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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

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EMERYVILLE BRANCH
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Police Slaughter Black People

**Special: THE
SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE BLACK
LIBERATION
STRUGGLE IN
Newark**

It has happened, and is happening all around the world. Oppressed and subjugated people have let their blood flow in the streets so that they may taste the sweetness of freedom. It has come
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**WHITE 'MOTHER
COUNTRY'
RADICALS**

Editorial:

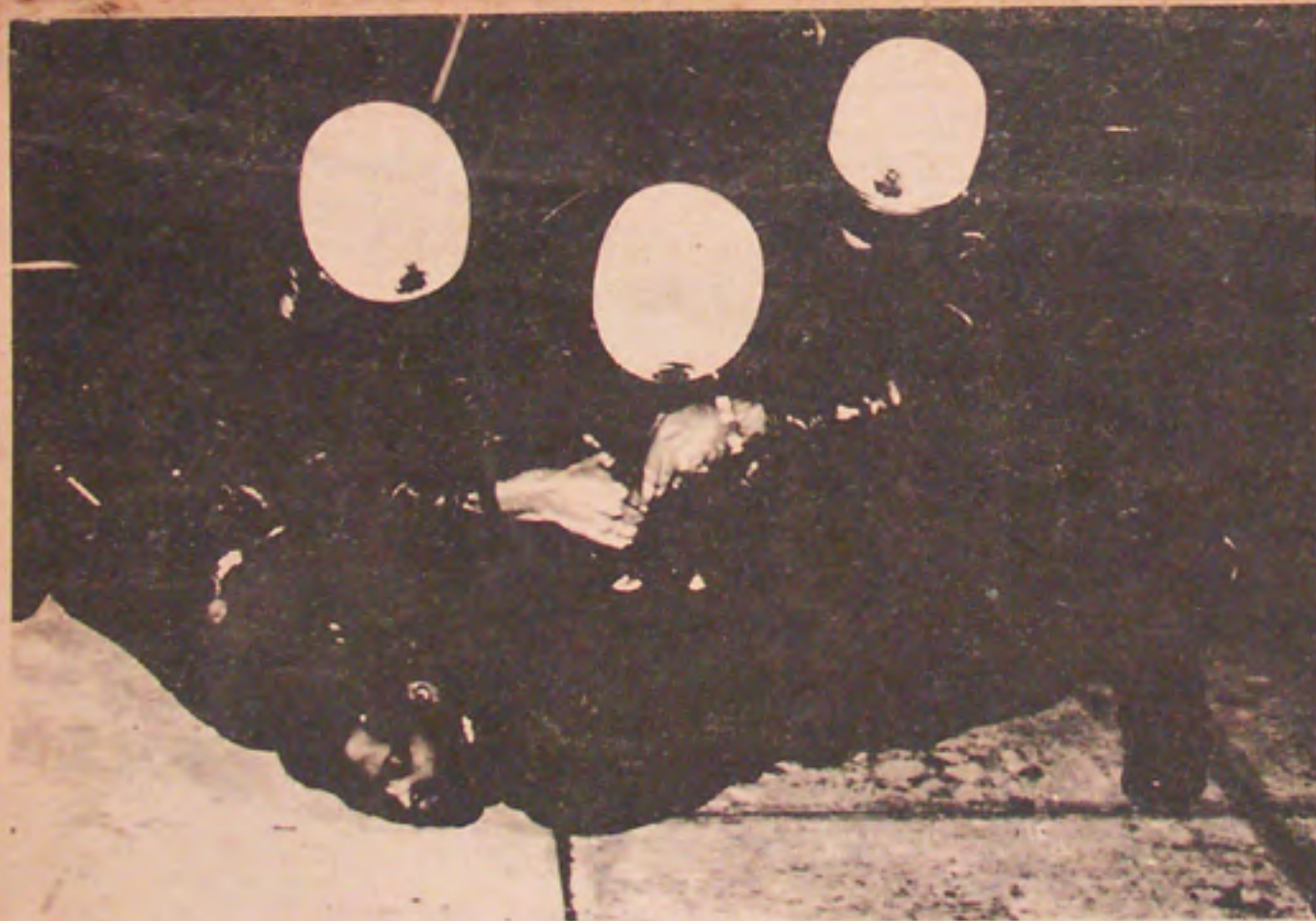
The Black Panther Party For Self Defense has had some very interesting experiences since the Sacramento Incident. In the first place, certain so-called radical groups from the white community have been exposed through their actions as extremely dangerous infiltrators into the black community. The Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the CNP, and a host of others, pretend to be the friend of black people when in fact they are opportunistic conspirators against the best interests of black people.

The classic relationship between revolutionaries in the colony and radicals of the mother country is that the mother country radicals did everything they could to aid the revolutionaries in the colony. They easily realize that it is their natural function to help supply the revolutionaries in the colony with the means for
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The combined police forces of all Bay Area counties have joined together in a step-up of the power structure's relentless war to suppress black people. In the last few months, these police agen-

cies have shot and killed many black people. A few of them, because of the flagrant way in which they were carried out, have been in the news and so

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HOW CAN ANY BLACK MAN IN HIS RIGHT MIND LOOK AT THIS PICTURE IN RACIST DOG AMERICA AND NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING? ITS OBVIOUS THAT THE BROTHER ON THE GROUND IS THE UNDERDOG AND THAT THE ARROGANT GESTAPO DOGS ON TOP HAVE THE ADVANTAGE. WHAT IS THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MAN ON THE BOTTON AND THE PIGS ON TOP? THE GUN. IF THE BROTHER HAD HAD HIS PIECE WITH HIM, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE PIGS WOULD HAVE HAD TO DEAL WITH HIM IN A DIFFERENT WAY. AND THE BROTHER MAY HAVE COTTEN SOMETHING DOWN -- THAT IS, IF HE KNEW HOW TO SHOOT STRAIGHT.

PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY OF
KENNETH GREEN
AND
ELVOYCE HOOPER



GUNS BABY GUNS



BLACK BROTHER BEATS THE HEAT

On July 11, 1967, at about 2:30 in the afternoon, a car turned the corner of Duboce and Castro on two wheels. With tires screaming against the asphalt, the car sped North on Castro St. Immediately behind the fleeing car, another car, obviously the fuzz, made a more timid turn in hot pursuit. The fleeing car stopped abruptly and a tall black man leaped out and started making it on foot. His car stopped, started rolling backward, delayed the pursuit of the fuzz, and even put them uptight for a collision. The fleeing black man ran up to a fence and high jumped the gate with a Wyatt Western Roll. At the summit of his leap, the Brother tucked his head and kicked his feet. It is beautiful that he did because at that moment one of the cops in the pursuing car busted a cap at him, almost point blank. That was the last time the Brother was seen. He put it in the wind and got away clean.

Cops began coming from everywhere, out of every crack, and a flock of young white boys in business suits and brandishing guns appeared on the scene. They turned out to be F.B.I. agents. Young white boys with guns, playing cowboys and Indians and wearing baggy clothes and trying to look like James Bond, but failing miserably. One black F.B.I. agent had his gun in his hand. He stood straight and tall and ready to shoot. He held down an entire intersection by himself, thus freeing his white fellow agents so that they could go search for his black brother who was just trying to make it, trying to survive, and no doubt languishing in the process.

They surrounded the entire square block and beat every bush, but they couldn't find the brother. One agent came up to this reporter with front and side view pictures of the brother and this reporter looked it over out of curiosity as to whom the brother was. It might have been one of his tightest partners. But the face on the picture turned out to be unfamiliar, except that it bore the marks of a black man who is conscious of his position in racist white America and had off the allegiance of white America's Law and Order with which he was no doubt brainwashed, like all of us, during his formative years. Yes, in that respect the brother looked very familiar.

This reporter was thinking that he would like to have helped the brother, provided him with shelter or transportation away from

the scene. But there was no way that he could let the brother know this. It then became very clear that one of the most serious faults of black people is their lack of communication with one another. Black people need machinery to cope with precisely the type of situation described above. There should be some way to let brothers know that there are black people who will aid him in no matter what confrontation he makes with the racist exploiting power structure. This brother really needed help and there was no way of letting the brother know this. Perhaps what we must do is develop in the black community the type of consciousness that will make every black man, woman, and child know that in any — ANY — emergency situation they can turn to any — ANY — other black man, woman, and child for aid and comfort.

After it was all over, this reporter asked a young white girl what she had seen from where she was standing.

"Did the cop hit him with the shot?" she was asked. "Wow" she exclaimed. "He was moving so fast that the bullet couldn't possibly have caught up with him!" The soul sister who was with me laughed with me over the skill of the brother in eluding the fuzz. The white girl squinted. "I'm glad he got away," I said to the white girl. "I'm not," she responded. "He robbed a bank the other day and he was riding in a stolen car. If it were my money in the bank he robbed, I wouldn't want him to get away." "Well," I said. "Black people don't have much money in the bank, so I'm glad the brother got away. I hope they never catch him."

The soul sister with me was so turned off by this shaky white chick that she turned away in disgust and didn't say anything, except, "Let's split." The people who were standing around looking at the scene, looking boldly out of their windows, all shared one characteristic in common if nothing else: They all wore a bitter hatred of the cops on their faces. They were all glad that the brother had gotten away — or perhaps that the cops had failed. It showed how, in the words of Minister Of Defense, Huey P. Newton, "The presence of the gestapo force in the community does not intimidate black people, but rather prepares them for action. Their adrenalin starts flowing and prepares them for resistance for the brutality that is imminent."

CHINESE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT

FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE ARAB PEOPLE'S FIGHT AGAINST U.S.-ISRAELI AGGRESSION

On June 5, 1967, instigated and supported by US imperialism, Israel flagrantly launched massive armed aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria, and other Arab states. This is another towering crime against the Arab people committed by US imperialism and its tool Israel as well; as a grave provocation against the people of Asia, Africa, and the rest of the world. The people of the Arab states rising as one in their hatred against their common enemy, are dealing head-on blows at the aggressors. A storm of struggle against US imperialist aggression is sweeping the whole Arab world.

Israel is a product of the US and British imperialist policy of aggression. After World War II Israel could not have existed at all without US imperialist fosterage, and it would never have dared to launch an attack against the Arab states without US imperialist support. It is US imperialism that has instigated Israel to attack Syria; it is US imperialism that, in league with British imperialism, has threatened to reopen the Gulf of Aqaba by force of arms; it is again US imperialism that has been supplying Israel with large quantities of arms in order to mount sudden attacks on the United Arab Republic and the other Arab countries. Facts have fully proved that US imperialism is the backstage manager of Zionism and the No. 1 enemy of the Arab people and the people of the world.

In this incident, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has connived at the aggression committed by Israel at the instigation and with the support of US imperialism, thus once again revealing its ugly features as a betrayer of the Arab people.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest leader of the Chinese people, has pointed out that "The raging tide of the people of the world against US aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories." The UAR, Syria, and the other Arab states and the Arab people of Palestine are waging a just war against US-Israeli aggression. A just war is invincible. The heroic Arab people with a glorious anti-imperialist tradition have raised aloft the just banner of war against aggression. We believe that with the sympathy and support of the people of the whole world, the Arab people will surely win.

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BOOTLICKER TSHOMBE CAPTURED

An event which brought delight to millions of oppressed people all over the world was that the arch-traitor of all Africa, Moise Tshombe, has been captured and is being held in the revolutionary country of Algeria. Brother Malcolm called Tshombe the worst African ever born. Tshombe is guilty



Moise Tshombe

of one of the unforgettable crimes against Black people. In cahoots with his brother lackies Mobutu and Kasavubu, Tshombe carried out the will of the Belgian, American, British and French imperialists by cold bloodedly murdering Patrice Lumumba so that the international gangsters of Capitalism could again seize control of the Congo and continue to drain off that bleeding country's fabulous resources.

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THE TRAITOR OF AFRICA

ALGIERS...There are indications the Congo did not order the kidnaping of former Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe.

The 48-year-old Isshomb remained captive in Algeria, which has branded him "The Traitor of Africa" and "The Agent of Imperialism."

Did the Arab Nation want the ebullient former Katangese leader for unknown reasons? Did it get him simply by circumstance?

And what about the Congo's Kinshasa Government, which sentenced Tshombe to death in absentia for "High Treason" four months ago? The Congo has formally asked he be extradited. But did it order his kidnaped?

Who plotted Tshombe's capture, who carried it out and his ultimate fate were as unknown Sunday as on the June 30 evening when the pilot of his chartered plane, a gun at his head, asked Algiers airport for permission to land.

"I have a personality aboard," the pilot said. The phrase caused the control tower to alert Algerian security police.

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CORE CONVENTION FALLOUT

Oakland, California:

The recent CORE convention held in Oakland, California was a study in confusion and a masterpiece in political manipulation and chicanery. Stage-managed by the buffoon, Wilfred Ussery, national chairman of CORE, the convention somehow managed to gather together on the same stage a curious hodgepodge of fakes, phonies, frauds, bootlickers, CIA agents, tired Uncle Toms, self-acclaimed messiahs, with a mild sprinkling of tried and proven soul brothers who somehow got sucked into the quicksand of this open conspiracy against black people.

Floyd McKissack, who sounds like a badly reflected echo of Stokely Carmichael, went over like a ton of lead. If there were ever such a thing as an anti-charismatic head of a national black organization, McKissack is the man.

It is regrettable that such soul brothers as Rap Brown, newly elected Chairman of SCLC, and Muhammad Ali, who needs no further identification, found themselves in a trick bag that no self-respecting revolutionary can allow himself to fall into too many times.

On stage of the convention were such renowned errand boys for the

power structure as Donald Warden, Elijah Turner, Willie Brown, and, of course, the power structure's no-one Bay Area retriever Wilfred Ussery.

Some behind the scenes drama that has not heretofore been publicized were the undercover negotiations which transpired between certain of these lackeys and the leadership of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. These dumb clucks had the audacity to approach the Black Panthers and ask them to play the part of body guards. They even went so far as to get the Sheriff of San Mateo Co. to telephone Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, and Chairman Bobby Seale to deliver the jackass statement that the Black Panthers had the sheriff's permission to carry guns in public for that day only.

The Black Panthers don't need the permission of any racist sheriff to deal with their guns: the guns of the Black Panthers constitute autonomy in themselves. Permission to carry a gun grows out of the barrel of that gun, to paraphrase a very apt revolutionary principle.

Naturally, Huey and Bobby rejected all of these collusive overtures. It was explained to the emissaries of CORE that the Black

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IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

BY MINISTER OF DEFENSE
HUEY P. NEWTON

THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans being do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops, this manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. The first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

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MINISTER OF DEFENSE



The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example. But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while slipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million black people in primary groups of two's and three's, but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

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WHAT WE WANT NOW!

WHAT WE BELIEVE

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 OR 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 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 BATH SHOWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. BUT WHEN A LONG TRAIN OF ABUSES AND USURPATIONS, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT, EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

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

SNCC

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, Atlanta, Ga., June 13;

STATEMENT BY H. RAP BROWN, SNCC CHAIRMAN, ON PRATVILLE, ALA. SITUATION

Gentlemen: I have called this conference to clarify the position of SNCC on the developments in Prattville, Alabama, Autaugaus County. The facts of the case, which either have not been widely reported or distorted, are as follows:

On Sunday, June 11, Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC Chairman, was arrested by Kenny Hill on a charge of disorderly conduct, after Mr. Carmichael had called out the slogan "Black Power" to some friends gathered at the meeting. The police, who had been patrolling the area, were apparently trying to stalk Mr. Carmichael with the hope

and shot out all street lights in the area amidst shots and screams. Finding themselves in a critical situation and their lives in danger, a few black men began returning fire, which is believed to have resulted in the wounding of five policemen.

Eventually the mob entered the house, ordered the occupants outside and held several persons for almost an hour in front of the house with arms raised. After people were questioned through the use of beatings and physical intimidation, the following nine persons were arrested: Stanley Wise, Uzee Nunnery, Theophilus Smith, Julius Roberts, Rev. James Harris, Haber Willis, Charlie Devine, Nathaniel Rudolph, and Horace Morris.

The black community of Prattville was concerned for the safety of the arrested men because Charles Rasberry, a black man, was murdered in the same Prattville jail in February by the

and retaliate. Total violence will be the result. For that reason, we have called upon the Attorney General of the United States to act immediately. Mr. Ramsey Clarke was sent the following telegram:

We direct your attention to the lawless and criminal invasion of the Negro community by Prattville, Alabama police and Klansmen. We charge that civil and legal rights of several Negroes were violated. We can document several instances. Ten Negroes were held incommunicado in Prattville jail, where in recent months at least one Negro has been murdered by police. We urge that you investigate conduct of police, act immediately to protect rights of Negro population and to prosecute police officers guilty of violence against innocent people in their homes. Failure of federal government to act to insure justice will encourage violence by white racists, and leave Negro community no

BLACK PANTHERS AND HUNTERS POINT

By: Bobby Seale

San Francisco, California: The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was invited to a local federally funded Poverty Program in Hunters Point on July 10, 1967 where I addressed some 200 black brothers and sisters ranging in age from 14 to 30 at the Fremont Grammar School.

I was dispatched by the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, to address the black brothers and sisters on the true understanding of politics. It was explained to the black youth that we have been mis-educated about what politics really is. That politics is war without bloodshed and war is politics with bloodshed, and that our blood is being shed daily simply because black people have certain political desires and needs. Politics is related to the adverse conditions that we are subjected to. I explained to the black brothers and sisters that Politics starts with hungry stomachs, dilapidated housing, murder and brutal treatment by racist cops, unfair treatment received in the courts, the way black men are drafted into the military forces and are forced to fight other colored people of the world who, as Brother Stokely Carmichael says, "have never called us nigger."

During the Civil War over 186,000 black brothers were enlisted to fight for the white man in the Northern Union Army; during World War I over 350,000 black brothers fought and we black people have received nothing. World War II, over 850,000 black brothers fought and black people received nothing again. And now this racist dog invites, lures, and forces black people to fight in a maiming, murderous, genocidal war against colored people of the world while the racist police in Hunters Point and in our black communities throughout America are murdering and slaughtering black people.

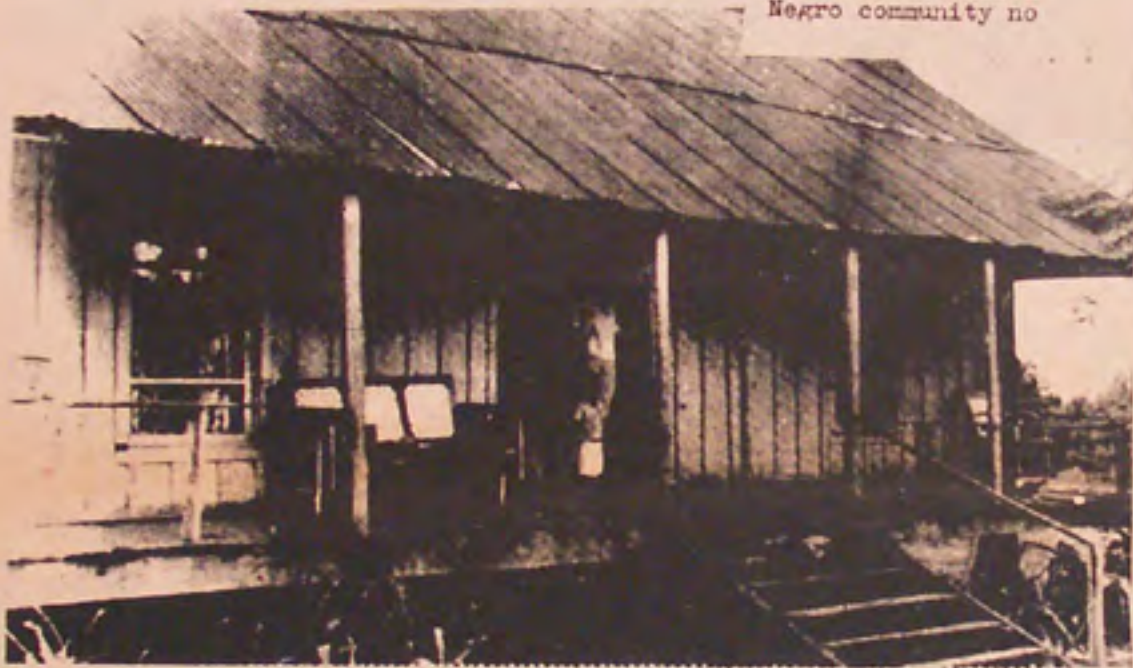
This was the education that I tried to give under my orders from the Minister of Defense.

When a black revolutionary starts preparing his people, he must let the people know in what direction they are going. Not necessarily by what the party wants to tell the people but rather by what the people themselves tell by their actions. The actions of the brothers and sisters in Hunters Point in September of 1966,



the actions of the brothers in Watts in 1965, the actions of black brothers and sisters across this country who heroically participated in over 60 black rebellions since July 18, 1964, strongly indicate and tell the Minister of Defense that black people are going to resist the oppression that is being inflicted upon them by the racist power structure and the gendarmes police. It was explained to the brothers that they as youth who have been resisting oppression across this country must develop a tactic and unite around something practical and that the only practical thing that a people can unite around to win their liberation is the gun. It was further explained that the party and its leadership understand black peoples problems, because the Party is a peoples' party and has suffered and do suffer the same things that the people do. That the Party understands the necessity of uniting around the gun, arming ourselves in self-defense in all areas of racist oppression. That we must use strategically applied tactics with the gun, and let this dog racist white power structure know that we are not going for this

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Lady Buzzard's Pad

of arresting him and provoking a disturbance. A crowd of friends and co-workers gathered and exchanged words with the police in their efforts to determine the charges being levied against Mr. Carmichael. Police attacked one news reporter and damaged the equipment of Norman Lumpkin from Radio Station WRMA in Montgomery. Shortly thereafter, white klansmen riding down the main street began shooting from their cars; when black men returned the fire, the shooting stopped. Later on that evening, crowds of klansmen, accompanied by the police entered houses in the black community, interrogating the occupants, beating and sending home those persons who were not in their own houses, and forcibly sending persons who did not live in Prattville to the highways. A mob of several whites, including klansmen and police, surrounded the residence of Mr. Dan Hauser, NAACP leader in Prattville, trapping some 25 black people, mostly women and children, inside. When the people refused to come out, the crowd began shooting into the house

same policeman who arrested Carmichael. We in SNCC became further concerned when we received inquiries from members of the press investigating a report that Carmichael had been killed. Our concern was heightened by the fact that all of the jailed men have been kept incommunicado by Prattville authorities, and we were unable to get any reliable news of their physical condition or treatment. Mr. Hauser was severely beaten by police, chased out of town, is now in the St. Jude Hospital in Montgomery, and is in danger of losing sight in one of his eyes. Mr. John Hulett of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was beaten and chased out of town.

We know that this entire incident was the result of deliberate and provocative violence on the part of the Prattville police, along with their brothers in the Ku Klux Klan. If this present breakdown of law and police lawlessness continues, the black community will be forced to take defensive action

alternative but self defense. Responsibility for peace in months to come rests with your Department. Request that you inform us or action you take. Documented letter to follow.

H. Rap Brown
Chairman, SNCC

We have also called upon the major civil rights organizations to unite in the defense of the black community in Prattville. The text of the telegram sent to these organizations is available.

We profoundly hope that a complete and impartial investigation of these incidents will be made by the Justice Department, and that appropriate charges will be brought against the klansmen and police responsible for the violence. We demand that Atty. Gen. Clarke take this action. Unless this is done, the black community of Prattville, as well as blacks throughout the South, will know that their rights will not be protected by the legal structures of this country and will move to protect their rights by any means necessary.

The responsibility for what happens this summer in the South rests, in large measure, upon whatever positive action the Federal Government takes in this situation. Lyndon Baines Johnson has a bill before Congress concerning "Crime in the Streets" which is directed against America's black communities. We in SNCC would strongly suggest that L.B.J. should be personally concerned with directing his attention to the lawless whites of Autaugaus County -- since his wife, Lady Bird, owns one of the largest plantations in this county. #/

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IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

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There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good, but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore, it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population. If it is learned by the power structure that black people have X amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, for it is already more than prepared. In the end result, this education will be positive for black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of the vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.



TO ALL PANTHERS WHO DON'T BELIEVE IN ARMED SELF DEFENSE



The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational process. How can you teach a people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived. This is why it is important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy. At this time the people know the party exists and they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious illusion that the vanguard party is to be a secret organization that the power structure knows nothing about, and the masses know nothing about, except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. These are contradictions and inconsistencies of the so-called revolutionaries. The so-called revolutionaries are in fact afraid of the very danger that they are advocating for the people. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to say and want the people to do what they themselves are afraid to do. This makes the so-called revolutionary a coward and a hypocrite.

If these impostors would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above the ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact: when Fidel Castro

started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havana in public. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was very great and received with much respect. When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve. Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly. If the Chinese Revolution is investigated it will be seen that the Communist Party was quite on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses. There are many areas one can read about to learn the correct approach, such as the revolution in Kenya, the Algerian Revolution, Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of others.

A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere death is imminent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor. The vanguard party must exemplify the characteristics of worthy leadership. Millions and millions of oppressed people might not know members of the vanguard party personally or directly, but they will gain through an indirect acquaintance the proper strategy for liberation via the mass media and the physical activities of the party. It is of prime importance that the vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper produced by the party, as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery. For example, Watts. The economy and

property of the oppressor was destroyed to such an extent that no matter how the oppressor tried to whitewash the activities of the black brothers, the real nature and real cause of the activity was communicated to every black community. For further example, no matter how the oppressor tries to distort and confuse the message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as handgrenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increased violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal action causes the resistance by the people. The vanguard party only teaches the correct method of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities all across this country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle.

GOOD BEGGIN' WILLIE GOOFS

A BLACK SISTER, Mia Jones

The recent Core Convention bought the curtain down on the many, already known to many black people, ridiculous so-called Black Radical Leaders. For this writing I should like to focus your attention on just one of them. That being Willie Brown. Perhaps best referred to as our Esteemed Assemblyman.

I should like to devote the greater portion of this article to the black women of today, as it was because of black women that I could not let him proceed further without bringing to light, shall we call it, some of the Assemblyman's irrational actions.

During the highlight of the convention, when Muhammed Ali was speaking, Mr. Brown saw fit to be so rude, and crude as to interrupt and begin selling the Champs Kisses. If this were happening on the other side of the hill, then I say, and I am certain you will agree, more power to him. But the fact is, it wasn't. The fact that he deemed it necessary to gain finance from the Champ through the selling of embraces, does not interrupt my better judgement. I wish to place emphasis upon the following fact.

While one of the most important factors being learned by the lack brother and sister is that of self respect, and the respect of our brother's and sister's is in full bloom, Mr. Brown publically denounces this by being so stupid and pedant as to degrade and

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WHITE 'MOTHER COUNTRY' RADICALS

waging the struggle against the imperialists. They supplied them with guns and material, finance, and information, among other things.

America's white mother country radicals behave in a totally different manner. When it comes to the colonized black people in America and the so-called white radical community, this classic relationship breaks down and becomes irrelevant. So infected with racism are they that they do not really see the community of interest between revolutionaries everywhere. They look down upon the black revolutionaries and actually hold them in contempt, after taking from them all that they can get.

White radicals think they are smart, that they are the smartest, and it is rare indeed to find one who is not infected with white supremacy. This is one of the reasons why there has never been an All-American revolutionary movement in this country. People have been looking for white radicals to provide the leadership and ideology for an All-American revolutionary movement. This is one of the fundamental errors that both black and white radicals in America have made. White radicals are incapable of providing leadership and ideology for America. A thorough analysis of the depths of this phenomenon would require a volume or two, but so much of the evidence has become everyday gossip in both black and white radical circles that the mere assertion of the prevailing idiocy of white radicals goes virtually unchallenged—even by white radicals themselves.

In the aftermath of the Sacramento frameup, members of the white radical groups rushed to the Black Panthers and laid elaborate plans for aiding the Panthers in defending themselves against the racist power structure. The Panthers took this as a matter of course and welcomed this support because it was obvious that the white radicals were in a position to provide the type of assistance that the Party needed most at the moment. It soon became clear, however, that far from having intentions of aiding the Panthers, all these groups were intent upon seeing to it that the party was destroyed and strangled into oblivion. The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party in particular are blameworthy in this respect. These two groups systematically and through a process of deceit did everything they could to waste the time and energies of the Panthers in endeavors that were doomed never to yield any fruit.

The Black Panther Party feels that it is absolutely necessary to drive all of these groups out of the black community. They come into our community to sell their literature, to circulate their finky petitions and to generally involve the black community in their ideological nit-

picking. The time has come for black people to rid their community of all of this confusion and subversion. From now on, the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party should not be allowed to function in the black community at all. They should not be allowed to sell their pirated literature in black neighborhoods. Whenever these interlopers are seen in the black community, the black revolutionaries should round them up and escort them to the border of the community, issuing a warning to them that they are not to return with any of their literature and propaganda. Should they persist in returning to the black community, they should be dealt with in classical terms. They should be dealt with just like any other enemy of the people.

The literature on Malcolm X which the bloodsucking Socialist Workers Party has grown fat on should not be allowed in the black community. Their newspapers and so forth should be banned from black communities. The black flunkies who are members of these groups should also be barred from the black community.

The situation has grown too serious to tolerate this type of activity any longer. These groups want to pretend that they have excellent relations with black radicals. Their entire programs are geared to what's happening in the black community and how they themselves relate to it. This is a game we have played too long. When election time rolls around and these so-called white radicals have a candidate or an issue which they want to support, the first thing they do is run into the black community, make their speeches and then run all over the world and tell people how much they dig black people and how they are fulfilling their revolutionary responsibility. In actual fact, they are behaving very disgracefully. Far from being revolutionary when it comes to the best interest of black people, they have all become reactionary. They are more dangerous than the police. The black community must rid itself of the influence of these so-called white radical groups. They are not radicals at all, they are big business men playing with the future of the black race.

In international affairs, the Communist Party supports the Soviet Union against the Peoples Republic of China. The Soviet Union has been exposed as a traitor to the best interests of the Third World. Their supporters here in America are proving the accuracy of this analysis by their activity in the black community with particular reference to their activity concerning the legal difficulties of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense. They have tried everything they could to slow the party down and to place insurmountable obstacles in the path of the Party.

Roscoe Proctor, the Commissar of the Black Ghetto, is the Communist parties number one-boy in the bay area. When he discovered that he would not be able to dictate to the Black Panther Party and to turn the Party and the Sacramento case into a tool for the Communist Party, he began to do everything he could to file the party up. Roscoe lives in a palatial mansion in Berkeley, just as many of the Fat Cats on the Left have grown rich off the sufferings of the masses, particularly the black masses.

Pete Camejo and Bob Himmel, the two white men who are in principle control of the Socialist Workers Party in the Bay Area, also tried to trick the Panthers. They are the first ones to show up at any mass function in the black community. They will place themselves in a conspicuous position, spread out their tables covered with black literature and turn on their brotherly smiles. The truth is that they are nothing but petty bourgeois profiteers. What they want is to drain off money from the black community to help finance their tidly winks politics in the white community. But from the point of view of the black community, these groups are performing the same function that the landlords and small store owners perform in the black community: They drain off the few pennies that black people are able to scrape up and survive on. They constitute ideological or literary imperialists. They are bloodsuckers.

What is really bugging the so-called white radicals is that they look upon themselves as being best qualified to lead the revolution in America. They have, they think, better educations than black people; they are widely read in the literature of revolution and they can quote Marx and Lenin backwards and forward. Because of this, they look upon themselves as the cream of the revolutionary vanguard. When SNCC advanced the slogan of BLACK POWER, this marked a truly great leap forward for the revolutionary struggle of black people in terms of their consciousness being heightened as to what they had to get into in order to get their stuff together. The white radicals, liberals, etc., were the first to panic. The white racists find it very easy to understand what Black Power is all about. Since they have been actively opposing black people in their struggle for liberation, the white racists can easily understand why black people should want some power. On the other hand, the white radicals don't understand this at all. In fact, they consider it a very unfortunate development. They look upon the trend in the black community as a passing phase and they are now sitting back waiting for this fad to pass away so that they can come back into the black community and take up the control and leadership of black people which they enjoyed for so long. They are in for a surprise because the trend in the black community is going to continue, it is going to broaden and deepen. Those black revolutionaries who understood the value of a coalition between white radicals and black revolutionaries have had the ground cut from beneath

White 'Mother Country' Radical Responds To Editorial

The French existentialist philosopher, Jean Paul Sartre, during the struggle of the Algerian people to end French colonial domination of their country, worked out the theory that it was the duty of all radicals in the oppressor, imperialist, camp (in his case, France) to provide support—political, financial and all other—for the revolutionaries on the front lines in the colonized, oppressed nation. During the French-Algerian war, Sartre and other radical French intellectuals did organize demonstrations in France in support of the Algerian liberation movement; they did provide aid to the resistance fighters in Algeria; and it was partly due to their unceasing efforts that the Algerian war became politically explosive in France, just as the heroic Algerians made it militarily explosive for the French in Algeria. The result was a victory for the Algerian revolution, and a weakening of French imperialism.

It is clearly the duty of radicals in America to provide the same kind of support to the Vietnamese revolution, to make it politically difficult for the American imperialists to carry on their genocidal war against the Vietnamese people, to obstruct American imperialism at every point and by any means possible. The same holds true for the white radicals in America, who live within the oppressor camp, with respect to the black liberation movement. We recognize that Afro-America at this time is still a colony of imperialist America, occupied by the foreign army of imperialist America, exploited and looted by the jackals of imperialist America.

But it is also true that America, more than any other white country, is

neither of you nor all of you combined will be able to destroy the Black Panther Party For Self Defense. We rely on the Black People for our support and we will make it on our own. Sure it would be much easier if you would aid us, but Black People are not used to having it easy. We have had to wage a solitary battle for the last four hundred years. We will continue to wage our struggle and we will win because the aspirations of Black People in America are just and undeniable. All those who have decided to deal treacherously with the Party that represents the legitimate aspirations of Black People will have to account for both their actions and lack of action.

The time has come to move against these parasites and to drive them out of the community. There can be no compromise on this issue. They must be made to do this. All parasitical groups, cliques and conspirators must be driven out forcibly if they do not retire gracefully under what ever steam of their own they have left.

---MINISTER OF INFORMATION

racist, from top to bottom, from right to left, as Stokely Carmichael has said. This means that white radicals in America have never lived up to their responsibility to the black liberation movement; in fact we have all too often tried either to obstruct or to destroy it, if we could not lead and control it.

I am not a member of the Communist Party USA or of the Socialist Workers Party, and I do not consider myself qualified—nor would I want—to offer a defense for their dealings with black revolutionaries. I am, however, a member of the Community for New Politics, (CNP), and, while I am not sure I can defend our actions, I think it is important to explain them. First of all, it seems that there are two ways that white radicals have failed in their responsibility to support the black revolution. The first is by failing to recognize the revolutionary potential and spirit of black people. Separated from black people, not only by the physical barrier of the ghetto-colony, but by the psychological barrier of racism, most white radicals have not been able to sense or to properly understand the pulse of black people—their desire for freedom by any means necessary. Most white radicals have not been able to sense or to properly understand the pulse of black people—their desire for freedom by any means necessary. Most white radicals only know that something is happening in the black community, but they don't know exactly what it is.

On the other hand, there have always been white radical organizations that have understood full well the revolutionary fervor in the black community and have

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OLD TOMS NEVER DIE UNLESS THEY'RE BLOWN AWAY

The NAACP once dominated the social, political, and economic aspirations of Black people in America. Created in 1909 by the Great W.E.B. DuBois and some other people, the NAACP carried the torch in the struggle for black liberation in the U.S.A. There was a time, even, when the NAACP was the most radical, best organized black political and diplomatic entity on the international scene. But anyone who would take a close look at the NAACP today would find it almost impossible that an organization that had started so high could, in the space of 60 years, fall so low.

The NAACP has always contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The white liberals who help-



ed found the organization always exercised a restraining, moderating influence on policy. Yet the NAACP was looked upon by most black people as the only possible source of salvation - outside of Jesus.

The low point in the NAACP's up and down career came when, because of his radical views, W.E.B. DuBois the founder of the organization, was kicked out of it to please the power structure and passify the white liberals and Jews who actually held the power in their tender hands. Their refusal to support Paul Robeson when the Klansmen in Washington D.C. were in the process of silencing him as an uncompromising

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Black Arts Convention in Detroit

SELF DEFENSE STRESSED; HOWARD HITS WILKINS; WE WILL WIN SAYS BLACK PROFESSOR PURGED BY HOWARD UNIVERSITY

by Willie Thompson

Detroit, Michigan: The three foci of the Second Annual Black Arts Convention 1967 in Detroit, Michigan were a trade fair, a fashion show, and keynote addresses. In each activity the emphasis was on Black -- Black defense, Black ownership, Black control and, most importantly, Black unity.

CONTINUED ON 22 Col. 4



Bedfellows

NAACP & OTHERS

FOR

**MILLIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE
MAKING YOUR DREAMS COME TRUE**

REMEMBER
THE WORDS OF

BROTHER MALCOLM

Born May 19, 1925

ON VIETNAM

You put the government on the spot when you even mention Vietnam. They feel embarrassed -- you notice that? They wish they would not even have to read the newspapers about South Vietnam, and you can't blame them. It's just a trap that they let themselves get into. It's John Foster Dulles they're trying to blame it on because he's dead.

But they're trapped, they can't get out. You notice I said "they". They are trapped, they can't get out. If they pour more men in, they'll get deeper. And they should have known it in the first place.

France had about 200,000 Frenchmen over there, and the most highly mechanized modern army sitting on this earth. And those little rice farmers ate them up, and their tanks, and everything else. Yes, they did, and France was deeply entrenched had been there a hundred years or more. Now, if she couldn't stay there and was entrenched, why, you are out of your mind if you think Sam can get in over there.

But we're not supposed to say that, we're anti-American, or we're seditious, or we're subversive, or we're advocating something that's not intelligent. Now they're turning around and getting in a worse situation in the Congo. They're getting into the Congo the same way they got into South Vietnam. They put Diem over there. Diem took all of their money, all their war equipment, and everything else, and got them trapped. Then they killed him.

Yes, they killed him, murdered him in cold blood, him and his brother, Madame Nhu's husband, because they were embarrassed. They found out that they had made him strong and he was turning against them. So they killed him and put big Minh in his place. You know the fat one. And he wouldn't act right, so they got rid of him and put Khanh in his place. And he's started telling Taylor to get out. You know, when the puppet starts talking back to the puppeteer, the puppeteer is in bad shape.

BLACK PEOPLE PART OF MAJORITY

Our problem has to be internationalized. Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in the Congo and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's

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Assassinated Feb 21, 1965



all part of the vicious racist system that the western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

and when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem, and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then -- the oppressed people of the earth make up a majority, not a minority -- then we approach our problems as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg.

BJ - THE 1964 PEACE CANDIDATE

It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it's the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America, it is ruling the world. No days when a man is running for president of the United States, he is not running for the president of the United States alone; he has also to be acceptable to other areas of the world where America rules.

If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists, knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you shoved them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it had the whole world -- including people who call themselves Marxists -- hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater.

I have to say this: Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected -- because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria, mercenaries to the Congo!

FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN VIET NAM AND CONGO EXAMPLE FOR AMERICAN YOUTH

If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in South Vietnam you'll find that these guerrillas are young people... In these countries, the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country, it has been my observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it -- they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it.

I think young people here can find a powerful example in the young Simbas in the Congo and the young fighters in South Vietnam...

BLACK POWER

...Power never takes a back step -- only in the face of more power. Power doesn't back up in the face of a smile, or in the face of a threat, or in the face of some kind of nonviolent loving action. It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything, but more power. And this is what the people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, in other parts of the world. Power recognizes only power, and all of them who realize this have made gains. #18

THE TRAITOR OF AFRICA Continued From Page 2 Col. 5

They were waiting when the plane touched down at the Boufarik Military Airfield 18 Miles from Algiers. They were amazed to see the easily recognizable Tshombe disembark with his hands high in the air. He was on hostile soil without a visa. He and his eight companions were immediately taken into custody. All

have been questioned intensively since then. Algerian sources pointed out Sunday that if Kinshasa organized the kidnaping it would probably have been handled differently. They said it would have been simple for Congolese President Joseph Mobutu, Tshombe's arch enemy, to alert "Algerian Friends" striving for closer ties with Black Africa to arrange for the "Package" to be rerouted to Kinshasa on the sly.

The second most questioned passenger after Tshombe was Francis Bodenan, believed to be the man who engineered the kidnaping and who shot one of Tshombe's Spanish bodyguards in the foot. Security officials were said to be uncertain if Bodenan, thought to have a criminal record in France, was the only person aboard who took part in the hijacking. The government newspaper El Mohjahid said the role of British pilots David Taylor and Trevor Copleston was "not clear." (In Paris, the weekly magazine Jeune Afrique said one of the pilots was in on the kidnaping.)

Security officials were reported trying to determine whether the kidnaping was a one-man effort by Bodenan or part of a bigger plan. As for Tshombe, it was equally unclear what would happen to the one-time Congo Premier who had been living in exile in Madrid. The Algerian Justice Ministry and the Supreme Court were presently studying Kinshasa's demand for extradition. The two countries were reported on the verge of resuming diplomatic relations which would facilitate extradition. Algiers broke off relations in October 1964 after Tshombe returned to the Congo.



GUNS BABY GUNS

Army 45 will stop all jive

Buckshots will down the cops

P38 will open Prison gates

Carbine will stop a war machine

357 will win us our heaven

And if you don't believe in lead,
you are already dead

THE FOREIGN AID JOKE

by Maurice Lawson

In an act of paranoia, the white, imperialistic power structure of the United States has dumped \$200 billion into a so-called defense system that is supposed to conquer and/or repel any external combustion that might be detrimental to colonized territories of financial or political interest.

This system is also said to be able to defend its white racist shores from all outside aggressions. It tries to reassure its position as a racist world power by bribing (to the tune of over \$50 billion a year) other countries with a joke called "foreign aid", which aides no one but that country's dictator's Swiss bank account.

To pay for these paranoid and exploitative acts, he turns to the black masses. He makes you a slave of his war machine and pays you pennies, then he turns around and offers you a part of the false illusion he calls the "American Dream", and charges you dollars for it, knowing you only have pennies.

"But", he says, "you can still buy into my white society, but on my terms" and you want so much to be a part of his world of "freedom for all" and "land of plenty", that you sign on the dotted line; one penny down, one hundred years of enslavement to whiteness to pay -- with interest.

Now you're so glad to be whitewashed into his red-necked democratic lie, that you go around bragging to your black brothers that you got "Green Power", and they'd better get some too.

You will never achieve "Green Power" unless you have Black Power. And you'll never have Black Power if you want to integrate yourself into a white racist society that does nothing but exploit, suppress and castrate the black masses.

The white racist dogs have a \$200 billion defense system that is supposed to keep out all external power moves. Still, they are defenseless against the mighty internal combustion created by 25 million cold, hard, lean, black people who will crush the loan sharks, the racist politicians, the coward dog cops, the snotty-nosed liberals and whoever gets in the way of the mighty black liberation machine that will bring freedom for the black man and justice to the white pigs.

Ready yourselves now, brothers and sisters, for soon we will wash the oppressors' blood from our feet and drink in the aroma of black victory.

POLICE SLAUGHTER BLACK PEOPLE

Continued From Page 1 Col. 2

everybody knows about them. Everybody knows that the gestapo pigs murdered Denzill Dowell in North Richmond, Mathew Johnson in Hunter's Point, and just in the last couple of weeks the cops have gunned down, in San Francisco, Jerome Cook, and in Berkeley they gunned down Charles Hansen. The significant thing about all of these murders is that the cops accused the brothers of having committed crimes against property: Such as attempted burglary, car theft, robbery, and so on. What people don't understand is that none of these crimes, if they actually did occur--and we can't say that the brothers had actually committed these crimes because they never had a chance to go to trial and face even an all-white jury--are punishable by the death penalty in the State of California. So we have the foul situation of some bum cop on the beat, some stupid boob punk who can hardly read or write, having the power to inflict Capital Punishment in cases where hunky judges are not allowed to issue out a death sentence.

The racist dog power structure knows that black people, most of whom are still blind to what's going on around them, are going to become a fully awakened revolutionary people embarked on the implacable struggle for total liberation. They know that black people are going to accept less and less jive from them and that brothers and sisters are going to strike back with maximum retaliation whenever they are driven uptight. The racist power structure is preparing in advance how to deal with black people when the deal goes down. They plan to throw a few sops to black people, like appointing Thurgood Marshall to the U.S. Supreme Court and Robert C. Weaver to the Department of Urban Affairs, and Edward Brooks appointed by controlled-white-ballot to the U.S. Senate. At the same time they plan to ruthlessly suppress and terrorize black people and to suppress all news of this in the mass media (see article page 20). By blocking out the news, the racist gestapo agencies can systematically wipe out black people and lying about it? If they suppress the news, who can do anything about it? We can see how hard it is to get information about what is going on in the countries around the world. Why then can't we look at this situation in reverse and realize that the other people of the world find it even harder to get information about what is going on in racist dog America. The gestapo power structure is actually systematically preparing to place black people on reservations or in concentration camps or into pacified hamlets as they did in South Vietnam. But whether they call them by one name or the other, or as the racist dogs in South Africa with their Apartheid policy that cooped black people up into restricted areas, they are actually planning to go into

this bag on black people.

If we stop to realize how much trouble racist America is in around the world -- not to mention here in the slum-ridden cities of Babylon -- we can clearly see that the monsters who control the levers of power have made the basic decision that they don't mind outraging the conscience of the world by perpetrating open aggression, extermination, and every other crime known in the annals of imperialist history. So why should we doubt they are also preparing an unprecedented tactic of genocide for black people in America?

We can judge the type of orientation the cops are now getting by the actions they take on the beat. And what do we see here? Cops now have itchy trigger-fingers. Can this be because they know that it is now part of the program to crack heads freely and kill niggers as you please? So anxious are the cops these days to resort to brute force that they have started cracking the heads of white Hippies and white peace demonstrators (see related articles elsewhere in this issue of The Black Panther). In one recent case, San Francisco gestapo worms hit a Hippie white girl in the face with a billy club and broke her jaw. Now lets face it, when racist cops start hitting white girls in the face with billy clubs, it means that they have been given a more liberal license to kill. They can now pick their targets from a wider circle of the population. That the circle is widening is not necessarily good news for black Americans. Of course it is somewhat encouraging to know that the white Hippies are going to get fed up with the cops brutalizing them and are going to start hitting and shooting back. But black people are still going to be in the center of the cross, where the pressure has always been the greatest. The pressure is going to become even greater. In the case of Jerome

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BLACK RULE NOT POLICE RULE



Special: continued from page 1

**Black STRUGGLE
in NEWARK**

to this America: black people have come to the conclusion that if black people in this country are to gain their freedom, the blood of white and black people must be spilled on the soil so that it may fertilize a real and functional freedom.

Newark, New Jersey is the latest revolt since Black America commenced open warfare against White Racist America in 1964. White racist authorities have tried to confuse the issue by calling the Newark battlefield a "criminal action, and not a race issue." But the issue is clear, Newark is a major battlefield in black America's war for national liberation.

What is happening in Newark is no different from what is happening in Vietnam or any other country where non-white people have reached the level of consciousness where they are willing to make the supreme sacrifice for their freedom. They are willing to sacrifice their lives.

The conditions that have led to the revolt in Newark are the same conditions that have initiated revolts in Harlem, Watts, Brooklyn, Omaha, San Francisco, Oakland, Chicago, Cleveland, etc. The racist power structure tried to blame it on the fact that a hospital facility was not allowed to be built in this city. Black leaders say the revolt stemmed directly from police brutality. At first impression these views seemed to conflict. It has to be understood however, that when the white racist power structure subjugates black people to rampant unemployment, delapidated houses, inferior education, etc. - it enforces these dehumanizing and oppressive conditions by its' racist gestapo police department. This racist occupation army (i.e. police department) protects the banditry, theft, and oppression of the ruling class in the name of law and order. Black people must realize this, and stop parroting the meaningless law and freedom edicts of White America.

Situated in close proximity to New York City, Newark is typical of most of the major cities of America.

It has a population of 400,000 people. Sixty (60%) percent of these people are of Afro-American descent. They are a numerical majority, but they are readily definable by two qualifications-- they are black and oppressed. Because they are black and oppressed, and because they are oppressed because they are black, is why they are willing to take to the streets in the classic form of dissent, where the blood of the oppressor is spilt along with the blood of the oppressed.

What has Newark proved? What did Watts prove? It has proven that black people, of all ages, of all status, have adapted an uncompromising position that freedom shall be gained in this country by any means necessary. It has also proved that white people still regard property rights as more valuable than human lives.

The white racist news media makes constant reference to the dollar amount of property damage. It pays very little attention to the black lives lost in the liberation struggle. The life of a black man in this country is not worth a damn!

What is the difference between Newark and Watts? In Watts thirty four people were killed. Thirty three of these people were black --and one was a Mexican-American. As of Sunday (July 16th) twenty three people were killed in Newark. However, one was a white detective, Fred Teto, who had been policeman of the year one year ago. Another was a fireman. Black people in this country have always known how to die, but finally they have learned how to kill. This is the difference between Newark and Watts.

America is faced with its' most unanimous threat at home. Black people have the power at their disposal to crumble this system from within. White people fail to realize that one day these spontaneous revolts will materialize into a well-organized revolution. In order to make the man put down the gun, we, black people, must pick up the gun.

By: Earl Anthony

8/8

SEE PICTORIAL CONTINUANCE ON NEXT PAGE



AN EYE FOR AN EYE, TOOTH FOR A TOOTH.
-TWO-FOR-ONE-
TEN FOR ONE

**BLOODS
On The
RAMPAGE.
LeRoi Jones
brutalized**

By: DYNAMITE

Bloods went on the rampage this week. This time in the city of Newark, New Jersey. Again whitey asks "why?" and again he is told why. This time on Nation Wide T.V. In a city with a 60% black population, a brother has to boot-lick and buck dance in the right place to get a job that pays well enough to be able to feed his family.

This riot like all other major riots that occur, was caused by the White Racist dog cops. This time they were observed as they misused a brother. The brother that observed the dogs, stated on nation wide T.V. that he saw these racist cops pick up items of value and throw them in the car where they were holding the brother they had arrested.



BROTHER LEROI JONES
BLACK REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST
BRUTALIZED BY RACIST DOG
COPS IN NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
IN RACIST AMERICA.

Also arrested, and assaulted by the Newark cops was LeRoi Jones. LeRoi Jones is the greatest black revolutionary artist of our time. He was charged with possession of an illegal gun. But, why was he beaten like a dog by the cops? We know the answer. He is black, and therefore a target for these white racist dogs.

More and more I wonder why cities and towns, especially those with blacks in a majority haven't joined the Black Panther Party For Self Defense. With the energy this is put into a disorganized riot, black people can organize and exert a power that will change this racist system in America once and for all. Lets' make the lives lost mean a lot more in favor of black people.

CAN YOU DIG IT?

SISTERS' SECTION

BLACK WOMANHOOD NO.1

By: Judy Hart

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

At this stage in the black revolution the relationships between black men and black women are taking on new and crucial meanings. We need to constantly analyze and evaluate our position and direction in relation to each other, to ourselves, to the black community, and to our enemy. With the black revolution being no more than the fusing of separate frustrations, desires, convictions, and strengths toward a common liberation, the black man and his woman cease to be simply a couple, two lovers, a man and his mistress, a pairing of looks or a sparring match, but a fusing, a deepening of two black minds, souls, and bodies passionately involved not only in each other but in "the movement", in the black community, in the Third World in black liberation, in life, itself.

One significant change taking place and at a remarkable speed is the move of the black bourgeois-oriented female into black womanhood. To understand the full implications of this move is to understand the forces stimulating this move, the background and orientation of the bourgeoisie, and the changes to which the move itself leads.

The first and foremost stimulus is and will be the black man. Women are magnetically attracted to men and black men are, in 1967, the only men on the scene. Women cannot help but gravitate toward life - and the black man holds within the strength and the fiery passion of his struggle his life, the life of his people and his posterity. His total commitment to his life is an invitation to the black woman to

join with him in the pursuit of a life together, removing the shackles of White Racist America and establishing a solid foundation of blackness from which to build.

The second formidable stimulus is White Racist America. As it becomes increasingly apparent that whitey means business when he tells us, in his 1001 different ways, that "niggers ain't shit", the repetition of history becomes an overt and pressing danger. Concentration camps are no longer a part of world history exclusively. And with their increasing possibility comes the black woman's intuition that her strength is needed as never before . . . her strength, not her will, her leadership, her domination, but her strength. And she comes, from all levels of Negro life, bringing with her the heritage of her mother - 400 years of bearing the burden of two families (his and her own), discarding the stench of his foul body, his foul morality, his foul domesticity, and his foul, disillusioning, glorified mainstream. In its place she brings her belief in the black man, in her own sensuality, and in her own back. She comes to the black man from this to this.

The actual move comes at the end of a process of disintegration of those values of White Racist America which the black bourgeoisie strives hardest to emulate. The most dominant value which "boogies" embrace is materialism and/or the great American dream. Wrapped inextricably with this is American (im) morality and individualism or alienation.

Toward men this materialism is ingrained in the attitudes of bourgeois women, sexually, socially, and economically. The bourgeois female, i.e., young, whorish, Continued On Page 14 Col. 1

A Few Words About The Jive Government

By: DYNAMITE

The American public doesn't know it, but they are supporting the strongest lobbying groups at the capitol--the National Rifle Association. Dig this, the NRA is a non profit, tax-exempt organization which is allowed to lobby. If other tax-exempt organizations lobby, their tax exempt status is removed. The Rifle Association receives two million seven hundred seventeen dollars a year from the Defense Department. This money is supposed to be used to train citizens in target practice, which is in itself a lot of B.S., but this money is used indirectly to lobby before Congress.

Black tax payers should know that the white racist government is using their money to teach racist dogs how to shoot so they can kill black people. The National Rifle Association is using Camp Perry, Ohio for its' annual target practice at the

expense of tax payers. This camp was requested by a representative from Ohio to be used as a summer camp for 5,000 underprivileged black youth. The answer was "NO!" The reason was; "The national rifle association's target competition." So you see, this government is jiving. The NRA get anything it wants, while black people are starving. That racist white dog Secretary of Agriculture is down south shucking and jiving with some kind of food stamps. He knows damn well that the people do not have the money to buy no damn stamps. This country is spending billions of dollars on countries over seas; this country dumps tons of so-called surplus food in the ocean. When it comes to the needs of black people, this racist government comes on with a lot of bull-shit. As brother Mark Comfort said "Goddamn Vietnam."

CAN YOU DIG IT? 8/8



AMERICA'S BLACK COLONIAL SUBJECTS SHOW CONTEMPT AND A TOTAL LACK OF FEAR OF THE RACIST DOG OCCUPYING THEM!



THE VISCIOUS ACTIONS OF THE REDWAX BATTALIONS OF THE OCCUPYING ARMY HAS HEIGHTENED THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF BLACK PEOPLE ALL ACROSS RACIST AMERICA



WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY FID GOVS, AIDED BY A BLACK LACKEY AGENT OF THE RACIST DOG POLICE HUMILIATE THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE MAKING!



RACISTS CALL IT "RIOTING", BUT ACTUALLY ITS A POLITICAL CONSEQUENCE ON THE PART OF BLACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND EQUALITY.

"AND WHILE WE ARE SURVIVING EVERYDAY IN OUR STRUGGLE, REMEMBER WHEN YOU KIP SOMETHING OFF, STEAL FROM THE WHITE MAN, SKATCH UP WHATEVER YOU CAN, YOU ARE DEALING WITH REAL POLITICS."

400 YEARS OF SLAVERY, SUFFERING AND DEATH IN BOTTEN AMERICA EXPLODED. THE STORED UP WRATH OF BLACK PEOPLE, WHEN IT EXPLODES ALL THE WAY WILL BRING ALL OF RACIST WHITE AMERICA'S NIGHTMARES INTO REALITY.



BROTHER LEROI JONES AFTER BEING BRUTALIZED BY RACIST COPS. BROTHER LEROI SEEMS TO BE REMEMBERING BROTHER MALCOLM'S LAST WORDS TO HIM: "LEROI, IF YOU LOOK AT THE SITUATION OBJECTIVELY, THEN YOU WILL KNOW WHAT TO DO."



INMATED VICTIM OF GRENADO BRUTALITY BY RACIST DOG POLICE. ITS TIME TO PICK UP THE GUN.



EAST COG, EAST CO.



WEEKS BRUTALITY IN BOMBING... AS COMPARED TO PREVIOUS BRUTALITY THROUGHOUT THE OPPRESSED BLACK COMMUNITIES IN RACIST DOG AMERICA, BOMBING HAS MORE ATTENTION, BECAUSE THERE WERE LESS BOMBERS WHO WERE GARY TURNER AND WERE BELIEVED FIRED. THIS IS DISAPPOINTING. WE MUST LEARN TO REMEMBER TO DEVELOP NEW TACTICS WHEN THE OPPRESSOR LEANS TO RESPOND TO A SUPER TACTIC IN SUCH A WAY AS TO IMPLY MORE CASUALTIES IN THE PEOPLE THAN BY HIMSELF SUFFERING.



POLICE DOG ATTACKING BLACK WOMAN



ARMED WHITE RACISTS TERRACIDE UNARMED BLACK BROTHER. WHY IS HE UNARMED?



STREETWAY DEMONSTRATION SUPPORTS THE CONCEPT THAT THE PEOPLE WILL END THE RACIST, U.S.A.



LONGER EAST COG

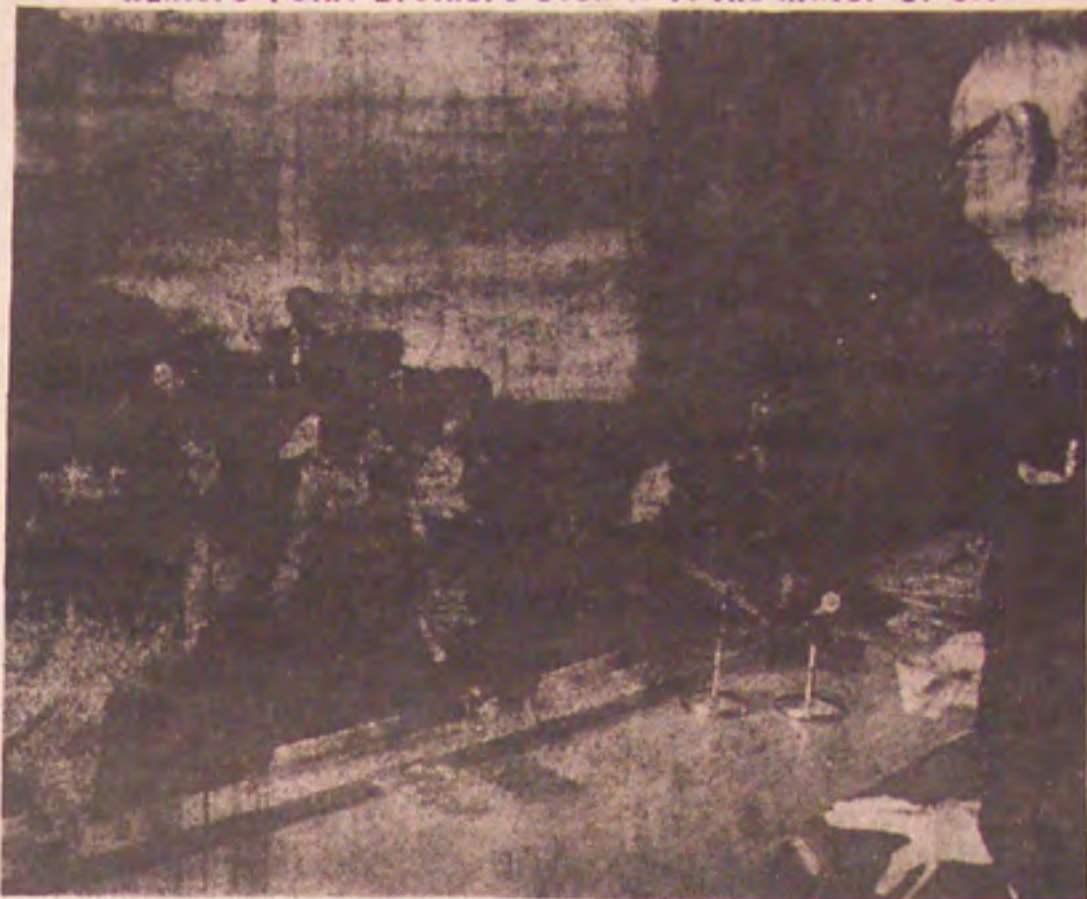


WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY STONE IN THE HEART OF BLACK COLONY FINALLY RECEIVED ITS JUST REWARD, AFTER EXPLOITING BLACK COLONIAL SUBJECTS FOR YEARS.



VELOCITY, NAU, SAYING, RACIST DOG, EXPLORE AS UNARMED BLACK PEOPLE AS THOUGH AT A FOREIGN BODY.

Hunters Point Brothers Sock It To The Mayor Of S.F.



By: George Murray
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Power concedes nothing, brother Frederick Douglas said. This lesson was learned, Monday July 3rd, and Wednesday July 5th, by the brothers of Hunters Point Bayview Community. The issues involved were police brutality, joblessness, mis-education, poor subhuman housing, and abject poverty.

On Monday, July 3, 1967, at Fremont Elementary School, about 150 brothers gathered expecting to be hired as team leaders and supervisors for the summer months. The brothers, many of them members of the Young Men For Action, said they were tired, sick and tired of being sick and tired. Their slogan was "Jobs or Gasoline", because every factory in the area would be burned. They were talking about black power on the actual level, on the pavement level, if you can dig it.

Of the 150 brothers present in the crowded office, the poverty program (OEO) Summer Youth Work program had stated that the poverty workers could hire 40 people. Being Black and being for real about the needs of our brothers, we called on the San Francisco power structure. The first call was made at 10:00 p.m. to the director of the Summer Youth Work Program, John Barrie, a honkey, who then called his boss, Joe Bailey, whom one of the brothers called a "handkerchief headed Uncle Tom." John Barrie, the white boy, was cursed out and was about to be jumped because he attempted to confuse the brothers by drawing charts and other jive on the black board, as if he was lecturing in a poverty seminar to some middle class honkies. This heated argument became hotter when Joe Bailey, the announced Tom, showed up. He was told several times, "Shut up, sucker, and listen to us, you jive-time Uncle Tom." Bailey's eyes were bulging and sweat was popping out on his head as the angry brothers fired question after question to him.

Almost at the same time, another honkey,

Lieutenant Andriotti of the San Francisco Police Force community relations board, showed up. Fresh in the brothers' minds was the fact that San Francisco's racist dog police force had murdered a brother, Jerome Cook, on Friday night, June 30, 1967.

The next person to arrive was Judge Joseph Kennedy, A Negro, who had sentenced some of these same angry brothers to long jail terms. Judge Kennedy, we were told by Joe Bailey, was the head of all programs being carried on in San Francisco by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This includes N.Y.C. Summer Youth work program, pre-school program, legal aid society, etc. Kennedy was challenged by the brothers, their question to him was, "whose side are you on" his reply was "I'm on your side, I'm with you." The brothers said, "prove it by going down town to face the mayor." The brothers of Hunters Point felt that since Judge Kennedy had Black skin and judicial skills, maybe he could adequately and sincerely articulate the needs, desires, and goals of the people of Hunters Point. Kennedy said he could not give the brothers jobs but could secure an appointment for us at 10:00 a.m., July 5th.

Wednesday, we were in the Mayor's chambers. From the git, the Mayor began to pass the buck. He tried to make us feel that one could only get the jobs in Washington, D.C. He was corrected by a brother who sprang from the back of the crowded chambers and told the honkey that he'd better not pass the buck, because he would reap a dire political consequence if he did. One brother named Hawkins, said he was tired of eating beans, being raggedy and being beat over the head and stomped by the racist cops of the San Francisco Police Dept. The brothers got so angry that they charged up in mass to the podium and shouted curses at the buck passing mayor. One brother working in Hunter's Point said to the mayor, "We know that whitey does not feel any responsibility for, or to black people. Its obvious that your judicial system, which throws harsh unusual and unjust punishment upon brothers, or your schools which are geared to make us flunk out by acting according to the dictates of its racist superintendent Harold Spears. We demanded more jobs for supervisors, 20 for team leaders, and 200 for young people age 14 to 18. But, he concluded, we will get what we need and want by any means necessary."



black womanhood no.1

renewal-fulfillment-strengthening on-going one in which the man ceases to be a breadwinner, but becomes the element around which the woman stabilizes, catalyzes, anchors, and from which children evolve (not happen).

Sex becomes not a necessary convenience but a vital, pleasurable, functional part of the whole. The sexual relationship becomes a source of strength, pleasure, renewal, satisfaction, mutual reinforcement and thus enhances and re-directs the total relationship, instead of determining and being the relationship.

Continued From Page 11 Col. 5

working, extremely well-dressed (on \$350 a month) and as near in simulated looks and make-up, stance, and blandness as possible to the Glamour-Mademoiselle-Vogue image (this changes with age to the Ebony-Ladies Home Journal-McCalls image), uses (and emasculates) her man as a social coat-hanger, a bill-payer, a dude, a vehicle to further her own confused self-image... a nigger.

The emasculation concept is not just thrown in as an aside on my part. The Negro woman's disrespect for and hatred of her man is an integral part of her functioning. She comes from a home in which the man is nothing more than her functioning. She comes from a home in which the man is nothing more than an accessory to her mother (and as often as not, grandmother, aunt, and other dominant matriarchal figures). A house in which the male can't function unless he's drunk, it's the first of the month, or he's physically asserting himself, either by yelling, beating, or fucking.

The boogie girl uses her man sexually as a convenience. His penis is of no less importance to her than a kitchen appliance, i.e., it is used. He doesn't make love to her, he fucks her. He moves in and out, just as she wishes him. They masturbate mutually.

Their relationship on the emotional level reflects its own morality. There is no trust, no faith, no companionship, no basis for growth and development. They meet, probably at a gig, and embrace each other as two ships passing each other in the middle of the night. We see the boogies coming together and each insecure in his "whiteness", moving further apart from themselves, into the ghettos, and into the hearts of black urbania.

Economically, she re-orientes her status-conscious mind and gears her desires to those concomittant with black liberation. If need be, she works from 8 to 5 and brings home the money (this standard exists precisely because, to whitey, money is the equivalent or substitute for his manhood).

Socially, the Negro man becomes extinct, outmoded. Social barriers and distinctions disappear, replaced by a communal unity. Socially, women, who hold on hardest to status distinctions, begin to recognize there are no differentiations between black people. That to White Racist America, we are all "niggers" and we have to function in view of this label. The family assumes more than a dinner-table, church-pew role, but becomes base for activity. The an-woman relationship is a

In terms of survival, i.e., in 1967, the black man needs a woman as a base, an anchor, a refuge, a shelter, a haven, a place of peace, a home and institution of strength. The black woman must incorporate all of these.



We see them constantly one-upping one another. Both outdress each other. Both have the latest cars. Both read Playboy. Both try their hardest to embrace the American dream. Both quit each other and sail frantically towards another ship. As they get older, we see the same "out-doing" the other one taking place, their dual "achievements" reinforcing their separateness, alienating their entities. Each has a job, each has a car, each has an "education", each has a psychiatrist, each has a bed, each gets a divorce, and each has a child.

It is from this perpetual vacuum that bourgeois chicks proceed to their black womanhood. Her former role is not even reversed but abolished. There is no time for what went on before to continue - no time at all. White Racist America is a time bomb. And black women reciprocate by developing full blown a womanhood in which her man and thus his commitment becomes the essence of her life. He moves from the periphery to the center. He becomes the center.

Politically, economically socially, and sexually, a new ethic is molded, constantly adapting itself to the needs of blackness.

She stops pressing her hair to show both her man and Charlie that she is ready to accept her womanhood and all the responsibilities and privileges it entails. She becomes involved in her community with the end in mind of laying the foundation for the man's destruction. It is indicative of the times to see formerly ultra-boogie chicks refocus and reorient their lives. They move back from the middle-class suburbs, and outer limits of the cities, and whatever else is desirable and function for her man if he is to be a man. #18

Cook, the young black brother who was shot down by racist cops, he was literally ambushed and shot in the back. The cops had the gall to stake out a place which they had reason to believe would be robbed, place a T.V. camera man in a strategic spot and film a live action police murder. When they shot at the brother they shot to kill. So arrogant have they become that they showed the murder film over local T.V. stations several times. This is nothing less than a message being communicated to both black and white people that niggers can now be shot down with impunity. This is the racist's plan in the process of systematic development.

When Ronald Reagan entered the State Capitol, one of his first official acts was to order the execution of a black man in San Quentin's Gas Chamber. This was the first execution to take place in California in several years. There should be no mistaking the meaning of Reagan's action in that instance. Just as there should be no mistaking the meaning of what racist cops all around the country are now preparing for Afro-America.

We have a tendency to walk in a fog when it comes to this question. While we stumble along, spouting rhetoric, the racists are slowly and systematically maneuvering us into a bag. Like death creeping over the Jews in Germany without their even suspecting that it was on its way, black people to-



THIS BROTHER, TRYING TO SURVIVE IN RACIST AMERICA, WAS SHOT DEAD, THROUGH THE HEAD, WITH A .357-MAGNUM PISTOL BY A RACIST COP, IN RACIST DOG BERKELEY.

day stumble through America, relying on the morality of the white man to save them from genocide. There could be no more hopeless hope.

The only true hope for Afro-America is to become quickly and openly revolutionary, anti-imperialist, and anti-aggressive unjust war. To survive, black people must unite under well organized machinery and move to smash police terror and domestic colonialism, and to shatter the war-mongering racist foreign policy that holds the rest of our Third World brothers and sisters in a vicious bind. When we get our stuff together on this level, then we can move to surpass the deeds of our fathers who built the Pyramids.

-----Minister of Information

8/8



A REVOLUTIONARY SISTER



BLACK AND BEAUTIFUL

Continued From Page 4 Col. 4

PANTHERS AND HUNTERS POINT



MAYOR SHELLEY LIKE TO GOT HIS HEAD WHIPPED WHEN HE TRIED TO JIVE BLACK BROTHERS FROM HUNTERS POINT WHO WANTED ACTION NOW. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY RAN DOWN THE NEW ACTION TO BE TAKEN, WITH GUNS

jive anymore, that we intend to change the adverse conditions that we are subjected to.

When black people cause political consequences because we do not receive what we want, then we are dealing in real politics. Political power comes through the barrel of a gun, and our Minister Of Defense explains that black power; that a functional definition of power itself is the ability to define phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner. If we organize and use gun power in a strategic fashion against a racist power structure, the power structure then becomes aware of the fact that we have been correctly educated on the true understanding of politics. The racist power structures power over black people lies in its police

force occupying our community. Before Watts there was only 1,300 cops patrolling, and brutalizing the black people of Los Angeles. The Oakland police department has doubled its forces from 350 to 700 racist pig cops in two years. The San Francisco police department has doubled its forces over some 1,000 cops in two years. All across the country, and especially where black people live, police forces have been doubled, tripled and quadrupled. It was explained that these cops are not in the white community shooting white boys in the back, calling white people names,

brutalizing and intimidating them, but these cops are in the black community occupying and containing us.

Now if we want to exercise Black Power, we do not go out and have a Lay-In in this kind of situation, we do not have a Ride-In, we do not have a Roll-In and Step-Ins, all these "ins" have been exhausted. The only thing that we can do now, brothers and sisters, is get our guns organized, forget the Ins and shoot it Out. Organize with the tactics to be taught by the Black Panther Party For Self Defense. It would be practical to start getting our guns right away so we can defend ourselves righteously. Brothers you have to know your rod, how to shoot it and when to shoot it, and I suspect that many of you already do. Don't stop your gangs and clubs; keep them, for they are the basis of getting national organization for black people here in racist America. We are going to deal with the real power of the power structure, controlled by Mayor Shelly in San Francisco, Mayor Redding in Oakland, and all the other rotten Mayors throughout the country who use guns to try and make us submit. One other point that we must understand, and I think that most of you already do understand, is that the oppressors' goal is different from ours. The oppressors' goal is to bring in as many guns as

possible to make us bow and boot-lick and kiss ass to him. But our goals, black brothers and sisters, is simply to drive this racist dog, the racist policeman, out of our communities. The minute we start doing this, the man's racist police will begin to be ineffective in suppressing our struggle to get our basic demands and needs to live and survive. And while we are surviving everyday in our struggle, remember when you rip something off, steal from the white man, snatch up whatever you can, you are dealing with real politics. Remember a hungry stomach is political, delapidated housing is political, murder and brutality by the cops is political, unfair treatment in the Courts is political. So we must organize and arm ourselves, so that we can defend ourselves from the conditions that we are subjected to. Black people and real political consequences will change this racist decadent system.

What was found was expected by the Black Panther Party For Self Defense at this speaking engagement. The brothers and sisters say they really dig the program of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Over 100 applications for membership into the Party were received. The brothers and sisters in the area were very receptive to the political views given them.

Contd. Page 23, Col. 5

RACISM: Germany 1933—1945

RACISM: U.S.A. 1620—?????



JIMMU TENNO 1967

HEY, BROTHERS AND SISTERS

THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER NEEDS A CIRCULATION MANAGER. WE ARE SWAMPED WITH POSSIBLE READERSHIP AND WE NEED A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY GENIUS TO DEAL WITH CIRCULATION. WE ARE GOING TO MAKE THIS PAPER, FIRST, NATIONAL AND THEN INTERNATIONAL. WE NEED A QUALIFIED MEMBER WHOSE REFERENCES CAN BE CHECKED. SOMEONE WELL KNOWN IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WITH THE REPUTATION OF BEING A MAN OF THE PEOPLE. UNQUALIFIED PEOPLE, RATS, AGENTS, AND OPPORTUNISTS ARE STRONGLY ADVISED NOT TO APPLY BECAUSE WE DO NOT HAVE ANY TIME TO WASTE AND IF YOU DO APPLY, YOU WILL BE DEALT WITH IN AN ABRUPT MANNER. QUALIFIED PEOPLE WILL BE MET WITH OPEN ARMS. 8/8

IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE IN LEAD YOU ARE ALREADY DEAD....

L.A. Gestapo Attacks Anti—War Demonstrators

By: Bob Avakian

On June 23rd, Lyndon B. Johnson, the world's top-dog oppressor and murderer, came to Los Angeles to be celebrated by the pigs of the power structure, who paid \$500 a piece to be in the same room with the arch-enemy of the world's peoples.

A march and demonstration was called to protest the genocidal war Johnson is directing, for the profit of the power structure, against the people of Vietnam. It was planned as a peaceful show of opposition, but Sam Yorty, the little Hitler of Los Angeles, had called 2000 of his pig policemen out to beat people's heads while he rubbed noses with Johnson inside the hotel.

The owners of the hotel and the gestapo pigs of the Los Angeles police got a local judge to issue an injunction against the anti-war march, which made it illegal to sing on the march, to have any sound equipment, to use any vehicles, to stop at all in front of the hotel, and almost anything else that demonstrations involve if they

four gestapo pigs jumped on her and smashed her with their clubs. Then they arrested her for assaulting an "officer of the law" with a deadly weapon, because she had tried to defend herself against their savage attack with a flimsy picket sign. Three men who tried to drive the pigs off her, were mercilessly beaten--one of them was knocked unconscious.

Then the outlaw cops following what fascist Mayor Yorty called a "perfectly executed plan"--allowed the marchers to continue to the hotel, where the march halted. After about half an hour of encircling the marchers, driving them off the street, and herding them onto the

sidewalks, the gestapo storm troopers formed into marching units and motorcycle gangs, in preparation for their assault on the marchers. Suddenly the police pigs attacked: dog-cops on motorcycles rode full-speed into crowd of women and children, many of them sitting peacefully; snorting pig-police, formed into a flying-wedge, drove



have any meaning. This made the whole thing very much like the situation in Selma, Alabama in 1965 when black people tried to march through their own streets to defy the racists who were terrorizing and brutalizing them in order to keep them from voting. Then, as now, the gestapo pig policemen got an injunction against the marchers. And then, as now, the local gestapo unit wasted little time in attacking the marchers. The difference was, however, that this time almost all of the marchers were white, but they were acting against the power structure, so they were viciously beaten. As soon as the march began, 20 thug cops surrounded a truck driven by one of the demonstrators, forced it to stop and smashed in the front and side windows. They clubbed a girl in the back of the pick-up truck to the ground and then three or

the marchers like cattle down the sidewalk, clubbing anyone who got in their way, and crushing children and old people in the crowd. One man who bent down to pick up a baby that a woman had dropped was repeatedly clubbed by a storm trooper.

Even after the ganster cops had broken up the march, they roamed through the streets like pigs broken out of their pens, looking for isolated demonstrators and attacking them. One marcher who saw a half dozen gestapo pigs beating a girl, shouted to her to get into the car he was driving. A dop-cop yelled, "Get that sonofabitch!" The pigs pulled the man from his car and beat him repeatedly over the head. Then, because they couldn't figure out what crime to charge him with, they left him bleeding in the street.

white 'mother country' radical responds to editorial

Contd. From Page 6, Col. 5

tried, like parasites, to use it, pervert it and divert it for their own ends. These are the groups that parade through the black community selling the stolen literature of your own leaders and revolution-

ary heroes like Malcolm X. Actually, these white blood-suckers do not believe in the potential of black people for achieving their own liberation--they believe that they must direct the black liberation

struggle themselves.

Thus as a representative of CNP, I was a member of the Black Panther Legal Defense Committee; I tried, even after the organization was deserted and subverted by members of other white radical organizations, to help hold the Legal Defense Committee together. Unfortunately, this effort failed, but I and others in CNP stand ready at all times to continue similar efforts in support of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense--and all other black revolutionary organizations.

The more resolutely black revolutionaries carry forward their struggle for total liberation, the more clearly the lines will be drawn--the more obvious the revolutionary spirit of black people will become--and the easier it will become for white radicals to rally organized support behind the struggle for black liberation.

We therefore affirm our support for the black revolution, and we pledge our increased efforts in the future to build further support for your heroic efforts. Your liberation will not only be a victory for oppressed people everywhere, but a step toward our own liberation; for we are oppressed--less brutally and more subtly, but oppressed all the same--by the same enemy: the racist, imperialist white power structure.

I believe that the CNP is guilty of the first kind of failing, but not the second. The CNP is not an ideological sect; it is a loosely-knit organization of white people, who have been completely out of touch with the black liberation struggle. It is of course the responsibility of those of us who claim to lead that organization to inform our people of what is happening, to direct them to the revolutionary literature coming out of the black liberation struggle and to move them in the direction of full support for that struggle.

This we are doing and will continue to do--not only because it is our duty as white radicals, but because we recognize that if we are ever to move whites, both poor and radical

"middle class," to a revolutionary position, liberation movements, throughout the world--and right here in the belly of the beast, in Afro-America--must triumph over the imperialist white power structure. Thus, as a representative of CNP, I was a member of the Black Panther Legal Defense Committee, and I tried, even after the organization was deserted and subverted by members of other white radical organizations, to help hold the Legal Defense Committee together. Unfortunately, this effort failed, but I and others in CNP stand ready at all times to continue similar efforts in support of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense--and all other black revolutionary organizations.

The more resolutely black revolutionaries carry forward
Continued On Page 22 Col. 5



Bob Avakian, Research Editor for RAMPARTS Magazine, was an eyewitness to the massive brutality heaped upon the heads of the anti-war demonstrators in Los Angeles recently. He has long been a careful observer of the police all over America, and because of what he has seen with his own eyes, he has been forced into a revolutionary position vis a vis the Police. His pictures above speak for how he now feels and what he thinks is the solution to Police Brutality. His article below needs only to be read in order to understand why Bob has picked up the gun.

As many as 200 marchers were injured--and a few policemen when people in the crowd threw rocks, bottles and anything else they could get their hands on at the storm troopers. Johnson himself was deprived of the sight of his gestapo attacking the marchers, but he did fly over the battlefield, just before the storm-trooper assault began, like a General reviewing the battle preparations in Vietnam. But the people in the demonstration--even though they were denied the opportunity to show their full disgust for the monarch of mass-murder--were re-enforced in their hatred of the power structure and the system it imposes on us, through the use of gestapo pigs like the Los Angeles "police." The motto of these gestapo pigs is "to protect and serve"--and there wasn't a demonstrator that night who didn't know that hoodlum gestapo pigs like the Los Angeles police do protect and serve the power structure by

attacking the people. Some white people are beginning to understand the nature of this system, which has most brutally terrorized and oppressed black people; and we wonder how long it will take the rest to get hip to this beastly country and make up their minds to take care of business. #/0

THE MORE BOOKSTORE
1413 FILLMORE STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

bootlicker Tshombe captured

Continued From Page 2 Col. 4

Now this swine has fallen into the hands of the revolutionary peoples. Of course he will be dealt with as all bootlickers should be dealt with: DEATH! But even by killing this vicious idiot, the loss which black people suffered by Lumumba's death will not be off-set in the least. A comparable loss was the murder of Brother Malcolm. Nothing could compensate Afro-Americans for his death. Yet the people must take that action which lies within their power. And they have the power to take the heads off the traitors.

The imperialists got all of the milage they could out of puppet Tshombe, and now that they no longer find him useful, they will sit back and watch Revolutionary Justice be meted out to him. But the loss of Tshombe has not slowed down the imperialists in their unceasing efforts to subvert the Congo. The racist, imperialist American power structure is actively arming the henchmen of Tshombe, Mobutu, and unknown flunkies so that they can continue terrorizing the people of the Congo. The imperialists hope that through the use of merciless terror and stark brutality they can quench the Congolese thirst for real freedom from the Neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation under which they have suffered since the death of Lumumba. But the Congolese people will produce another Lumumba who will unite his people, drive out the racist exploiters, and chop off the heads of the traitors. Let that day come soon! #/0

(July 9 - Tampa, Florida) Black brothers and sisters revolted in the Central Park and Western Districts of this city. The wrath of the people had been unleashed upon this city only a few weeks prior to the revolt.

PANTHER COMMENT:

Once again it was the white racist dog cops gross abuse of the human rights of black people (i.e. 18 year old Isiah Gaines) which has led black people to vent their anger and frustrations in ghetto revolts. The Black Panther Party For Self Defense realizes that the day has come when the frustration and anger of black people has to be asserted in organized and sustained revolts.

(July 10 - Cleveland, Ohio) Dr. Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) today began a boycott of Sealtest Dairy Products here, claiming the firm failed to cooperate in providing data on Afro-American employment. The boycott, called "operation breadbasket" is sponsored by SCLC and the United Pastors Association of Cleveland, a group of Afro-American Ministers.

PANTHER COMMENT:

The racist imperialist blood suckers of the United States continue to exploit and subjugate the people of the non-white world, which includes the black brothers and sisters in this country.

July 10 - Washington D.C.) The puppet House of Representatives proposed a bill making it a Federal crime to cross state lines for the purpose of inciting riots.

PANTHER COMMENT:

Laws in this country are made to protect the vested interests of the ruling class. We know the law will be armed at black freedom fighters such as Stokely Carmichael, but will not apply to racist such as George Lincoln Rockwell, CIA, FBI, etc. Therefore we declare the law invalid.

(July 11 - Lagos, Nigeria) Each side claimed today it was winning Nigeria's Civil War. The Federal Government at Lagos said its troops were converging on Enugu, the Capitol of the Eastern Region which seceded under the name "Republic of Biafra" May 30. But Radio Biafra claimed that its own forces were driving the Federal troops into retreat.

(July 8 - Greensboro, N.C.) Five Afro-American men armed with shotguns moved into the home of the Rev. Frank Williams to protect the young Afro-American Minister and his family from vandals who have harassed them since they moved into an all-white neighborhood four weeks ago.

PANTHER COMMENT:

The five courageous black brothers who were protecting Rev. Williams were righteously ready and armed with the tools of freedom.

(July 8 - Kansas City, Mo.) Helmeted racist dog cops used tear gas to disperse about 150 Afro-Americans at Swope Park Sunday, after the crowd dented police cars and broke windows with rocks and bottles. The distur-

PANTHER COMMENT:

bance was started when three bootlicking Negro cops tried to make an unlawful arrest of three black brothers.

It is proven thousands of times each day in the black ghettos across this country that the dog cops are public enemy NO. 1 of the black people.

(July 7 - Los Angeles, Calif.) Three Black Panthers were unlawfully arrested and harassed by the Los Angeles gestapo police on a charge of possession of narcotics. The Panthers: Earl Anthony, Reggie Fortier, and Bobby Hutton were released after three days in jail.

PANTHER COMMENT:

It is clear to the Black Panther Party For Self Defense that this was a political act on the part of the racist gestapo police. Further acts of this type will be met by a political consequence. #/0

BLACK POETRY

REGGIN

...They were in the bush filled with hot wild meat. They were in the bush singing and stomping by sacred fires, Primitive fires where umbilical cords lay buried beneath the earth. Tied beneath the earth to Shango Gods and Drum language --

They were in the bush praying To hallowed leaves, to mighty rivers When he came with guns and blood To hush the screaming drums. A stranger With knives came to sever black hands and Gut young bellies of maiden girls. Oh mother -- Oh Dying Congo -- Oh cruel Damn white man! ...the rubber is red And your basket full of hands.

Our women are swollen with rape, Your lawns are decorated with our Father's skulls. Savage and brutal Man -- you force our men to mount Their sons. The Congo Mother is weeping.

I go de blues -- Lawd, lawd, jus tryin' To remember smethin' I'm s'pose to. The rows is long and the master is hard.

They whipped a yellar nigger today And I'm tired and hongry. I think It's the Jim-Crow signs. But I hear A drum beatin' -- Poundin' -- Thundering And I want to march with threatening fist. I want to spit in the face of

The executioners in Angola. The jazz Beat is in my nigger blood--

And I want to strike back For my brothers best under the white Torment of Johannesburg!

Ding...Ding...Ding! Hail Malcolm full of death and darkness Blessed was Patrice and the black fruit,

The Black arts, the black power of Bessie Smith, Leroi, Senghor and Baldwin. Mother of negroidness switch your big rump Till the niggers scream and burn and play The miracles of Duke and Miles and Shout Amen in one black voice...

AAAAA -- Men! We are holy like the Koran James brown and Carmichael are The Prophets

AAAAA -- Men! We are holy and steeped in Biblical darkness -- Hail...Hail Madonna with nappie hair.

Blessed mother, Volumptuous black tits And anisist lips Be our guide even at the Hour of death...Amen. Amen. Amen...

By: J. Anthony Stowers

#/0

POEM FOR BLACK POETS

Til you can let white blood out of the Alphabet, don't write. For sweet words of song are galling mockeries to the Black Race in its plight!

--Minister of Information #/0

WENDELL ELAM
CENTRAL BAIL BOND AGENCY
WE NEVER CLOSE

2-3130

100-7th Street, Oakland, Ca. 94612



BLACK AND BEAUTIFUL

NONSENSE REPUDIATED

July 12, 1967

Mrs. Pat Alexander
Herald Dispatch
1431 West Jefferson Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

This letter will concern itself with an article which was written by you in the May 4, 1967 issue of the Dispatch.

It is difficult for me to conceive of that a young woman of your supposed intelligence could not only furnish such an article for public viewing, but to insist that you believe all of what you wrote goes beyond my imagination. It is quite obvious that you are not informed on the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE.

I will endeavor to answer your questions, cognizant however, that at the close of my letter you will be convinced that I also am a paid member of the CIA. May I suggest that you do some further research into both parties before ontaking such a task as a cover story again, as it proves to be much too much for you to handle.

QUESTION (1) State Capital Police and the Governor of your state both are obviously more informed than you are on such matters. For all 26 of the young men involved in the historical incident went there with a purpose. (Sorry, it was not to win an Academy Award). They further stand ready to give up their young and much needed lives in order to advance the Black people of today. Further Mrs. Alexander, the racist dog police, if you will note, only tend to "shoot and kill" young unarmed blacks as a "matter of duty".

QUESTION (2) All guns were not unloaded - When the brothers resisted the guns were left alone.

QUESTION (3) We will both agree that this is where the governor's offices are.

QUESTION (4) Demonstrations are not usually staged with intent to, or in an effort to create violence. May I take this opportunity to say that, the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, does not partake in "Demonstrations". It is not a part of our program to instigate or involve ourselves in "demonstrations". Further an oral statement is not necessary when you have said all that must be said by your actions. However, you have flatly stated that there was no oral statement delivered by the "demonstrators". If you do not know that a statement was in fact delivered, then as to any other ridiculous remark that you might make, I couldn't be in the least surprised. There was indeed an oral statement delivered by the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seales. Mr. Seales was sent to Sacramento by Minister Of Defense, Huey P. Newton for the specific purpose of delivering a message to the black world, and this was successfully achieved. The statement which Mr. Seales delivered was reprinted in full in the Black Panther Newspaper, Volume 1 Number 2, on May 15, 1967. I herewith am enclosing a copy of that issue, so that you can be relieved of your ignorance which is obviously too much to bare for a mind of your low caliber. I challenge you to reprint this statement by Minister Of Defense, Huey P. Newton in your newspaper, to enlighten any reader so ignorant as to believe anything you might have to say. If you do not reprint it, it really doesn't matter because your paper is held in so much contempt by Black people that it probably doesn't even influence you. Your analysis was so shallow, that I am forced to believe that you could not insist upon an analysis having been made.

I cannot stress how dissappointed I was in a Black woman of this day being so narrow minded and ridiculous. I feel that even more than whites and racist police forces, you and your kind present us with a bigger threat; that you have little or nothing to offer in the way of intelligence or perspective viewing into such situations. Further, I would suggest that you take the time out from your position as Editor of an imaginary newspaper to do some research work, and make an effort to broaden your scope just a tiny bit.

I personally challenge you to a debate on any subject matter which you could possibly touch upon, and I will promise to blow your mind completely. I have no hopes of being able to burn you black, as you are no doubt convinced that you are either a cousin to the white woman or possibly that a white world is where you choose to live-- This is your problem.

Before closing, may I stress that there is no adjective that can convey to you what needs to be done with bootlickers and uncle toms of your caliber.

Cordially yours,

Audry Hudson,
Secretary of the B.P.P.S.D. #/8

GOOD BEGGIN' WILLIE GOOFS

(Continued From Page 5)

disgrace the black woman to a degree which is unexcusable, even for one as miserable as he. To ask a Sister to pay a sum of money to touch and embrace a figure which is admired and loved by the black nations of today, is foul and sick. Would Mr. Brown have proceeded in the same fashion at the White House, if Lucy B. Johnson saw fit to kiss the Champ? I think not. Further, would he have suggested that Mrs. Willie Brown pay to kiss the champ? I conclude that we would be stretching the imagination to entertain the thought that he would say yes or even maybe.

We realize that the Assemblyman is a beggar, as he proved that at the Black Survival Conference, when he placed another of our esteemed Black Brothers, Stokley Carmichael in a foul scented situation. Having the nerve to suggest that he collect his puppet funds. Willie Brown has proven himself to be an excellent and expert beggar of the so-call middle class negro, and we black people don't like it, as he proves only to embarrass and disgrace us. Further he does not make his scapegoats aware of his preconceived plans, as he must realize that he would immediately be sat down. But no, he will subject our brothers, like Stokley and the Champ to such capers. These brothers being very up-tight would rather do it than to publically denounce this boot-licker.

Well, I do it for them, I publically denounce you as a Black man, Assemblyman Willie Brown, I publically say to you that you are the essence of stupidity, I publically say that you are not a black man, but indeed a colored man that has managed to get his C.N.P.'s (Good Nigger Papers). I publically say to you that should you continue this outrageous behavior you shall be denounced as a man. I publically say to you that it is time you get off the band wagon and join the crowd. I publically say that you and your kind have no need, or serve any purpose in Black organizations. I further say publically Mr. Assemblyman that we black women would like to hear from you on your actions. We would like to suggest that you try and dig up some candor and be careful in your choice of words as we shall be listening carefully. #/8

GLACK AND BEAUFIFUL



CHINESE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT (Cont'd)

(Continued From Page 2 Col. 3)

final victory so long as they strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle, advance wave upon wave and surmount all difficulties.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares: Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people who are victoriously carrying on the great proletarian cultural revolution absolutely will not allow the US imperialists and their collaborators to ride roughshod and commit aggression everywhere. We firmly stand on the side of the Arab people and resolutely support them in their just war against US-Israeli aggression.

Victory will surely belong to the heroic fighting Arab people!

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S MESSAGE TO NASSER

The Chinese People Will Always Remain Comrades-in-Arms of the Arab People in the Struggle Against Imperialism

On June 6, Premier Chou En-lai addressed separate messages to Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, Nouredin Atassi, Head of State of the Syrian Arab Republic, and Ahmad Shukairy, President of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Following is the text of the message to President Nasser. The Black Panther will present the other messages in future issues. - Ed.

On June 5, 1967, instigated and supported by US imperialism, Israel launched cowardly sudden attacks on Cairo, capital of the UAR, the Suez Canal zone, the Gaza Strip, and other places, thus precipitating a war of aggression against all the Arab states and people. Fearing no brute force and filled with hatred against their common enemy, the people of the UAR and the entire Arab people who have an anti-imperialist tradition have greatly deflated the truculent arrogance of the aggressors and have won the sympathy and praise of all the anti-imperialist revolutionary people of Asia, Africa, and the whole world.

The current aggression by Israel has been long premeditated and was launched after Israel had been assured of political and military support from US President Lyndon Johnson. Facts have once again demonstrated that US imperialism is the arch criminal supporting Israel in its aggression against the Arab states and is the most ferocious enemy of the Arab people. The Chinese people and Government fully agree with the correct conclusion drawn by Your Excellency Mr. President on May 2 that US imperialism is "the headquarters of the counter-re-

volution in the world."

At present, the situation of the struggle against imperialism in

the world is excellent. US imperialism is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the world. By their war adventures US imperialism and its tool Israel can only arouse the Arab people to even more resolute resistance and hasten their own doom. Britain, France, and Israel did not come to any good end in their aggression against Egypt in 1956, and today, in instigating and supporting Israel in its aggression against the Arab states US imperialism will definitely come to no good end either.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, has said, "The just struggles of the peoples of various countries in the world support each other." The Chinese Government and people have always highly appraised the Arab people's struggle against imperialism and regarded their struggle as our own struggle and their victories as our own victories. Now I wish to reiterate to Your Excellency that in the struggle to repel the aggression by US imperialism and its tool Israel, the Chinese Government and people stand firmly by the UAR people and the entire Arab people and will forever remain the staunch and reliable comrades-in-arms of the Arab people.

Finally, allow me, on behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Lin Biao as well as in my own name, to extend to Your Excellency our sincere regards and greetings. #/8

(Reprinted from: Peking Review, no. 24, June 9, 1967)

GLENN HOLMES

BAIL BOND AGENCY

2975 - 35th Street
SACRAMENTO CALIFORNIA

Day or Night
452-4493

bootlickers



Her back faces to Harlem.



DANSON



BROOKE



KING

gallery



AGENT OF THE WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY, DONALD WARDEN



RUMFORD



WILKINS



WEAVER



YOUNG



McKISSICK



BALDWIN

toms-blown away.....

Continued From Page 7, Col 4
 spokesman for black people; their vicious denunciation and expelling of Robert Williams of Monroe, North Carolina when he advocated armed self defense for black people at a time when terror, both by police and by racist nightriders, was at an all time peak because of the white hysteria that greet the first waves of student sit-ins, freedom rides, etc.,--seen in perspective, all of these acts and a host of less well known similar moves, identify the NAACP as a pernicious, subversive force in the black community.

If any other evidence is needed as to the scurvyness of the NAACP, one need only consider that the NAACP, under the titular guidance of Roy Wilkins, has (1) refused to denounce LBJ and the racist war of extermination that he is waging for the power structure in Vietnam; while at the same time Wilkin's NAACP has openly criticized those black leaders like Stokley Carmichael, Floyd McKissack, Martin Luther King, and Muhammad Ali who have openly condemned the War in Vietnam and advised black youth to refuse the draft, (2) Condemned the slogan of Black Power and its advocates, (3) invited LBJ to be the key-note speaker at the 1967 national convention

of that organization, (4) awarded the Spingarn Medal- its highest honor for achievement recognized - to Republican Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts.

Taken singly, each of the above acts or omissions would destroy the NAACP in the black community. Taken as a whole, one begins to wonder just how does the NAACP get away with openly selling out the black community while at the same time moving around freely and unafraid, from public platform to public platform, speaking moderately in the names of a people who have become revolutionary in terms of how it is now willing to move for its liberation from an oppressive, racist power structure. The U.S. government has made it clear that it values the existence of Roy Wilkins. The same racist government has sat by in the past and allowed black leaders to be murdered in cold blood without lifting a finger to apprehend or punish the killers if apprehended by others. Yet the U.S. government has spent a lot of money, time, and energy infiltrating various black radical organization with black lackeys, and just recently came up with bizzar charges against members of R.A.M. (Revolutionary Action Movement) for allegedly

conspiring to execute Roy Wilkins.

The word is out that forces within the NAACP have been waging a bitter struggle to force Roy Wilkins to resign his position. But Wilkins, in the best tradition of Uncle Toms, flatly refuses to relinquish his position.

And so the black community seems doomed to suffer his public presence until his white puppet masters decide to cut him loose or until some soul brothers succeed in doing what the government charged the R.A.M: brothers with conspiring to do. We suppose that Malcolm X's dictum, "by any means necessary," has some relevance here.

-----Minister of Information

PAINTING

DAVE PEELER

INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR

5815 AYALA STREET
 OAKLAND, CALIF.
 658-6119

Long Tongue USSERY

In the annals of the Black peoples' struggle for liberation in this country, there have been "Judas" who have sold out the black people for the symbolic 'thirty pieces of silver'.

These imposters who pawn themselves off as spokesmen and leaders of the oppressed black people of this country have committed the irrevocable crime. They have been blackmarket dealers in the trade of selling black brothers and sisters down the river for their own nefarious and selfish reasons. These traitors to the cause of black people have joined in a despicable conspiracy with the white racist power structure to systematically dehumanize, subjugate, and commit genocide upon the oppressed black masses of this country.

A major figure in this infamous group of black bootlickers is Wilfred T. Ussery. Mr. Ussery, and this term is used very facetiously, is the newly re-elected National Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Ussery is also the Executive Director of the California Black Conference Planning Committee, and formerly held

the position of Area Director of the Western Addition Economic Opportunity Council program.

It is a very important fact that we closely examine and make clear judgements upon the deeds of Wilfred T. Ussery. A man is judged by his words and deeds. The words of many imposters are made contradictory by their deeds. The Black Panther Party For Self Defense has closely examined the record of Wilfred T. Ussery, and have come to the unanimous conclusion that he is a bootlicker, uncle tom, lackey, flunky, and traitor to the cause of the black liberation struggle.

Ussery began his infamous climb to notoriety by becoming a central and powerful figure in San Francisco CORE. It has to be remembered that CORE, at this time, was completely controlled by white liberals. It is rumored by insiders of CORE that Ussery served as the mediator between the whites, and the black brothers and sisters who were striving toward black militancy. Because of his spineless activities with

Continued On Page 21 Col. 4

WHITEOUT ON BLACK NEWS

San Francisco, Calif.:

A memo was recently issued to the Northern Broadcast Management and Law Enforcement Officials by Chet Casselman, President of the Northern California Chapter of the Radio and Television News Directors Association concerning black rebellions. The memo, titled CIVIL DISORDER COVERAGE GUIDELINES, states how radio and TV reporters will cover insurrections in the ghetto.

The most important guideline is #3. It states: "At the outset of the disorder, broadcast newsmen should be dispatched to law enforcement command posts rather than directly to the scene, where their presence may heighten the disturbance or interfere with efforts to establish control. An authoritatively staffed command post will undoubtedly be in communication with the scenes of disorder and be capable of providing newsmen with any desired information."

There are many assumptions and admissions contained in this amazing statement. Newsmen are not to go to the scene of the insurrection. They will have to get all their information from the police who have been responsible for inflaming every riot that has taken place in the last few years. It is they who enforce conditions that drive black people to desperation. It is they who have initiated every riot.

And it is they, and only they, who will supply the mass media with information.

Why would the presence of the media "heighten the disturbance"? By reporting the shooting and beating of black people by police. Only. What else, except showing acts of brutality, would heighten the disturbance? Police acts of violence are not to be shown.

How would the media "interfere with efforts to establish control"? By exposing the methods. If the outside community were to see the methods used by police to quell demonstrations, they might react negatively. They might interfere with the suppression.

No policeman has ever reported acts of police brutality. The newsmen are to speak only to the cops. No acts of police brutality will be reported by the press. Guideline #10 makes this clear:

"Avoid broadcasting interviews with obvious law-breakers or participants in disorder who are on the side which opposes law and order when the interview could be considered inflammatory and may add further problems to the disorder. Whenever possible, the broadcast newsmen should seek

out a responsible spokesman for the community in which the disturbance occurs."

Do not, newsmen, interview a young man who might say, "The cops just shot my brother. They broke into my house and beat up my wife. They hit my kid on the head with a rifle butt." These statements are inflammatory. The man obviously opposes police law and order.

The broadcasters admit that there are two sides to a riot. It is a conflict. That is why guideline #7 is total, unashamed hypocrisy: "Reports should be calm, objective, and present the 'overall picture'..."

They have the decency to put the words "overall picture" in quotes. They intend to be objective WITHOUT PRESENTING ANY OF THE VIEWS OF ONE SIDE IN THE CONFLICT. The POLICE are to provide them with the "overall picture":

The question of which side the news media are on has been answered. The guidelines recognize an important fact: that black people know the mass media is opposed to them. Newsmen and TV camera crews are stoned by rioters because they are there on the behalf of the power structure. Guideline #11 says:

"Avoid filming a milling crowd if it does not add to the story and might inspire a disorder by that crowd. When possible, cameramen should attempt to film with a long lens so as not to expose the presence of a camera..."

The presence of a camera "inspires a disorder" because the members of a crowd know that the men behind the camera are not objective. They are on the side of the cops.

Back to the "command post". When a cop is shot or hurt, he will be brought to the command post. It will be shown. When a black person is shot or hurt it will not be shown. The media know that black people will be watching television. They are not to be inflamed by the reporting of injustice. That is why Guideline #9 says:

"Exact location of intersections, street names and addresses of flareups should not be revealed by the broadcaster until authorities have announced order has been established and control being maintained..."

If you are watching television and your brother is reported as being shot, you are not to know where it took place. That's to keep you from knowing where to go to defend him. You might be inflamed into going to the aid of your friends, relatives, brothers.

Any doubts about the meaning of these guidelines are resolved by #3:

"...maximum assistance in

the re-establishment of control is the primary goal."

The press is to work on behalf of the cops, establishing their control over the rebellious members of America's black community.

There is no Guideline that says "seek out the causes of the riot and find ways of ending the oppression." There is no guideline that says "show sympathy with those who have been so beaten down that they must riot, who have been left no peaceful way to correct injustice."

The press is a conscious tool of the police.

The press, too, must be battled and oversteer.

(taken from The Movement July 1967)

CONTRA COSTA COUNTY ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COUNCIL
1157 Thompson Street
Martinez, California
94553

June 21, 1967

Congressman Jerome R. Waldie
14th Congressional District
Room 1609 Longworth House
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Waldie:

The Economic Opportunity Council of Contra Costa County wishes to convey to you their displeasure and disappointment in your position in the case of Bobby Seale, the Black Panther member who took part in the recent demonstration in Sacramento.

First, within the area of your constituency, Contra Costa County, there are many conditions and situations which we feel not only require your capable attention and investigation, but also where we would greatly appreciate and welcome your help. It is somewhat difficult to understand why - in view of the problems in Contra Costa County - you found it necessary to delve into a situation which concerned an economic opportunity program in Alameda County - out of your jurisdiction. Secondly, we are most disturbed that the tenor of your questions pertaining to Mr. Seales, amounted, in effect, to a pronouncement of his guilt in advance of any factual knowledge pertaining to the case. Further, we are at a loss to understand what actions, if any, you consider were taken by Mr. Seales which do not come under his rights as a citizen as guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

We feel we should rightfully expect a true and unbiased attitude at a level which is exemplary from a Congressman whom we consider has the capacity for leadership which you are endowed, rather than that you would rush to judge the situation or individual on the basis of prejudice and lack of complete knowledge of all the facts.

We hope that you will reconsider your position in this matter and redirect your very able efforts toward the very real problems of citizens in your district - Contra Costa County.

Sincerely,
James Vann, Chairman
Economic Opportunity Council

UNITED STATES "DEMOCRACY" IN LATIN AMERICA (1831-1965)

The present situation in the Dominican Republic should not come as a surprise to the people of the United States nor to the world. History shows that the United States has been intervening in the affairs of Latin America for well over a hundred years. Here is a PARTIAL list of US interventions; taken from LA Batalla de Guatemala by Guillermo Toriello (1955).

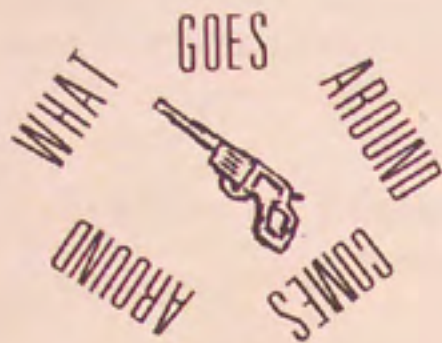
- 1831 - US armed marine attack on Malvinas and destruction of Puerto Soledad.
- 1835 - 1848 US annexed almost two million square kilometers of Mexican territory.
- 1855 - 1860 William Walker of the US invades Nicaragua and is recognized by the US government as the president of Nicaragua in 1857.
- 1898 - US armed intervention in Cuba's war of independence against Spain.
- 1898 - US naval forces bomb Puerto Rico.
- 1898 - 1902 Leonard Wood heads the US military government established in Cuba.
- 1900 - 1903 US acquires rights to the Panama Canal Zone.
- 1906 - 1909 Second US armed intervention in Cuba, headed by Charles E. Magoon.
- 1907 - US takes over the administration and collection of custom taxes in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC and continues to run it for 35 years.
- 1909 - Breaking of relations with Nicaragua and armed intervention by the US.
- 1912 - 3rd US armed intervention in Cuba, "To protect North American lives and interests".
- 1912 - Reinforcement of intervention in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC WITH marines and soldiers, to "avoid revolution."
- 1912 - 1925 Reinforcement of intervention in Nicaragua with more war ships, marines and infantry soldiers.
- 1913 - Intervention by the US Minister, Henry Wilson in the internal politics of Mexico, resulting in the murders of Pres. Madero and Vice Pres. Suarez.
- 1914 - Bombing and landing of troops at Veracruz, Mexico.
- 1915 - 1934 US armed attack, invasion and occupation of Haiti for 19 years.
- 1916 - General Pershing invades Mexico on his punitive expedition.
- 1916 - 1924 Total armed intervention by the US in the COMINICAN REPUBLIC and the establishment of a government made up of US naval officers.
- 1917 - 1919 Fourth armed US intervention in the island of Cuba, to insure the re-election of the conservative Mario G. Menocal.
- 1926 - 1933 Third armed invasion and occupation of Nicaragua. Air bombings of towns and cities. Murder of Nicaraguan national liberation leader, Sandino.
- 1930 - General Rafael L. Trujillo takes power in the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC and with US aid becomes one of the most brutal dictators in Latin America.
- 1948 - 1951 The US recognizes the new presidents of PERU, VENEZUELA, PARAGUAY, and BOLIVIA immediately after unconstitutional government coups.
- 1952 - 1954 Operation Guatemala. The US State Dept., Pentagon, and Secret Service, working with the dictators of the Caribbean, carry out an armed aggression against the constitutionally elected president, Arbenz, and remove him.
- 1961 - US conflict with Cuba. Invasion at Playa Giron, (Bay of Pigs.)
- 1962 - US conflict with Cuba. (Missiles and blockade.)
- 1964 - US conflict with Panama over Panamanian flag.
- 1965 - US SENDS 19,000 MARINES TO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC TO PUT DOWN A POPULAR REVOLT.

THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDENTS ON CAMPUS ASK YOU: IS THERE A REAL JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUING THIS TRADITION OF COLONIAL INTERVENTION IN THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA? IS DEMOCRACY A CHOICE BETWEEN A DICTATOR AND THE US MARINES? HOW MANY OF OUR PEOPLE MUST DIE FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION???

1526 - 1967 ? The perpetual war of genocide which racist America has inflicted upon black people.



He had no idea
that our enslavement would lead
to his living a suicide
--he had no idea
that our forced incest
would lead to his
moral debasement
that the beatings on our
black bodies would
numb his capacity to feel
that the rape of our mothers
would lead to the
barrenness of his daughters
that the stud game he
forced on our fathers
would be the castration
of his sons
--he had no idea



by Carl Mack

Integration and Democracy -- these words have become devalued, debased in fact, currency, and are no longer informed by any content. The sound of them in white people's ears simply brings a warm glow to their hearts and a response of amen, then thinking stops. (If one could ever say that thought existed in the first place).

The real solution for Black people in America, revolution, is clear to me but is difficult to make clear because there is nothing which indicates to what extent necessities will drive Black People into classical revolution (physical violence) or ideological and intellectual revolution. Black Power denotes a concept of racial identity and unity that seeks to enhance the position and increase the influence of the Black Americans within the framework of the American system. Black Power moves the Afro-American struggle from depending on sociological persuasion and the largesse of the major society to functioning from a position of strength based on numbers, economic force and political power. To succeed within the framework of the American system there is a necessary reliance on the work of the American system, there is a necessary reliance on the power structure. There is the underlying appeal to the power system's conscience. Power systems just don't have any consciences -- only machinery. The existing visible black organizations depend on the oppressor's law for survival. What happens if the oppressor decided that it wouldn't obey any of his own laws any longer; that the existing organizations were a communist plot or against national security and interest? In face of years of injustice, the present struggle of Black people still lies at the mercy of the oppressor; still caught in the American Dream.

The theoretical assumption that racism is either a form of delusion induced by the oppressors or that it is a lie used by whites (who are concerned with their power base) is the basis to believe that success will follow from working within the existing system. This argument considers racism to be epiphenomenal, the product or consequence of the political and/or economic system. If this is in fact the case then the proposals offered by Black Power advocates to mobilize organize, and re-educate the Black community would be effective. If this is not the case--if racism is the cause of exploitation--then 1) poor whites would rather remain poor than participate in a black coalition and 2) threatened whites would resort to violence on the widest scale rather than submit to the mandate of a black coalition.

This is not surprising. The Afro-American has years of struggle in against oppression on the basis of race. Thus, he has developed characteristics of an oppressed nation and a national racial consciousness, just as the white race has through its involvement in years of racial oppression and exploitation. Listen to that SOUND, that WHINE of death coming from the affluent, misinformed, apathetic, decadent and racist white America. History has shown Black people that we can not obtain our liberation through peaceful means. If we are dealing with a peaceful people or a people who believed in justice, that might be possible.

We are not dealing with such people. We are dealing with people who condone slavery, aggression and corruption; people educated on Jungle Jim movies and Batman images. We are dealing with a people who, in spite of their elaborate and expensive crime detection and secret service network, never can find the criminal who killed a Black man or

bombed a Black church. Instead, they supposedly spend their time considering the 'communist threat'. Black Americans are dealing with a society which needs a mouse sewed into its vulva to satisfy its desire to oppress, corrupt, and destroy. Black people have prayed, marched, petitioned, negotiated and begged for freedom, integration, jobs, wages and life. Black people have received clubs, dogs, jail, urine and death. All of it from a decadent, foul-smelling white society.

The important thing for Black people to do is clearly clarify their direction. The Black man will never be integrated into the mainstream of American life. That means to become white. To become white is a ticket to decadence. To participate in the white sound, the white whine of death, is death of Black people. Black America is definitely a nation within a nation striving for self-determination and independence. This will only occur when Black America is definitely a nation within a nation striving for self-determination and independence. This will only occur when Black America deals with, as LeRoi Jones says, "The Destruction Of America". That is the role of the Black poet, that is the role of the Black artist, that is the role of the Black leader, that is the role of the Black community to contribute as much as possible to that destruction. As brother LeRoi says, we must use our magic. In face of destruction we must wake up our brothers. In face of destruction we may, perhaps, wake up an ignorant, shoddy white people stumbling in the beastliness of the Western decline. But Black America must look beyond the coming chaos, the coming revolution, to offer a vision for its people; a Black American form. Before chaos, during chaos and after, there must be a collective Black Consciousness creating a polarity. When people ask, "WHAT TO DO?". LeRoi Jones says, "Tell them now, as you would then. As they run through the streets looking for safety."

Since Black people have no control of the mass media we must hit the community in our way--the spoken word in the street. "We must deal with our tragic problem of communication." We must destroy the images, the rituals, the curses which allow white people to control Black People. We must destroy that portion of television make believe, and American Dream lies which reside in the minds of Black people. We must create the fitted form which eases the task of destruction.

Black people must utilize the power to stop the machinery of the government, the power to hurt the economy and the power of unleashing violence. Social dislocation must become the word for US. In our mobilization, organization and re-education of the Black community, speaking of a copy known for his brutality is speaking of a dead cop. This adaptation of chaos is not chaos for chaos sake, but scientific chaos derived to enhance those programs

Brother DYNAMITE SAYS

POLICE USE GESTAPO TACTICS

by Dynamite

On June 2, 1967 Warren Tucker was arrested by the Berkeley Police. The arrest was made as the result of Warren fighting with some white cats. Upon arrest Warren was not allowed to make any phone calls, he was not allowed to talk to anyone. The police knew Warren Tucker was a member of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. The white racist cops separated Warren from all other inmates in the city jail.

After being tried and sentenced, Warren was transferred to the rehabilitation center at Pleasanton, Calif. Upon arrival at this institution, Warren was told by the racist dogs in charge that they did not want any politics discussed while he was in the institution. To insure themselves of this, Warren was forced to go and work on the farm section of the institution. He was also forced to cut off his hairstyle, which was an Afro.

After his release, Warren reported to the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In his report Warren stated that in the Berkeley police department there are photos of Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, Chairman and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. These photos were headlined: Approach with Caution.

This kind of action can be expected from the white racist dog and it makes me feel good, because I know we are headed in the right direction. All through our history we have put fear in the heart of this dog. Nat Turner did it in 1831, The Deacons for Defense stopped the K.K.K. and that cross-burning jive, and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense has put it on his mind. The white power structure is only a Paper Tiger and a Panther can kill a tiger any day.

Can you dig it? #/

ON USSERY

Continued From Page 19 Col. 5

The local San Francisco CORE, Ussery was able to walk the political tight-rope of CORE to the position of National Chairman. Ussery is credited by insiders of San Francisco CORE with stunting this organizations progress to its' 1966 stance of Black Power.

The War on Poverty program came to San Francisco in the summer of 1964. The city was divided into four areas. The War on Poverty program was designed to curtail and finally stop the black peoples' fight for liberation in this country. The black Judas', who had pawned themselves off as the leaders of the black community, were quick to bite the bait of the white racists deceivers who hide behind the facade of liberalism and its' hoax - "The Great Society".

True to form, opportunist Ussery accepted the position of Area Director of the Western Addition (i.e. Fillmore area). Ussery received the base salary of \$12,000 per year. It is said that Ussery is a mastermind on a drawing board, but has a cold, disdainful approach to people -- especially black people.

After eighteen (18) months on the job, Ussery was fired by the Area Board

which operate within the system. Chaos must also be available to aid in the repudiation of the American Dream. It just may be the case that the power structure will feel threatened and place the 'communist plot' image on visible black organizations; if there is no revolutionary party speaking to the revolutionary consciousness than the Black people of America will be left holding an empty bag.

of the Western Addition War on Poverty. The area board is comprised of grassroots black people. Ussery made the statement to the Area Board that they "were ignorant". This is an example of his disdain for black people. When Ussery was fired he called a press conference where he cried and pleaded to the white press that he was fired because there was a battle between the 'good niggers' and the 'bad niggers'. Evidently, Ussery was a 'bad nigger' to the black grassroots masses.

Then the treacherous Ussery took a more insidious path. He formed the California Black Conference Planning Committee, which had the purported intention of staging conferences for black people that would spotlight local and national black militants. Conferences were staged in San Francisco and Los Angeles. They were priced out of the range of grassroots black people by deliberate intent. When black people, unable to pay the exorbitant price of admission to the conferences, tried to attend -- they were met with gestapo police tactics more cruel than the white racists could have conceived.

The day has to come when traitors to the black liberation struggle such as Wilfred Ussery will be dealt with by stronger tactics than political criticism. These black "Judas" who sell out the black man's struggle for 'thirty pieces of silver' will no longer be able to walk the streets of the black community uncontested. #/

Every black man must grasp this truth: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." -Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Continued From Page 2 Col. 5

CORE-----FALLOUT

Panther Party for Self Defense is a political party, a revolutionary political party, and there is absolutely no possibility of the Party allowing itself to be reduced to the ignoble level of bodyguards for bootlickers. (Who would want to guard their bodies?) The Party demanded that it be given public recognition and endorsement by placing the name of the Minister of Defense on the printed program along with the other scheduled speakers. The responsible parties were very anxious to get the Panthers to participate in the program, but explained that they did not want to place themselves in the embarrassing position of getting publically identified with the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. They wanted to make sure that there would be no evidence on paper that the Panthers had ever been allowed to take part in the program. This too, of course, was rejected.

The bootlickers then resorted to the nefarious tactic of spreading wild lies about the intentions of the Black Panthers in regard to the convention. One lie they told to the Muslims was that the Black Panthers planned to attempt to harm Muhammad Ali. The Muslims evidently were impressed by the whispers of these sycophants because they telephoned Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, and told him what the CORE rats had said. These lackeys had many people uptight about vague speculations as to the intentions of the Black Panthers.

We feel very positive that this is the last year for Uncle Toms. Next year the price for public Tomming is going to be so high that it will be virtually non-existent. The Big Businessmen of the black liberation struggle are on their way to bankruptcy. For instance, Floyd McKissack has been quoted as admitting that he is involved in a political deal with Robert F. Kennedy, the darling of the black bourgeoisie, and has been receiving money from him to finance some political activity.

They were shocked to see their funky souls when the Black Panthers refused to deal with them behind closed doors. They wanted to whisper in the shadows, talk turkey over unlisted telephones, and sip cocktails in dimly lit rooms. But they were rudely awakened from their delusions concerning the Party.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense believes that the people's business is too important to be taken care of in the shadows of dimly lit rooms. Black people must develop a national forum before which those who claim to speak for black people must appear and to which they must be re-

sponsible. The day of the jacklag black messiah is gone forever. Black people must demand that Black Public Business must remain free and accessible to the black masses. Black Business which properly is not for white eyes and ears can be dealt with. Black people must develop the concept of a Foreign and Domestic Policy for Afro-America. Elsewhere in this issue (see WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY RADICALS) we make a basic definition of the relations between white radicals and black revolutionaries. In the context of that definition, it would seem that we have to start viewing reactionary black leaders as BLACK AGENTS OF THE WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY. And reactionary black organizations can be viewed as BLACK FRONTS FOR THE WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY.

Black People Fed Up

WATERLOO, IOWA...Five persons were arrested during a disturbance on Waterloo's North side which saw several fire bombs thrown and one shot fired at a police car.

Police said the disturbance broke out shortly after 10 p.m. and lasted about four hours. They estimated "active participants" in the crowd numbered about 70 with bystanders and hangers-on raising its size to several hundred at times. A total of 35 city policemen, seven black hawk county sheriff's officers and nine Iowa highway patrolmen were called to the scene. Police reported one shot was fired from a small caliber weapon at a police car. The shot went over the car. Several fire bombs were thrown during the incident. The fire department answered eight calls during the night, six of them false alarms. The two fires were extinguished immediately. Two other false alarms were investigated by the police department.

Police said about 25 windows were broken in the business district of the predominately Negro area. One car was overturned in a parking lot and one fire truck answering a false alarm had a window broken and its side dented by thrown rocks. One man was treated and released at a Waterloo Hospital for injuries received in the melée. Four of the arrested persons were charged with disturbing the public quiet while the other, who was 15 years old, was charged with curfew laws.

The disturbance was the third straight night of Black anger in the city.

Friday night Police reported three arrests were made and five windows broken. Saturday night 16 persons were arrested and two windows broken.

After the two nights of unrest, several "respectable" negro leaders in Waterloo asked police to stay away from the area while they attempted to prevent any violence. However, the efforts failed and police were called into the area. Waterloo police chief Robert Wright said police did not have to use force as the gangs broke up whenever police approached them. He said patrolmen stayed out of the district until the window smashing began.

"They (The negro leaders) wanted an opportunity to control the situation themselves and, against my better judgement, I agreed," He said "I thought it would be fair to give them that opportunity at least, but it didn't work." Waterloo NAACP President Dr. Warren Nash said the attempt by the negro leaders "failed last night. We couldn't control things and they got out of hand."

Black Soldier Shot by White Racist Dog

WADESBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

....A white man Saturday was charged with shooting a Negro soldier in the back after he attempted to enter a white restaurant with several other Negro soldiers in this racially tense community. Police said Platt Walker Henry, 30, shot Wallace C. Fairley, a 20-year-old Vietnam veteran from Ft. Campbell, K6., after Fairley and the other soldiers attempted to gain entrance at Bowman's Restaurant here. Henry was being held without bond.

Officers said a group of white men confronted the Negro, at the door of the restaurant and Fairley was shot when he and the soldiers backed down and walked away early Sunday morning, March 19th. The arrest of Henry was the first in troubled Anson County, where only last week five homes and businesses of school officials were bombed. The bombings came after the school board voted to consolidate the white and negro high schools. Other bombs shattered a pool hall in nearby Morvin and destroyed a negro soldier's car in Wadesboro.

There have been numerous reports of shots being fired into cars, homes and business, but the only serious injury occurred when Fairley was shot. Anson County is a hotbed of Ku Klux Klan activity but it was not known if Henry had any connection with the Klan. Fairley was treated for a small caliber bullet wound at a local hospital and was transferred the next day to the Womack Army Hospital at Ft. Bragg, N.C., in serious condition. He later recovered from the wound. Fairley was wounded twice while serving in Vietnam. He was stationed at Ft. Bragg where he was participating in Guerilla warfare exercises at the time of the shooting.

Continued From Page 7 Col. 4

BLACK ARTS CONVENTION IN DETROIT

In the trade fair there were displays of Black American art, literature, history, business, and the use of Blacks in TV, and movie making. The fashion show featured black fashions which are becoming to blacks which compliment our natural beauty.

The keynote addresses were hard-hitting and on the mark. Rev. A. B. Cleague, Jr., Pastor of Central United Church of Christ; C.P. Howard, Columnist for Muhammad Speaks; Betty Shabazz, wife of El-Hajj Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X); Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC; and Daniel Watts, editor of Liberator Magazine, all gave keynote addresses. (Dr. Nathan Hare of Howard University, an original keynote speaker, had been "purged" from the faculty at Howard for alleged militancy. In a telegram explaining his absence from the convention he said, "Howard has purged us militants but we will win, we will return.") Adam C. Powell, also unable to return, noted in his telegram that "the activities of the conference will contribute toward solidarity against racism."

Rev. Cleague was introduced as a "Christian preacher who has a Black Madonna in his church". (He also has a Black Christ). He held a Black Convention in his church and is a Black nationalist. Rev. Cleague asserted strongly that there must be at least one such church in every community as a part of the total process of finding truth for ourselves. "The truth for us" he said, "is what's in our best interest as a Black nation. We have got to cease trying to be an individualist trying to get ahead of the white man. Everything you do has to be part of building a Black nation."

Charles P. Howard, hospitalized from February to May, criticized Roy Wilkins from the platform. "I attack him at this level", Howard said, "because he has gone too far. Wilkins steps out first to slow things down, and he's a part of the cooperating churchmen and civil rights leaders." Howard emphasized the importance of the conference in this era of the Negro struggle and identified several problems:

- 1) The exclusion of the Negro from the economy
- 2) The economic cause of rioting (In the Boston riot, kids said, "White boys have money; we have none.")
- 3) The need to change the system
- 4) The power struggle: big business, big labor, professional bureaucracy and churchmen and civil rights leaders.

These problems, he hinted, added to the significance

of the Black Arts Convention.

Betty Shabazz, wife of the late El-Hajj, spoke briefly and noted that youth are becoming aware of the problems of blacks. She regretted that she was unable to make the same statement about adults.

Rap Brown began by citing a poem by Langston Hughes entitled "A Dream Deferred." Tampa and Cincinnati are answering the dream, he said, and we are on the eve of a revolution without philosophy, without orientation, and without program. The importance of self-defense was also stressed and enthusiastically applauded by the audience. "It is essential," Rap said, "that Black people start talking about arming themselves to defend themselves."

The sponsoring organizations were the Black Arts Confederation of Unity, The Community Business Association, The Heritage Committee of Central United Church and George Norman Afro-American History and Art. A spokesman for the Confederation gave as its purpose "the establishment of a nationwide communication to help in the formation of national policy in any area of mutual concern to black folks. And, to work toward liberation of black people in mind and in body.

More than 1,000 people attended the four-day event which ended with a parade on Sunday, July 2, 1967.

Continued From Page 16 Col. 5
WHITE 'MOTHER COUNTRY'
RADICAL

their struggle for total liberation, the more clearly the lines will be drawn--the more obvious the revolutionary spirit of black people will become--and the easier it will become for white radicals to rally organized support behind the struggle for black liberation.

We therefore affirm our support for the black revolution, and pledge our increased efforts in the future to build further support for your heroic efforts. Your liberation will not only be a victory for oppressed people everywhere, but a step toward our own liberation; for we are oppressed--less brutally and more subtly, but oppressed all the same--by the same enemy: the racist, imperialist white power structure.

Black Fashions by Zawadie

1003 FELL STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

PHONE

431-5314
863-7491
285-4084

Contd. From Page 15, Col. 5

HUNTERS POINT BROTHERS SOCK IT TO MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO

As we left, the brothers were exploding fire crackers in the halls and outside. Some people jumped into the mayors hog, (Cadillac), because they realized that part of their money had gone for the purchase of that hog. We gave the mayor an ultimatum. He had to come up with jobs by 5 o'clock that evening or else. At 4 P.M. up and down Third Street, there were car loads of brothers around the Bayview Community Center. One brother said, "We are going to let young brothers loot the stores, but we older brothers are going to burn down every white business around here, and we don't mean any five and dime store either."

When we got downtown, the mayor said "My intelligence reports (meaning cops) had reported that there were angry crowds milling around the Bayview Community Center area and for us to get down there quick and tell them that the jobs were found." Earlier the mayor had lied and said "There were no more jobs." We didn't move anywhere. Instead we made a couple of phone calls to tell the brothers to watch and see if the man was lying. The press (San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle) stated that we got 122 more jobs. That was a lie. The brothers got only 20 more jobs. Supposedly each other target area in the program (Western Addition, Fillmore, China Town, the Mission-Potrero Hill Area) was supposed to get 20 jobs each. The mayor reneged on these jobs and today (July 12, 1967) brothers from the Fillmore, Western Addition Area, confronted the honkey's power structure on the threat to fire poverty workers in the area. However the mayor refused to speak with the people and instead sent in his flunkies.



INTERVIEW WITH BLACK PANTHERS -- HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, AND BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN

TWO HOUR INTERVIEW AT KNEW RADIO STATION IN 40 PAGE MAGAZINE: "POLITICS IS WAR WITHOUT BLOODSHED AND WAR IS POLITICS WITH BLOODSHED". PRICE: \$1.00 MAIL TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE, P. O. BOX 8641, EMERYVILLE BRANCH, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

Excerpt from actual interview:

Forrest: Let's start with you, Huey; why were the Black Panthers formed?
 Minister: The Panthers is a political organization; it's a third party. The Republican Party, the Democratic Party, we find, does not answer the desires of Black People. We find it necessary to create a third party, or really we think of it as a second party, because there's not very much difference be-

tween the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. To make this more clear, I would have to go into our definition of politics.
 Forrest: Well, what is it?
 Minister: We say that politics is war without bloodshed, and war is politics with bloodshed, even though politics has its particular characteristics, when these peaceful characteristics are exhausted, and...



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MINISTER OF DEFENSE
 HUEY P. NEWTON



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BLACK CURRICULUM

MERRITT COLLEGE

BLACK PANTHERS

OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

A press conference was held on the front steps of Merritt College to announce that the Black Community was demanding that the College implement the proposed Black Curriculum and to employ a Black person to develop, coordinate and articulate the Black Curriculum.

During that press conference a racist, self-admitted Nazi made several attempts to provoke the assembled black people. Another racist attacked Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, but the brothers "took care of business" and a racist learned right then and there that you don't mess with the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense without suffering the retaliatory consequences.

Brother Walton admonished the press for "yielding the pre-planned efforts of a self-admitted Nazi to disrupt this press conference. Your actions reaffirm the charges leveled by the Black community that the press responds to sensationalism and negative actions rather than to our message. You've ignored what people scheduled to speak have to say. Only a fool or a masochist would come to a meeting such as this with Black people blowing Black Power and call somebody a 'Black Nigger'.

The reporter for the Black Panther asked Brother Walton to comment on the press and TV coverage of the rally. Walton's reply was, "There were a couple of disappointing aspects about the coverage, namely, the disproportionate amount of coverage devoted to the nazi provoked incident, the other aspect of disappointment was the 'white-wash' that this proposal was given by the representatives of the college district. Two or three courses in the history department listed in the new catalog do not, by any stretch of the imagination make a curriculum and certainly not a Black Curriculum!"

Our reporter reminded Brother Walton that the Superintendent of his college said that he didn't go through the proper channels and that the claim that he didn't get the job as Dean of Student Personnel

(See Black Panther issue of July 3, 1967, pg. 2) on the grounds that he was Black and was "paranoid". Walton replied that "people aren't really concerned about me not going through channels; they know that I utilize all channels which are going to be effective in uplifting Black People including the Black Community. What they are really shook up about is that I am exposing every aspect of racism that I uncover to the Black Community. They told me that it would take a year or two to get "Negro" history transferrable to the University of California for credit. One month and eleven days from the time the first letter was sent out, the course was approved for transfer credit. That was because the only issue involved was to end the perpetuation of Black People as second class citizens. I go through channels if and when they aren't clogged by insensitivity to our needs or by meaningless dialogue. We need action to cure our ills. White people taught Black people how to wait; we have to teach them how to hurry! That's why a Black Curriculum on which I worked for several months was labeled an "Instant Curriculum". You're right, it's an "instant curriculum" if you still think that we Black people are going to wait around another 400 years!!!

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY OF BLACK CURRICULUM PROPOSED BY SID WALTON, WHO WAS RECENTLY PASSED OVER WHEN HE BECAME THE MOST QUALIFIED PERSON ON CAMPUS TO HOLD DOWN THE JOB OF DEAN. THE REASON WALTON WAS PASSED OVER IS BECAUSE HE IS BLACK. AND THE CURRICULUM HE PURPOSES IS BLACK. THE BLACK PANTHER BELIEVES THAT THIS TYPE OF CURRICULUM WILL BECOME THE STANDARD THING IN ALL BLACK COLLEGES IN RACIST DOG AMERICA.

THE BLACK CURRICULUM

DEPARTMENT	COURSE TITLE
Anthropology	Introduction to Afro-American Anthropology
Business	Development of Black Businesses and Financial Institutions
Community Planning	Current Problems of Afro-Americans in Urban Communities
Drama	Introduction to the Black Theater
Economics	Current Economic Problems of Afro-Americans
Education	Education of Black Americans (Afro-Americans)

About the name-calling of "paranoid", seemingly, the labeling of militant Black people as communists is stale, so the status quo whites now try to legitimize their labels with psychological terminology; thus, if we say whites do us wrong because we are Black, we're labeled "paranoid". Now that the US and the USSR are on better terms, the "Commie" label is out, "paranoid" is in. Is Charles Evers statement that his brother was murdered by whites who killed him because he was Black, a paranoid reaction???

Our reporter also asked Walton about the Oakland Tribunes statement that he "disdains the word 'Negro'"; Walton replied, "this is another of the status quo white's hang ups, they can't stand for us to define ourselves. If you don't use Spanish to define them, don't use it to define us. They are called 'white' not blanco, so call us Black, not 'Negro'. The hang up is that they've tried to sweep "Black" under the rug for all these years and can't stand us digging "Black is Beautiful". Our final question to Brother Walton was, "Do you feel that the Black curriculum is better than the other program at Merritt College?" He replied, "I believe that it is better for Black people than anything else that Merritt College has to offer."



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.

It is my sincere belief that:

"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."

English	Contemporary Black literature in the Ghetto Language Introduction to Black Prose and Poetry
Foreign Languages	Contemporary African Languages
History	The History of Black America The History of Afro-Americans United States History from a Black Perspective (This course would be used to satisfy the American Institutions requirement)
Home Economics	Introduction to the Preparation of Soul Food
Human Relations	Human Relations in the Black Community
Humanities	Arts and Ideas of Afro-American Culture
Journalism	Study of the Black Press
Law Enforcement	Black Perspective of Law Enforcement
Music	Survey and History of Afro-American Music
Philosophy	Introduction to Current Black Philosophy - Introduction to African Philosophy
Physical Education	Contemporary Afro-American Dance Techniques
Political Science	Political Problems of Black Americans American Government from a Black Perspective (This course would be used to satisfy the American Institutions requirement)
Psychology	Personal and Social Adjustment of Afro-Americans
Sociology	Social Origins of Black Nationalistic Behavior in America Social problems of Black America
Supervision	Elements of Supervision for Black Americans.

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