 1967

The first point to which I would like to address myself is that of qualifications

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A Letter To You Brothers & Sisters

This is a personal letter to all Black Brothers and Sisters. I want to 'pull your coat' to a very beautiful organization, that is doing a very beautiful thing for Black Brothers and Sisters in their revolutionary struggle against white racism and oppression nationally and internationally.

Black Brothers and Sisters, we are fighting a formidable foe when we talk about fighting this American honky. But he can be beaten, and he will be beaten, and revolutionary changes made in his system. His imperialistic and colonialistic system is crumbling around the world. He can not fight non-white brothers all around the world, and fight Black Brothers and Sisters in his own backyard.

Now Black Brothers and Sisters, I have been in many organizations which have been dedicated to the struggle against racism and exploitation in this country. However, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is different from any other organization of which I have personal knowledge. It is an organization that brings the struggle to the highest level of consciousness. It is an organization armed with revolutionary arms and tactics--which is equipped to smash this honky by any means necessary.

Other Black Brothers and Sisters see this! I was at our rally in North Richmond, and for the first time I saw Black Brothers and Sisters from the community, from the people, see something that they could dig---be a part of---and know was for the right thing. That's the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Can you dig it!

Yours in Black Unity,

Earl Anthony
Earl Anthony

Potrero Hill Battle Reinforced By THE BLACK PANTHERS

By: Earl Anthony

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense has moved into the Potrero Hill (San Francisco) community to help bring the white racist dog power structure to its knees. It is coming to the assistance of the brave and courageous black brothers and sisters of the Potrero Hill community, who have waged a long and intense battle against the racist bloodsuckers who parasite off their community.

Black brothers and sisters of Potrero Hill have been forced to live in broken down, rundown World War II housing, which is unfit for any human--while in a

tight circle around them there are white families in decent, neat, middle class housing--Brothers and Sisters have been forced to live with rats, that are as big as cats, and that have the audacity, as the story goes, to play with the black children as if they were their inherited pets. They have been forced into the dehumanizing position of being unable to gain employment, while in the outer circle around their community lie many of the factories, industries, and vital productive resources that provide the life blood for the white racist power structure of San Francisco. The white

racist blood suckers come into Potrero Hill everyday to steal the resources for their own fat bellies, while unemployment is rampant in the area

Because of these inhumane and intolerable conditions there have been many confrontations between white racists and their power machinery, and the brothers and sisters of Potrero within the last few months. The Potrero Hill Community Action Committee (CAC) has been engaged in a sustained battle with the San Francisco Public Housing to relinquish some of their powers to the people who live in public housing.

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Support THE REVOLUTION

Sisters:

It is our duty to back up our men in the struggle against the racist power structure. It is not necessary to carry a gun or to fight along side them against the racist dogs when they go out to battle, but it is most important to let him know that YOU are his woman, and behind him in spirit and mind. This is the most important thing to a revolutionary soldier. A woman can make her man,

or break him.

There are various things that the woman in the back ground can do to help the revolutionary struggle; there are papers to sell, donations to collect for GUNS; there is a lot of secretarial work that must be done in order to keep the BLACK PANTHER newspaper rolling so that the black community may be aware of the man's every move. WE MUST SUPPORT OUR MEN. We are their backbone.

Yours in Guns for unity

IN DEFENSE OF SELFDEFENSE

BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE
HUEY P. NEWTON

Historically the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors' sponsor radio programs, gives space in its racist newspapers, and have shown them the luxury only enjoyed by the oppressor. The black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive — non-violent. At any moment that these so-called black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically there have been a few black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates

MINISTER OF DEFENSE



the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contended that black people are in the peculiar position where in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life they must employ no tactic that will make the oppressor whites angry. This view holds that black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs, because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So black people may protest but not protect. They can complain but not cut and shoot. In short, black people must at all cost remain non-violent.

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed are bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the black masses and recommended this response to the

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WHAT WE WANT NOW!

WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.
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.
6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MEN TO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.
7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.
8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.
9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OF PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES. AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.
10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.
2. 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 BUSINESS MEN WILL NOT GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT, THEN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BUSINESS MEN 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 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 RETRIBUTION 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 6,000,000 JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THE SLAUGHTER OF OVER 50,000,000 BLACK PEOPLE; THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.
4. 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 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 BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO FIGHT IN THE MILITARY SERVICE TO DEFEND A RACIST GOVERNMENT THAT DOES NOT PROTECT

WHAT WE BELIEVE

- 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 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 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVES US A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.
 8. 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 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. WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS 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 SEPARATION. WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. 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 PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE 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 DISPOSE TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. BUT WHEN A LONG TRAIN OF ABUSES AND USURPATIONS, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT, EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

"The Spirit of The People is Greater Than The Man's Technology"



Audry Hudson is the secretary of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense and a member of the editorial staff of the Black Panther newspaper. Besides being very beautiful to look at, (as you can see for yourself) the sister is a very beautiful person. She has gotten herself together and enlisted in the struggle for the total liberation of her people. She is a welcomed addition to the swelling ranks of the Vanguard Party of the black liberation struggle. If there are any more Audry's out there - and we know there are - please step forward and take your rightful place beside our Audry so that we can bring the final curtain down on the American Nightmare.



The great lesson of the invincibility of guerilla warfare is catching on among the masses of the dispossed; The galvanization of the national spirit; the preparation for more difficult tasks; for resistance to more violent repression; hate as a factor in the struggle; intransigent hate for the enemy, which takes one beyond the natural limitations of a human being and converts one into an effective, violent, single-minded, cold killing machine.

Our soldiers must be like that; a people without hate can not triumph over a brutal enemy.

---Che Guevarra

THE FOLLOWING IS A NEWS RELEASE FROM THE NEW YORK SNCC OFFICE:

SNCC

June 13, 1967

Statement to Afro-Asian Missions to the United Nations on June 12, 1967, was released today by James Forman, Director of International Affairs for SNCC (SNICK).

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

We reject the position of the United States government that intolerable racism in the United States is a purely domestic concern. We find this claim has hypocritical as the claim of the racist government of South Africa that its suppression of the human rights of 13,000,00 Africans is an internal matter, or a similar claim by the government of Portugal. Such claims are typical of colonial powers. We maintain that unwarranted and brutal suppression of black people in the United States is a matter of international concern. We are therefore addressing to you an appeal for your moral support, in the form of direct and indirect pressure upon that government which loudly proclaims its concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people yet will not guarantee basic human rights to black people in this country. We make this

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Potrero Hill

who are in the best position to identify the needs of the people in housing. When the racist power structure realized that the CAC's rent strike was gaining momentum, and that the people were preparing for a protracted fight, they set up a series of meaningless meetings, and wanted to negotiate toward some sterile concessions. When the militant brothers and sisters of the CAC rejected these sterile attempts at castrating their fight, the Housing Authority tried an old colonial trick --they questioned the CAC's right to speak for the people. This delaying tactic was not effective, because over 30% of the people have joined the CAC on the rent strike, and the majority of the others are sympathetic.

About two months ago, a group of racists came driving through Potrero Hill shooting, and shouting "niggers". After they drove through the community, they reversed and intended to attempt the same wild west show again. This time they were met by the black brothers of Potrero Hill, who returned their fire. Their car was overturned and they ran. Casualty report: One physically wounded racist, and four racists with permanently damaged feelings. The racist dog police came. The black brothers stood their ground when the racist dog police asked them to disburse because they were disturbing the peace. The brothers replied that the homes that they were allegedly disturbing were their homes. The brothers were armed and righteously ready.

These and other incidents have shown the willingness of black brothers and sisters of Potrero Hill to fight racism wherever, and whatever form it may present itself. Saturday, June 24, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense held a street rally in Potrero Hill, in which the Party pledged its support and assistance to the people of the community in bringing this white racist dog to his knees--by any means necessary.

appeal in the spirit of SNCC's declaration, made formal in May, 1967, that it is a Human Rights organization concerned with human rights not only in the United States but throughout the world.

Needless to say, the suppression of the human rights of black people is a long-standing reality in this country. The immediate basis for our appeal is the recent attacks on black people in Prattville, Alabama, about which we would like to inform you at this time;

On the afternoon of Sunday, June 12, a meeting of black people to discuss political organizing was held on the grounds of the St. Mark's church in Prattville, Alabama, a small town located in Autauga County, about 40 miles from Montgomery. It is in this county that Mrs. "Ladybird" Johnson has extensive land holdings. The meeting was being addressed by former SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael for speaking of "Black Power" to the gathering. The officer was Ken Hill, who earlier this year was accused of murdering a black prisoner in the Prattville jail (he was later cleared despite strong evidence of guilt). Hill repeatedly harassed Brother Carmichael for saying "Black Power" and finally arrested him on charges of disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace. This was at approximately 5 p.m.

WORDS WE LOVE FROM MR. HYDROGEN BOMB, MAO TSE-TUNG

August 8, 1963

An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination in the south of the United States, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The American Negroes are awakening and their re-

sistance is becoming stronger. In recent years there has been a continuous expansion in the mass struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The authorities used armed force against them, and there resulted the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held "sit-in" demonstrations protesting against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

There are more than 19 million Negroes in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total population. They are enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against--such is their position in society. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes are deprived of their right to vote. In general, it is only the most back-breaking and despised jobs that are open to them. Their average wages are no more than a third or a half those of the white people. The ratio of unemployment among them is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Negroes are frequently and arbitrarily arrested, beaten up and murdered by the U.S. authorities at various levels and by members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half of the American Negroes are concentrated in eleven states which rapidly spread to many states.

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Black people in Prattville, angered by the arrest, moved swiftly to protest it at the jail and elsewhere. Gunfire was exchanged by black and white residents. Later that evening, a meeting of black people was taking place in the home of Mr. Daniel Hauser, a local resident. KU KLUX KLANSMEN and other whites began firing on the house, where there were approximately 40 persons, the majority of them Women and Children. SNCC Executive Secretary, Stanley Wise and Alabama Field Secretary, Johnny Jackson were also in the house. The police cordoned off a large area of the community; newsmen and others were not allowed through. A unit of the National Guard arrived from Montgomery. The house remained under siege until approximately 4 a.m. The local telephone operator repeatedly cut off calls between the house and SNCC staff as well as newsmen. Rumors that Stokely Carmichael had been lynched spread in the town.

At about 4 a.m., police ordered those in the house outside. Stanley Wise, together with Theophilus Smith and Ulysses Nunley, two Alabama volunteers working with SNCC, were arrested on a charge of inciting to riot. The other black people went back into

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1:00 P.M.
June 29, 1967

**STOKELY
DRAFTED
BY B.P.P.S.D.**

On June 29, 1967, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense, called a press conference on the steps of the San Francisco Hall of Justice. Bobby Seale doesn't call a press conference very often, but when he does you can believe that he has something to say worth hearing.

Standing before the T.V. cameras, Bobby unrolled a scroll and began to read. The scroll which he read appears in full on page 6 of this paper. As he had been instructed to do, by the Minister of Defense, Bobby read the entire scroll and then concluded the press conference with this statement: "I know you have questions you want answered, but there is only one question that is pertinent at this time, and that is this: Whose Authority and Program is Stokely Carmichael going to acknowledge, that of the



warmonger Lyndon Baines Johnson or Minister of Self Defense, Huey P. Newton." With that statement, Bobby went to his car and left, refusing to answer the questions that the reporters insisted on raising, despite the fact that Bobby had made it clear that he had said all that he had to say.

The reporters grew very angry and got their heads together and reached the decision that they would teach the Black Panthers a lesson by refusing to report the statement delivered by Bobby. The only lesson which the Black Panthers learned from all this is that the mass media of this racist country is controlled by dog capitalist exploiters and they very carefully regulate everything that is communicated to the public. The Black Panther Party For Self Defense has no respect for the mass media of this country and has every intention of breaking the control over what black people hear over the news media.

In this specific instance, the Black Panther Party wanted the news to go out that Stokely Carmichael has been drafted by the Minister of Defense. The dogs who control the mass media evidently concluded that the news of Stokely's draft should not be publicized because it would not be in their best interest. It is in the interest of black people to know that Stokely has been drafted. Whether the controllers of the mass media like it or not, the whole world is going to know about this event.

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

Oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The blacks in the colony who were wed to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical - i.e., less dangerous - spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all or, better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically, he does the next best thing and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. They are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, the endorsed spokesmen, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables and to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect him from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor,

will certainly provoke a bloodbath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressor and the endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If anything, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the black masses. The black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy and they leap into a rash act - murder, imprisonment, or exile - to silence the implacables and get their show back onto the road.

The masses of black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people

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Guns

The weapons recommended by the Black Panther Party For Self Defense are as follows:

GUNS BABY GUNS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Army 45 | Army 45 will stop all jive |
| 2) Carbine | Buckshots will down the cops |
| 3) 12 guage magnum shotguns with 18" barrell. Preferably the brand of High Standard | P38 will open Prison gates |
| 4) M16 | Carbine will stop a war machine |
| 5) 357 Magnum pistols | 357 will win us our heaven |
| 6) P38 | And if you don't believe in lead, you are already dead |

BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE HUEY P. NEWTON

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Merritt Reneges

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of articulating in a meaningful and supportive manner the function and role of Student Personnel Services to the general college staff and to the community at large.

The third point to which I wish to address myself is that of Community Relations and I would like to open this topic by quoting from Mr. Wollenberg's article in the PFT Newsletter concerning Junior Colleges and the Urban Community.

"...one theme that ran through all of the presentations at the San Francisco conference...was that the status quo in urban America must be radically transformed...It is obvious, then, that the urban junior college has an obligation to serve those sections of the community that are agitating for change as well as serving the 'powers that be'...We must meet our responsibilities to the community that ought to be as well as to the community that is."

The present Black population in Oakland's public elementary schools is about 53%. According to the US Commission on Civil Rights, once any school becomes half Negro, it tends rapidly to deteriorate in terms of services and quality education.

It could be just a question of a few years before most of the elementary and subsequently the high schools in Oakland become virtually all Black as the white families depart for the suburbs or enroll their children in private schools.

The community relations problems facing Merritt College are the fault of racial isolation and the ineptness of an educational system which is just becoming aware of the problems of Black Americans. Any attempt to put a non-Black person in this position will be looked upon by the growing Black community as another attempt to evade the responsibility borne out by the above number of Black elementary pupils enrolled in Oakland's schools.

The only way towards racial harmony in this society is to end the age-old pattern of frustrating the Black masses by placing in key administrative positions those persons who must articulate our message for us but who in essence don't really understand or agree with our message.

The Black masses are aware of the usual process whereby a so-called Negro is selected by the establishment, made prominent, built-up, publicized, and made a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for the "Negroes"--a Negro Leader. The establishment uses these "Negro Leaders" against the Black revolution--and that's just what this is all about, it's a Black revolution. White--oriented persons will only worsen the situation in the long run because they didn't start this Black movement and they certainly could not stop it. The people in the Black community are doing things on their own' they are running ahead of the so-called "Negro Leaders".

Dr. Redford's letter of April 21, 1967 to Bruce Malloy confirms this point of view wherein he states that, "Negro leaders who have advised with us...have on occasion emphasized that a black person who identified with the Caucasian community may be more of a problem than a help."

The Black masses are also aware of the divide and conquer methods used by whites when they readily seek "Negroes" to disagree with the position taken by a Black person and then use this "Well, all Negroes don't agree with your position," approach to continue doing things in a white--oriented Black frustrating manner.

Show me a single person of Afro-American origin who disagrees in essence with anything that I am presenting to this committee or with anything which I have presented to Merritt College for the Black Community and I will show you a person who has been psychologically raped of his dignity as a man and who essentially hates himself because he is Black and can never become white except in manner and desire (fantasy).

There is the definite possibility that my application will be considered by some as another attempt on the part of the Black Community to coerce or pressure the College into hiring someone it doesn't want. My only response to such thinking is that I am merely trying to offer Merritt College a chance to show thinking is that I am merely trying to offer Merritt College a chance to show good faith to its promises made to Black Students. These students do not want an establishment person or just anyone with a minority name,

they want someone with whom they can identify, someone who lives in the ghetto with them, someone who socializes with them on a regular basis and not on the infrequent, condescending "See, I'm with you" basis which is phony, strained and insulting to the Black Community. The Black Community is fighting against the subtlety of our "liberal friends" who will wine and dine with us, work with us, and still discriminate against us when it comes to money and decision-making power.

The fourth point to which I wish to address myself is a response to points mentioned in the Black Personnel Committee memo to Merritt Council. I agree with III wherein it is stated that the "Black Community Wants and Needs a Black Administrator Now."

Item IV "Administrative positions do not come up all the time" is a fact borne out again by Dr. Redford's April 21st, letter wherein he states, "we are making so few appointments these days in any of the categories you mention that the numbers are almost negligible. As a matter of fact, not only are we limited from expanding our staff in any of these categories, but also we probably shall have to reduce the present numbers even though we would like to make replacements wherever someone resigns or retires." He goes on to state in the same letter that, "Perhaps the biggest problem we run into in regard to employment of professionals from the minority groups is that any of these individuals who are qualified are in such demand that they are not interested in the salaries which we pay in the Peralta Junior College District...I do want to state publicly that we have done everything possible and will continue to do everything possible to correct this imbalance."

I perceive Dr. Redford's above statements as all the more reason why this committee should recommend my appointment to the position of Dean of Student Personnel and Community Relations.

All of the functions under V seem to fall within the scope of the criteria listed for the Dean of Student Personnel and Community Relations; thus, I can see no reason for duplicating the duties of an existing position, especially in view of budget limitations and the fact that there will be no new "positions that will be made available by the change over to the quarter system." The only practical alternative to V is to select a Black person to replace Dean Olsen.

In conclusion, I would like to bring into consideration some personal and miscellaneous points.

Prior to coming to Merritt College (April 1965 to be exact), I conferred with Mr. Wes Sears, President of the newly formed Fremont-Newark Junior College District, and Dr. Marilyn Blawie, board member and Professor of Political Science at Cal-State College Hayward, concerning a proposed state-wide survey of all the state junior college Student Personnel Departments. With Mr. Sears approval, I proceeded to conduct the survey of the, then 78, junior colleges. Approximately 48 questionnaires were returned with varying amounts of information which I still have available for use by Merritt College. The original purpose of the survey was to gather information to be utilized had I decided to apply for the position of Director of Counseling when the college opened.

One of my strong personal traits which I haven't discussed yet is my ability to transcend race in relation to the duties of my position. This is evidenced by the fact that White students as well as Black students have requested to be transferred to me for counseling services. Surely, this is evidence that students recognize my basic respect for the dignity of each individual human being. The problems of students don't stop at race; therefore I must stand ready to transcend race in order to be of help to that person, and I might add, I feel comfortable in assuming this role.

Another example of my basic ability to place duty over race is evidenced by my efforts to secure an outstanding reading teacher for Merritt College. Through my efforts a Caucasian individual was sold on the program at Merritt College, encouraged to complete work on his doctorate degree, and finally encouraged to apply for and interview for the position of reading teacher. I saw in this person basic human worth and recognized his ability to help students learn to read.

A final point that I would like to make is that I live in the Black Community surrounding Merritt College--five blocks from Merritt to be exact. The families living on the street are predominantly Black. In essence, what I'm saying is that I am a part of the Black Community which is dedicated to making our community "the community that ought to be". In some way, I hope to help destroy the myth held

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MAO TSE-TUNG

continued from page 4

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enroll in colleges, and the authorities greeted them with a blood bath.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety to U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at the take part in the discrimination against Negroes and their persecution; it even sends troops to suppress them. On the other hand, in its attempt to lull the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country, the Kennedy Administration is parading as an advocate of the "defence of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes", is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and is proposing the "civil rights legislation" to Congress. But more and more Negroes are seeing through these tactics of the Kennedy Administration. The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom of the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U. S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial dis-

Continued To Page 12

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Merritt College Reneges

Continued From Page 2

for the position as determined by Dr. Redford's memo of June 12, 1967.

I have both the credentials that the State of California Education Code require for the position, and in addition, I feel that the other qualifications enumerated by Dr. Redford qualify me for serious consideration and recommendation for the position.

The noting that the responsibilities of the position were being expanded to include our relations with schools, community agencies, and similar groups called to mind that the College through its administrators has on occasion requested me to represent the College as a "Negro" faculty member. On one particular occasion when some of the more active Black students were "articulating" their views on issues concerning Black students I was requested to investigate the situation which supposedly had placed the administrator involved in a threatening situation with overtones of racial friction should be interfere in any particular manner.

The second point to which I would like to address myself is to the desired qualifications presented by a large segment of Student Personnel Services, namely the Counseling Department. To the best of my knowledge, these desired qualifications represent the feeling of Health Services, Placement Services, and Special Services.

Having been active in the development of the list of desired qualifications, it is obvious that I am in total agreement with the criteria. The manner in which the qualifications were determined serves to reinforce my belief that the Student Personnel Services can and should operate on a democratic basis involving the staff in the decision-making process.

It is my sincere belief that:

- (1) I have the ability to communicate freely and openly in all matters of concern to the staff. My personality is open, frank and honest; and, I tend to operate on a conscious level.
- (2) In-service training should be a continuous and creative process.
- (3) The ideas of all people within the designated area covered by the position are valuable and should not be cut off by institutional or authoritarian rigidity. One should be flexible enough to objectively consider the thinking of all concerned in the decision-making process and I will work to this end.
- (4) The improvement and implementation of interpersonal relations is vital to the success of all aspects of Merritt College and the community in general, and Student Personnel Services specifically.
- (5) Evidence presented at the conference entitled "Privacy in a Crowding World" requires the school administration to examine closely the means of protecting the confidentiality of staff and students. As we increase in size and enrollment these problems will become more complex.
- (6) One should take advantage of the diverse opinions, personalities and varieties of strengths of persons in Student Personnel Services in order to obtain an effective, harmonious and cohesive working unit.
- (7) Student Personnel Services and Community Relations must develop the ability to understand the moods and feelings of the contemporary student population in general and specifically the Black Student population.
- (8) The person appointed to the position should be in close and frequent contact with the staff.
- (9) The most vital task facing the new Dean of Student Personnel and Community Relations is that

Continued To Page 8

the house about an hour later and remained there until late in the Morning, June 12.

That morning, Johnny Jackson of SNCC reported that the Alabama State Patrol had "taken over the town" and was searching people's homes, forcing black people on the street into their houses, and denying entry to the town by persons from out of town. Mr. John Hulett, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Party, was badly beaten in front of the Hauser home; Mr. Hauser himself was also picked up and beaten; SNCC worker Worth Long was beaten.

Throughout the night, SNCC officials had made appeals to the Justice Department for federal protection. Mr. John Doar of that Department informed the national office of SNCC in Atlanta that people were "bothering" him. Doar's response typifies the attitude of the federal government in this and similar situations which have faced black people.

Autauga County, in which Prattville is located, forms part of the Alabama "Black Belt" where SNCC has been working since 1963. This area is thus called because of its high proportion of black residents and its rich black soil. It is equally notable for widespread terrorism, particularly by the KU KLUX KLAN, and economic exploitation of black people which has kept them in conditions of extreme poverty for many years. Autauga County is adjacent to Lowndes County, where the first county Freedom Organization ran candidates under the black panther ballot symbol in November, 1966. They won sufficient votes to become an official county political party. SNCC has helped to build such parties in other areas of Black Belt, Alabama, always in the face of economic intimidation and the threat of death to any black person who dares to register to vote or otherwise engage in political activity. Racist suppression, however, is by no means limited to Alabama.

Early in the morning of June 12, SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown issued a brief statement from Chicago: "If anything happens to the black people in the house in Prattville, SNCC will call for full retaliation by the black community. We further feel that this is part of America's Gestapo tactics to destroy SNCC and to commit genocide against black people."

Later that morning, at a press conference in Atlanta, Brother Brown stated "Our course of action has been set. We will no longer sit back and let black people be killed by murderers who hide behind sheets or behind the badge of the law. It is clear that the law cannot and will not protect black people. This is no accident. The racist attitude completely dominates their relationship to the

Continued To page 9

(Los Angeles)

A white racist dog cop jumped on the relatives of a Black Brother in Watts. When the Black Brother came to his door with a shotgun, he was shot down in cold blood by the white racist dog cop.

PANTHER COMMENT:

COULD THE BROTHER HAVE LOST MORE IF HE HAD SHOT FIRST?

(Buffalo, New York)

On June 28, Black Brothers and Sisters revolted in the streets of this city against the white racist power structure. First report said that two cops were injured in the revolt.

PANTHER COMMENT:

WE SUPPORT THE RESISTANCE OF THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF BUFFALO. SOCK IT TO THEM!

(Atlanta, Georgia)

The Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee(SNCC) is launching a national campaign to assist the sixteen (16) Black Brothers charged with first degree murder of a racist dog cop in the Texas Southern University (TSU) revolt of last month.

PANTHER COMMENT:

PANTHERS FIND THE BROTHERS NOT GUILTY.

(Peoples Republic of China)

Chairman Mao Tse Tung and the Brothers and Sisters of China exploded their first thermal nuclear hydrogen bomb.

PANTHER COMMENT:

WHAT WAS CHAIRMAN MAO SAYING TO THE RACIST DOGS BY EXPLODING THE BOMB AT THIS TIME?!

(Los Angeles)

An Alliance of Black organizations in this city gave the racist dog police department 72 hours to comply with a 14 point ultimatum. If the racist dogs do not comply the Brothers say the dogs "will suffer the consequences."

PANTHER COMMENT:

TOLERATION OF THE RACIST OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY OF THE POLICE FORCE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAS COME TO AN END. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE REALIZES THAT COMPLETE ALLEVIATION OF THIS BRUTALITY WILL NOT CEASE UNTIL COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF THE RACIST OCCUPYING ARMY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

(Houston, Texas)

Brave and courageous brother Muhammed Ali was convicted by an all white jury and sentenced to five (5) years in prison for refusing to be a slave and mercenary for the white slave master. The battle is not over.

PANTHER COMMENT:

IF A MAN IS JUSTIFIED IN RESISTING THE DRAFT, ISN'T HE JUSTIFIED IN RESISTING ARREST FOR RESISTING THE DRAFT?

(Mississippi)

James Meredith just completed his march against fear through Mississippi.

PANTHER COMMENT:

BUT CAN HE WALK THROUGH HARLEM?

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FOR SELF DEFENSE

HEADQUARTERS: OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

EXECUTIVE MANDATE NO. 2

So Let This Be Heard . . .

Brother Stokely Carmichael:

Because you have distinguished yourself in the struggle for the total liberation of Black People from oppression in racist white America;

Because you have acted courageously and shown great fortitude under the most adverse circumstances;

Because you have proven yourself as a true revolutionary guided by a great feeling of love for our people;

Because you have set such a fine example, in the tradition of Brother Malcolm, of dedicating your entire life to the struggle of Black Liberation, inspiring our youth and providing a model for others to emulate;

Because you have refused to serve in the oppressor's racist mercenary aggressive war machine, showing that you know who your true friends and enemies are;

Because of your new endeavor to organize and liberate the Crown Colony of Washington, D. C., you will inevitably be forced to confront, deal with, and conquer the racist Washington Police Department which functions as the protector of the racist dog power structure, occupying the Black Community in the same manner and for the same reasons that the racist U. S. Armed Forces occupy South Vietnam;

You are hereby drafted into the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, invested with the rank of Field Marshall, delegated the following authority, power and responsibility:

To establish revolutionary law, order and justice in the territory lying between the Continental Divide East to the Atlantic Ocean; North of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Canadian Border; South of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Gulf of Mexico.

. . . So Let It Be Done:

June 29, 1967



Huey P. Newton
Huey P. Newton,
Minister of Defense

in defense of selfdefense

Continued From Page 7

have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: Politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first their basic needs: food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones. The black leaders endorsed by the power structure have attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40,000 home; being able to sit near whitepeople in a restaurant (while in fact, the black masses have not been able to pay the rent on a \$40.00 rat infested hovel).

The black leaders have lead the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force in self-sacrificing demonstrations. The black people realize

brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous, deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate black leaders. The community realize that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self-defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and followership of the downtrodden black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Grassroots -- the downtrodden of the black community, even though they rejected the handpicked hankerchief heads endorsed by the power structure, the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in a long resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen that could be dealt with in no other way than precisely in the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokes-

men in a bag that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the black masses the historical, stupendous victory of black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the black masses denied this victory. But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesmen. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun. And, taking first things first, are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.



THIS IS WHY NORTH RICHMOND IS BLACK PANTHER TERRITORY. GUNS IN THE HANDS OF BLACK MEN CAN CHANGE ALL THIS. GUNS. GUNS.

Continued From Page 1

RALLY IN N. RICHMOND

ation of the North Richmond area.

At a rally on June 24, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, and chairman Bobby Seale, spelled out the program which will bring about the revolutionary change of incorporation of a black community.

The community of North Richmond is in full support of the plan to incorporate their community. The June 24 Panther rally was attended by well over a hundred revolutionary black brothers and sisters, who will show that the spirit of the people will always reign supreme.

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AND
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Captain Hawk

In working for the Black Panther Party For Self Defense, I have met some very interesting people. Because the Party is based on the grassroots level of the black community, the people with whom

Continued To Page 10

POETRY: IN SEARCH OF MYSELF and DIG IT BABY

IN SEARCH OF MYSELF

By Avotcja Ackerman --July 1965

And, while roaming the world in search of myself
I chanced upon a full length mirror.
I had hoped I would find myself there.
But all I saw was a black, empty hole ----
---- And it made me cry

So I sailed to England in search of that which is me,
And I hitch-hiked across Europe
I thought I could lose the black, empty hole ----
---- in a sea of white.

But the white sea greeted me with chains, and teargas,
and guns
---- And the hole just grew larger.

And then someone said, ---- "Shut up woman, you'll wake
the dead!"

But how do you cry softly, when you're just a black,
empty hole?

And where do you run next, when you don't know why
you're running?

And what do you look for, when you're looking for
yourself?

And how do you wake the living?

I next ran east to Africa, and I swam in a sea of black.
And I felt at home there.

And in the faces of the black sea, I saw reflections----
---- of culture, pride, and pyramids.

I ran to the mirror, and the empty hole had gone,----
---- And I smiled back at myself!

DIG IT BABY

By Chico Grant

Black Brothers and Black Sisters
Listen to what I say,
The whiteman is getting funkier
each and every day;
So wake up Black People
Stop playing the fool,
Whitey is out to get you
And he don't play by the rules;
Now you and I both know that
The pig has always been on top,
And to bring him down baby
Will take more than sticks & Rocks;
Come out of the Ghettos,
Come out of the Shacks,
Lets get together brother
And become one hell of a
Big BLACK CAT. (BLACK PANTHER)

NEWS RELEASE:

Continued From Page 5

black community and is blatantly exemplified by their actions. We recognize and accept yesterday's action by racist white America as a declaration of war. We feel that this is a part of America's gestapo tactics to destroy SNCC and to commit genocide against black people. We are calling for full retaliation from the black community across America. We blame Lyndon Johnson. We extend a call for black brothers now serving in Vietnam to come home to the defence of their mothers and families. This is their fight. We say to brothers in the armed forces, "If you can die defending your motherland, you can die defending your mother. It appears that Alabama has been chosen as the starting battleground for America's race war. This is both fitting and appropriate. For next to America's Vietnam action Alabama polls the highest death toll of black man."

Yours in brotherhood,

James Forman

S. C. ANDERSON WRITES FROM NEW YORK
CONCERNING (R.A.M.) REVOLUTIONARY
ACTION MOVEMENT AND B. P. S. D. POSSIBLY
BEING THE SAME

June 18, 1967

see brothers who are in to a RAM-type paramilitary thing as paranoid about the man and who is the man; as full of so much revolutionary rhetoric and teachings of Bandung revolutionary Brothers who had to fight dictatorships and monarchies and who had the hills to retreat to that these brothers cannot even rap to a brother on the street without coming across lame or condescending. I think a reason for this is that Max Stanford type brothers have been "out there" for some time and are now beginning to suffer from (psychological) battle fatigue. I say all this to say: I sense an incorrect direction in your party. I get this from digging on your actions with arms: you revealed to the Man that you do possess guns of at least amount. This means that he is even more prepared for you on the physical confrontation level. From your writings that reveal some very good ideas, there strikes a sound of romanticism that RAM still possesses. Like I mentioned earlier, if you a self defense group (I think that is what your name implies) you are more limited, in terms of the people, than a political organization which is essentially an educational organization. This is a criticism out of brotherhood. I'm not trying to be pompous, or all-knowing; this is just my feelings and you all can blow me away. But before I close, I would like to have some information about the San Fran. State brothers who are creating a black education program. Some college brothers here are thinking along the same lines. PEACE...and FURY

S. C. ANDERSON
New York City, NY

PANTHER'S RESPONSE:

Be sure to read the Minister of Defense's column - IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE - next issue, wherein some of the problems you raised are treated in detail.

Dear Brothers of the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense:

I was just recently over Brother Larry Neals house and dug upon your newspaper and what was happening on the West Coast At this time, unfortunately I cannot even afford a quarter for the fine newspaper you all put out.

I hope you don't fall into the bag the Harlem Black Panther Party fell into. We (I was Organizational Director) had some brothers at the executive head who had some incorrect ideas about running a people's party. These brothers were from the underground (RAM) and thought they can run an above ground political organization from the underground. In other words, they assumed that the Harlem folk need not see the executive director nor anyone else on the executive committee. Like I don't know if you are a political party or an organization dedicated to defending the black community vis-a-vis its own police force. Dig on this, these so-called revolutionary brothers who say they see no American law as their law because most of the laws passed are against black people, these cats were afraid of going out and soliciting money from the Harlem bars for the Party and Lowndes County. They were afraid because we didn't have a LICENSE to solicit coins in that manner! They were even worried about some sisters who had stood up to more racist physical affronts than they ever did. It has come to this: I

CAPTAIN HAWK
--- continued
from page 9

Party workers most frequently come into contact are the black people on the very lowest level of the totem pole. The most poverty stricken black people are overlooked by everyone, and they expect no favors from anyone. They adopt a wait and see attitude when someone approaches. They judge you by your actions and not by your words.

Captain Hawk is one of the most beautiful people I have encountered. He made a remark once that impressed me greatly. "I have never belonged to any of these other organizations because I didn't dig what they were doing. But when I became aware of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense, I dug it right away because I could see that what the brothers were doing was very serious and in the best interest of our people."

Captain Hawk joined the Party and amazed everyone with the enthusiasm with which he went about his work. Everyone agrees that Captain Hawk is one of the hardest workers in the branch of the Party. The Black Panther Party For Self Defense needs more soul brothers like Captain Hawk. It will be the Captain Hawks' of the Black ghettos of racist dog America who will liberate our people from the yoke of oppression.

MERRITT COLLEGE RENEGES

Continued From Page 8

by many Black youngsters that Black people from the community can't do anything because they don't see them in any decision-making positions. Based upon the stated reasons above and upon the fact that Caucasian faculty members in addition to Black students urged me to apply for the position, I feel that I am qualified and able to fulfill the duties and responsibilities of Dean of Student Personnel and Community Relations.

LISTED BELOW IS A VERBATIM ACCOUNT OF MR. REDFORD'S ANNOUNCED QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE POSITION .

TO: Members of the Peralta Staff
FROM: Edward H. Redford
SUBJECT: Vacancy in Office of Student Personnel Services

Dean William I. Olsen of the Office of Student Personnel Services has asked to be relieved from his responsibilities as of the beginning of the coming school year. This means that we shall need to seek a replacement. We prefer, if at all possible to select a replacement for him from those affiliated with the Peralta District. Interested individuals should file an application.

Applicants for the position of dean of student personnel services and community relations (note that the responsibilities of this position are being expanded to include our relations with schools, community agencies, and similar groups--although such responsibility does not include public relations or community service programs) must meet the following qualifications, amongst others:

- 1. Possess or be able to obtain a valid administrative credential plus, preferably a student personnel credential.
- 2. Possess at least a M.A. degree with a doctoral equivalent, or, preferably, hold the doctorate.
- 3. Have studied the various fields of student personnel services work and have had at least some experience in one or more of the areas included in Student Personnel Services.
- 4. Have a broad understanding of the purposes of the junior college and of the contribution which student personnel services can make to the junior college instructional program.
- 5. Have taught at the junior college and, desirably, have had other experience outside of student personnel services work, administrative or otherwise.
- 6. Have had experience in working with community agencies and, desirably, familiarity with the agencies serving the Peralta District. (Note the broadened title of the position to be filled)

Application should be address to the President, Merritt College.

EHR:ar

LISTED BELOW IS A VERBATIM ACCOUNT OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE BLACK PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

TO: MERRITT COUNCIL MEMBERS AND CONCERNED INDIVIDUALS
FROM: THE BLACK PERSONNEL COMMITTEE
PRESENTED BY: SYLVESTER HODGES
DATE: JUNE 26, 1967
SUBJECT: REPLACEMENT OF VACANCIES - WITH BLACK PERSONNEL

Prior to the information of the Black Personnel Committee, a meeting was called by the members of Soul Students Advisory Council, June 1966, requesting the presence of Administrators, Faculty and Counselling staff. The request then, was for Black Administrators, Counsellors, and Instructors. SSAC was told, if openings availed themselves and Black applicants could qualify, they could be considered. It was also stated that openings for Administrators are on a limited scale and are generally not avail-

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REMEMBER THE WORDS OF BROTHER MALCOLM X

Born May 19, 1925

MILLIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE BRINGING YOUR DREAMS TRUE

FROM THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET



Brother DYNAMITE SAYS

Brothers and Sisters dig this. A few days ago riots broke out in the South. A few days later the U.S. Government went into the process of passing laws convicting persons who are found guilty of inciting, or crossing a state line with intent to incite a riot. This law is clearly ridiculous, for how can any one determine what a persons' intent is?

These laws are clearly aimed at Stokely Carmichael. The racist government of America knows that people like Stokely and the Black Panthers have the Majority of the black people on their side. It takes years and years of shuck, jive, and b.s. not to mention the sufferinf of black people to get a civil rights bill passed.

In Sacramento new firearms control legislation has received a do pass recommendation from the Senate Judiciary Committee. This bill bans the carrying of loaded firearms in a city or an inhabited area outside incorporated municipalities. This bill has the support of the N.R.A. Like who the hell is the N.R.A. to be considered? The lives and problems of black people have not been considered in matters of government. Black people you can rest assured that this is just another excuse for racist cops to shoot black men down. Now the cops can say they suspected a black man of violating this law that contradicts the constitution of the U.S.

Its' ironic that the United States Government wastes time and money trying to meet each and every situation that comes along when people are struggling for their freedom. Well he can get ready to work overtime, because his time has come.

DYNAMITE

BURGLARY SUSPECT SHOT IN S.F.---BURGLARY SUSPECT KILLED BY POLICE

These are headlines which appeared in two different newspapers in the bay area. Sunday night June 12, 1967 Nathaniel George was killed by two cops in a Fillmore district hotel. One paper stated that the copy said George came into his room, threw a knife and ran. The cops gave chase. They fired a warning shot, George did not stop. They shot George in the shoulder. But he continued to run. The cops fired their third shot hitting George in the back killing him.

The other paper stated that George threw two knives. Which story is true? Never the less this is no reason to kill a man. How far could a man run with a bullet in his shoulder? Why was it that two trained officers of the law could not run down a wounded man without having to kill him?

BLACK BABIES ARE STARVING

A panel of physicians went into the south in a study for the Field Foundation. They reported that 2 and 3 year old children in parts of Mississippi and Alabama were beyond medical help. Dr. Raymond Wheeler and three other doctors visited 600 to 700 families in Mississippi, Humphreys, Leflore, Wayne, Greene, Neahoba and Clarke counties. They described the area as a vast prison, and the condition of the children as devastating. The doctors found that it is common for a family to exist on biscuits for breakfast, beans for lunch, and molasses and bread for supper. Families without money could not pay the two dollars cost for food stamps.

To call this a national disaster would be naïve. This is another way in which the whitepower structure is moving to eliminate black people. This is another way in which the racist government shows that it does not ever intend to let the black people of this country share any of the wealth that their ancestors built with their lives. These are things happening while our fat mouth, big belly, uncle tom, black politicians are flying from city to city, eating 100 dollar dinners, and talking integration. They go into the south when they know the t.v. cameras and newspapers are going to be there. These buck dancers are not serving the people.

Once again I beg you to join and/or support the B.P.P.S.D. which is a practical program to serve the needs of the people and is not a puppet for any white group.

Can you dig it?

DYNAMITE



The only place where action can take place is on the ground. And the white man can't win another war fighting on the ground. Those days are over. The black man knows it, the brown man knows it, the red man knows it, and the yellow man knows it. So they engage in guerrilla warfare. That's not his style. You've got to have heart to be a guerrilla warrior, and he hasn't got any heart. I'm telling you now.

I just want to give you a little briefing on guerrilla warfare because, before you know it, before you know it--It takes heart to be a guerrilla warrior because you're on your own. In conventional warfare you have tanks and a whole lot of other people with you to back you up, planes over your head and all that kind of stuff. But a guerrilla is on his own. All you have is a rifle, some sneakers and a bowl of rice, and that's all you need--and a lot of heart. The Japanese on some of those islands in the Pacific, when the American soldiers landed, one Japanese sometimes could hold the whole army off. He'd just wait until the sun went down, and when the sun went down they were all equal. He would take his little blade and slip from bush to bush, and from American to American. The white soldiers couldn't cope with that. Whenever you see a white soldier that fought in the Pacific, he has the shakes, he has a nervous condition, because they scared him to death.

Assasinated Feb 21, 1965

800,000,000 Chinese people, with thermonuclear power cannot be wrong.



Be on the look out for the elusive culprit pictured above. Anyone having information that leads to the capture of vehicles for transportation for members of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense in carrying out Party business, is asked to submit such information to the Party. We could increase the effectiveness of our work, extend the range of our activities, and really take care of bigger business. Help us help us. Call: 653-7995

GLENN HOLMES

BAIL BOND AGENCY

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MERRITT COLLEGE RENEGES
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able. (not often), but on the level of Counselling and instructional staff, a greater effort would be made in the future, which brings us to the present request.

The black Personnell Committee was formed through the persistence of the Sould Students Advisory Committee. This committee has been told, "When openings come and you have qualified Black people,"

We know and can present qualified Black people. If Black people apply for the existing openings, would they be considered for the job? We request the following:

I. ACTION WANTED ON REQUEST FOR BLACK PERSONNEL:

Table with 2 columns: NEEDED and OPENINGS. Rows include Black Administrators, Black Counselors, Black Faculty with specific personnel names and sabbaticals.

II QUALIFICATIONS:

Dr. Redford's memo of June 12, 1967, had six qualifications listed for the replacement of Dean Olsen.

If we find a Black Person satisfactory to us and who also meets the six criteria, will you hire that person?

III BLACK COMMUNITY WANT AND NEEDS A BLACK ADMINISTRATOR NOW

- 1. Some one to identify with on the administrative level.
2. Someone to turn to at the decision-making level.
3. Someone who identifies with the movement to bring about Black Consciousness

IV ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS DO NOT COME UP ALL THE TIME

V IF YOU CAN'T APPOINT A BLACK PERSON TO REPLACE DEAN OLSEN, WE WANT A BLACK ADMINISTRATOR APPOINTED AT THE DEAN LEVEL TO HANDLE THE FOLLOWING FUNCTIONS THAT AFFECT BLACK PEOPLE:

- 1. Community Relations.
2. Matters on Discrimination.
3. Student-Faculty Relations.
4. Campus-wide Interpersonal Relations.
5. Program and Curriculum Research and Development.
6. Special Assignments Affecting Black People. (Riots, etc.)
7. Student Personnel Program Development.

We recommend that the Meritt Council go on record endorsing this proposal, that of replacing Dean Olsen with a Black Administrator.

This proposal was unanimously approved by MERRITT COUNCIL.

After presenting this paper with the preceding materials, Walton said that he, "offered Merritt College a chance to show good faith to its many promises made to the Black Students; the College couldn't dig it. It is my personal feeling that the non-Black members of the committee and the administration of Merritt College are afraid of meaningful change (that is to say change meaningful to the down and out members of the Black community) and that the committee members and the administration are ardent defenders of the status quo and perpetrators of Afro-Americans as second-class citizens. The only choices Black People have are to either wait for these people with the decision-making power

to retire or die. OR WE CAN BRING ABOUT CHANGE BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY! It is clear beyond any doubt in my mind that those persons responsible for this insensitivity to the Black Community and its self-determined needs excluded me purely as a result of my efforts to make people aware of Black Consciousness. Anyone who says that Merritt College would have to "bend over backwards" to hire me due to lack of qualifications for the job is an unqualified-bold-faced lie! This past year Brother Walton assisted Black students in their efforts to demand that Merritt College provide them with an adequate reading program, helped Sould Students Advisory Council in its many programs, got the University of California to accept Merritt College's Negro history course as transfer credit, got Merritt College to change the name of "Negro" history to Afro-American history, assisted with the Black Experience held at Merritt College, got the Merritt College Faculty Senate to approve and support the schools' recognition of February 21 as Malcolm X Memorial Day, developed a Black Curriculum framework and proposed an Associate of Arts degree program with a major in Afro-American studies. (Brother Walton has agreed to prepare materials for a later issue of the Black Panther which will deal primarily with education of Black People, for Black People, and by Black People--Included in this issue will be the BLACK CURRICULUM)

When our reporter asked Brother Walton why he is doing all these things for the Black Students instead of just being the "typical Negro middle class professional", Walton replied, "Every Afro-American professional must never forget that were it not for the militant "Brothers on the block" who are pushing from the grass roots for Black consciousness, the "moderate-protestant-white-middle-class" Negro wouldn't have a thing! I haven't forgotten where I came from and I don't intend to turn my back on those behind me. This is my personal operational concept of achieving Black Unity. Can you dig it?"

It has been learned by the Black Panther that Brother Walton will attempt to present his ideas for the ways that the Black Community can move ahead at the Core National Convention and at the Workshop Sessions July 1 and 2 at McClymond's High School, 2607 Myrtle Street, Oakland. This is a call to the Black community to support a blood Brother who is trying to improve the Black Self-image and to Develop BLACK leadership. The Brother has not let us down, so let's not let him down. We need him and he needs us. Can you dig it?

SPECIAL BULLETIN

It has just been learned by the staff of the Black Panther that another move has been made to mess over the Black Community! Merritt College has eliminated Dean Castellino's position and appointed him to fill the vacancy created by Dean Olsen's reassignment. We suspect foul play and that the racist dogs would rather eliminate a valid vacancy than to have to fill it with a Black person. Their racist move, however, does not alter our position; we still demand that Merritt College keep its promise made to Black students and appoint a Black Administrator. Merritt College seemingly will go to any end to avoid Blackness in its administrative ranks; therefore, we of the Black Community must go to any ends to change their white racist minds. Dr. Redford is the administrator in charge and therefore shares the primary responsibility for not finding other areas for budget cuts. We wonder if his budgetary considerations included the consequences of the Black Community possibly venting its pent-up frustrations via burning down the whole damned school? Basically, Redford is using the "White Power" line "if we can't have our way, there won't be any way! When the hell will Black people begin saying "If we can't be a part of the decision-making structure, we will tear down the whole damned structure!"

MAO TSE-TUNG

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crimination practised by U.S. Imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States and their supporters, the

reactionaries in different countries, who are inflicting oppression, aggression and intimidation on the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000

million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people.

LETTER TO THE

B. P. P. S. D.

June 9, 1967

Black Panther Party For Self Defense Comrade Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense P. O. Box 8641 Oakland, California

My dear Comrade:

I am a Filipino.

I have heard you speak on several occasions on radio and, the last time, at Fillmore Auditorium.

I must express here that I am in accord with your philosophy which bears remarkable brilliance in both depth and scope in order to resolve the crisis confronting all color-edskins in this Nazi-istic and imperialistic country.

I admire the sparkling courage, initiative and resolve demonstrated by you and your comrades. Indeed, in these critical hours of the well-being and existence of our peoples what are needed are both men and women of your character and spirit to assume the heavy mantle of leadership and responsibility. In conjunction with this movement towards the moulding of our own destinies free from the greedy tenacles of the exploiters, a preliminary as well as a continuous cultural revolution amongst ourselves must be initiated and maintained.

The proceedings at Fillmore Auditorium completely expressed this concept in all aspects. Thus I was deeply impressed and overjoyed that the camouflaged vestiges of white enslavement (the negativistic interpretation of Blackness spoonfed to unsuspecting, innocent minds of our children via Christianity) had finally been shattered.

I am remitting herewith \$10.00 to a very worthy and significant cause led by the Blacks of the world today--liveration. This idea has been well articulated by the World Heavyweight Boxing Champion, Comrade Muhammad Ali, demonstrated in his courageous act of defiance on April 26, 1967.

Let us proceed then along this Great Road history has commissioned for us.

Truly yours,