PANTHERS DEMAND JUSTICE

MORE STORIES ON ASSASSINATION
Fund Raising Birthday Benefit for HUEY P NEWTON

BY THE NEWTON-CLEAVER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Sunday, Feb. 16, Berkeley Community Theatre
BERKELEY HIGH SCHOOL AT GROVE & ALLSTON WAY 7...00 PM

HUEY AND HISTORY

BY Frank H. Jones
Deputy Minister of Information

Although black aristocratic historians have attempted to establish that black people in the South were happy and contented slaves, we have historical evidence that such was not the case. As a matter of fact, there were more than 200 slave rebellions and conspiracies in the United States during the Civil War. The first revolt occurred in 1811 led by the white slave owner John Brown in the state of Missouri. The second revolt occurred in 1831 led by Nat Turner in the state of Virginia. These revolts were suppressed by the authorities of the time. However, they serve as a reminder of the potential for rebellion among black people. These revolts were suppressed by the authorities of the time. However, they serve as a reminder of the potential for rebellion among black people.

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Exposes
Karenga

Black Enigma
A West Coast Militant
Talks Tough
Ron Karenga of Los Angeles
Seen Using Fear of Violence
To Build Political Power
A Meeting With Gov. Reagan

By Byron K. Calame
Reporter for The Wall Street Jourm.

LOS ANGELES—For years ago, mild-mannered Ronald Reagan, the fortieth child in a family of a poor Baptist minister, seemed well on his way to a comfortable place in the growing Negro middle class. He had just earned a master’s degree in political science from the University of California at Los Angeles, and earlier he had been the first Negro to be elected student body president at a college here.

But then Mr. Reagan dropped his “Alabamian” name and became one of the most militant leaders in the Civil Rights movement in America. Today, he’s Ron Karenga, a leading word meaning “keeper of the traditions” of a tough-minded organization called US (as opposed to the less aggressive organization that he founded in 1966. From a black deck to an office in a one-story black building here, he talks of “radical revolution” and U.S. agitates to create their own distinctive black nation with its own distinctive Afro-American culture.

Charismatic and articulate, Mr. Karenga, 36, typifies the kind of Negro militant who is claiming increasing power, and national attention. One civil rights observer calls him “one of the leading organizations in the nation’s black power movement.” Recently he has appeared on the same program with McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation at a conference of religious leaders at Yale and addressed the national convention of the Congress of Racial Equality. But his role as leader, as well as his message, is changing, as he says in a study in contrasts.

Today, he talks with his followers in English, but in private he is ready to offer them a vocabulary of hundreds of words.

Two Revolutions
Mr. Karenga’s staunch head, Gomshaba, leads an attack on the white-dominated government of South Africa. He advocates the use of violence, both legal and illegal, to bring about a change in the system. He also supports the idea of a black-owned economy.

Speaking to the Outsiders
Mr. Karenga is a leader of the US movement, which has been described by some as a form of black nationalism. He believes that by using this power, the US movement can achieve its goals, including the establishment of a separate black state.

Controlling the Troops
Significantly, while rioting erupted in many other cities after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Mr. Karenga did not comment on the incident. He has praised the speech that Mr. Reagan gave in response to the incident, and has even spoken on television, saying that the US movement is working to prevent further violence.

Today, when Mr. Karenga isn’t making speeches around the country, he can usually be found at the US cultural center in North Central Los Angeles. There, US members gather for jamborees, which include a variety of cultural events, such as music, dance, and poetry.

Mr. Karenga’s wife, Brenda, gave birth to their third child in June and has been active in various community affairs. She is known for her dedication to the US movement and has worked tirelessly to support its goals.

The US leader is reluctant to discuss personal finances or those of his organization, but he has been known to speak about the importance of self-sufficiency and the need for black-owned businesses.

There are occasional breaks in his regular routine, and he frequently speaks to a large audience, addressing the need for black unity and the importance of the struggle.

Some people have questioned his motives, but he remains steadfast in his belief in the power of the US movement and its ability to create a better future for the black community.

His message is clear: to achieve his goals, he must continue to fight for the rights of black people and to work towards a better future for all Americans.

The Black Panther Sunday, Feb. 2, 1969
LOS ANGELES

PACHTERS

WAIT FOR JUSTICE

FOR "US"

ORGANIZATION

PIGS

Francisco State, Third World groups and even labor unionists have joined forces in what some refer to as the Black Studies program. The program, according to most nationalists, has been a major step forward in the movement for Black liberation.

The establishment of the Black Panther Party in the early 1960s was a landmark event in the struggle for Black liberation. The Black Panther Party was founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The party sought to address the racial and economic injustices faced by Black Americans, and its members engaged in a range of activities, including community organizing, self-defense, and education.

Beyond its role in community organizing, the Black Panther Party also played a significant role in the civil rights movement. The party's leaders, including Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, were arrested and imprisoned for a variety of reasons, including fraud and murder. However, these events did not deter the party's commitment to its goals, and it continued to operate until its dissolution in 1971.

The Black Panther Party was a significant force in the Black liberation movement, and its legacy continues to be felt today. The party's focus on community organizing, self-defense, and education has inspired many other organizations and movements, and its commitment to the fight for Black liberation remains a powerful example of the power of collective action.

The Black Panther Party's legacy is not just in the fight for Black liberation, but also in the broader struggle for social justice. The party's commitment to the fight against injustice and for equality continues to inspire people around the world, and its legacy serves as a reminder of the power of collective action and the importance of striving for a more just and equitable society.
EDITORIAL

BY FRANK JONES
Deputy Minister Of Information

"Divide and conquer" is an axiom that oppressive power structures have utilized to maintain their dominance over the working class of people. We are now faced with a dilemma that could be of great consequence to the majority of Black peoples. Two members had Black Panther Party have been assassinated by members of another Black organization, and now the Black community is waiting to see what will be done by both of the organizations involved in this situation.

If the Black Panther Party seeks immediate revenge for the loss of two revolutionary brothers, and the U.S. organization offers significant resistance, then we will have division among the Black segment of the population, and the repressive establishment will attempt to capitalize on this division. On the other hand if the Black Panther Party does nothing about the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, we may give the impression that the Party will tolerate such despicable acts with no attempt to avenge the injustice.

Malcolm X has said that when Black people have differences of opinion, these differences should be resolved in a closet so as to give no public display of disunity among Blacks. In the case of the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John the public is apparently aware that there is some disunity. Now we must take positive steps to avoid allowing this manifested disunity from becoming destructive to the Black Liberation Movement. In addition this must be done without giving a mistaken impression that the Black Panther Party will tolerate such injustices.

My first reaction was incorrectly one of revenge. I felt that if we took immediate steps to gain revenge we would demonstrate to the people that the Black Panther Party is indeed a powerful institution. My first inclination was to kill three or four members of U.S. in retaliation for Brothers Bunchy and John. I was surprised when our Chairman, Bobby Seale, and our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, failed to issue the order. Both Bobby and David immediately assessed the assassination as an attempt to involve a reactionary response from the Party. They realized the establishment would utilize any vindictive action by the Party as an excuse to inflict oppressive measures against the Party.

Their analysis of the situation proved to be correct. The arrest of 17 Panthers in Los Angeles immediately after the assassination, and the large collection of pigs around the National Office validated their assessment. When I left the National Office on the night of the assassination I spotted a car loaded with pigs within one half block of our National Office. This prompted me to drive around the area to survey the situation, and what I found was indeed revealing. Within a six block area from our National Office I spotted five or six pig vehicles. I guess that they were waiting for an incident so that they could claim that they were the victims of an "unprovoked attack." When Charles Bursey, Benjamin Captain, and I went back to the National Office later that night the pigs were gone. Our leaders had outfoxed (out-Panthered) them. I can now see more clearly why Bobby and David reacted as they did. Improper action by the Party may have caused a premature confrontation between the Party and the establishment. But even more important is the fact that by not taking immediate reactionary steps the pigs prevented the chaos of disunity from widening. If we had implemented retaliatory action against U.S., many of the innocent and improperly led members of that organization would have suffered from the wrath of the Panther.

Our leaders instead have decided to make the establishment work against itself. If the assassination was indeed inspired by the establishment in an effort to create an inflammatory situation this has failed, and now the establishment must prosecute its own agents, or admit to a perverted type of racist activity in which it is engaged. The plot to create division has failed because the Panther leadership is aware of the type of treachery that the establishment will employ to protect its wealth and status.

The Black Panther Party will not allow any exterior force or interior corruption to create disunity among Black people. If the leaders of U.S. or any other organization are going to allow open or covert methods to be used by the establishment then the Black Panther Party will expose those leaders as pawns in the hands of the oppressive establishment. The Party realizes that the rank and file of most Black organizations have a sincere interest in the Black Liberation Movement, and that only the leadership of establishment-oriented organizations is corrupt. With this in mind it is the duty of the Party to make the masses aware of those leaders whose only goals are ones of self gratification.

Improper leadership is often reflected in the improper action of members of that leader's organization. The rank and file adopt the attitudes of its leaders and act on the premises that are advanced by the leaders. Whenever the rank and file act in an uncompromising manner, the leaders of a righteous organization will immediately criticize those actions. A case in point is the Black Panther renunciation of the acts of opportunistic banditry by some of its former members. When a leader does otherwise it can be assumed that that leader does not have the best interest of the Black community at heart.

After the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, the leadership of U.S., notably Ron Karenga Everett, made no statements whatsoever, and then later it has been reported that Karenga made statements criticizing the Black Panther Party. These statements were all of a nebulous nature and were based entirely on subjectivism which is an internal Middle Class philosophy.

Because Karenga has made no statements of censure it seems safe to assume that he is in agreement with the action of his followers -- possibly he gave the order to have Bunchy and John assassinated. If so, Karenga, too, must pay for this atrocity.

The Black Panther Party has given its initial indication that the murder of Panthers will not go unpunished. The Party was instrumental in the arrest of the two alleged assassins. The Los Angeles pig department tried to pretend that there was no evidence on which to indict anyone, but our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, showed them so much evidence that they could not find a suitable excuse for ignoring it. The pigs are always reluctant to arrest and prosecute their own agents. Now they are going to be forced to prosecute and convict some of their own.

The Black Panther Party has effectively prevented the establishment from dividing the Black Liberation Force and at the same time the Party has forced the establishment to start the prosecution of its pig agents. The Black Panther Party will react to pigs and the pigs agents in the same manner. Anyone who allows the establishment to use them as an agent to disrupt the liberation movement is in fact a pig and will be brought to justice.

Let the action of the Black Panther Party serve notice to all. When man deals with man, justice is a goal. But when pigs deal with Panthers, justice is inevitable.
COWARDLY SNAKES KILL PANTHERS

Using the method of a kike and chickens without warning, members of the five, boot kicking, group called "DG" swept up in Los Angeles County jail, where they are being held, in the 22nd street at the police station, on the 22nd street in Los Angeles, held on bail of $5,000 each. They are being held on charges of conspiracy to commit murder, robbery, and kidnapping. The men are believed to be connected with a gang of criminals who have been active in the Los Angeles area. They are believed to be the same group that has been responsible for several recent robberies and kidnappings in the area.

ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER
DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

ON CULTURAL NATIONALISM

By Linda Harrison

Cultural nationalism is recognized by many who sees in this as an essential means to a distinctive and natural stage through which one proceeds in order to become a revolutionary. Such is the case, and many people remain at the level of cultural nationalism all of their lives. In the United States, cultural nationalism can be summed up in James Brown's words: "I'm Black and I'm Proud.

Cultural nationalism manifests itself in many ways for all of these manifestations are essentially grounded in one fact: a universal denial and ignoring of the present political, social, and economic realities and concentration on the past as a frame of reference. This phenomenon is not unique to this stage of the revolution in which we find ourselves; neither is it unique to the United States Black "struggle" for freedom. Freedom is in the WRESTLED OF THE EARTH AND of this phenomenon that "There is no taking of the offensive and no refusing of relationships. There is simply a concentration on the hard core of culture which is becoming more and more exhilaratingly powerful and strong.

Those who believe in the "I'm Black and I'm Proud" theory believe that there is dignity inherent in being Black and that a Black man must be a slave in that and that a common language should make all of us brothers. These people usually want a culture rooted in African culture: a culture which ignores the colonization and brutalization that were part and parcel for example of the formation and emergence of the Swahili language. In other words, cultural nationalism ignores the political and concrete, and concentrates on

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LETTER

January 27, 1969
Brothers and Sisters,

I went to school at UCLA with John Huggins and some other members of the Party. John impressed me greatly as a serious and beautiful black man of much dedication, and I admired his efforts to help keep peace. However, I must be realistic in saying that even at the present time, afforded as I am by his death, I have not yet reached the point of distinction where I believe necessary, to be a true Black Panther. I am reading, however, and trying more novels ever before to throw off the shackles of middle-class "bookshop" socialism and accept the true REVOLUTIONARY goals.

Please, let it be said that the John Huggins died "giving birth" to revolutionary thoughts in AT LEAST ONE black mind.

Yours,

George C. Jones

FEMALE PANTHER TORTURED

Jean Bledel was taken into custody at 9:00 P.M. on January 15, 1969, after shots were fired from two piggish, fascist dog American white man. Therefore the Vietnamese people everywhere are waging war of liberation against racism, capitalist imperialism and the white-skinned pigs of the world. We are free of the world. In a day and a half the great Black Panther state was assassinated because he was working for the people. Our Minister of Defense, in is tail full of bullets, and to which Roosevelt Luther King was murdered because he was working to set free all of us. All our black heroes and generals, like Lumumba, died to black people live. More than one million colored civilians have been murdered by the bombs that American whites dropped on the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese and the Viet-amese are fighting to be free.

OFF THE PIGS

Those are the battle cries of mad, crazy black men, and the screams are coming from the hokey's snout as he and his wife are struggling to death, and robbed, looted, then set afire, for change.

Because we are changing, we are being killed, and changed, changing from the slaves, the cowards, the bums, the whores, the homosexuals, the white men's and the women's, the 50's, 60's, 30's, into the wild, courageous, freedom fighting, revolutionary black men of the 60's and the coming 70's are years of dynamite, black power, for all of the third world, for all of the black world, Africa, Latin America, the black islands of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Middle East, we Africans, Asians, Indians, and Spanish-speaking people held captive in the cities, in the cotton field, tomato fields, grape fields, we farm workers, school students, black, brown, red, white, women, and unemployed, we are realizing we must have change, we must be free, we must be free, we must be free, we must be free, we must be free, we must be free, we must be free, we must be free, we must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free. All of us must be free.

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COMPLETE STORY IN NEXT ISSUE

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

The Minister of Education

which is freedom. The proof in the Vietnam war. Revolution is change, means freedom, and the American hokey, the American white man, the government nationally, statewide and locally, does not want change, does not want desire all of us, he has no use for revolutionary culture, change or freedom for black people. The proof is the murder of Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara, and Bobby Hutton, Martin Luther King boasted for change, Kennedy, McCarthy, Johnson and Humphrey do not want change, they want reform. They have no desire for our freedom, they want our votes and our courageous black youth to die in Vietnam fighting colored people, who never call us "nigger" or make work in plantations as Johnson's Lady Bazzard does. Black people want change. We want change, revolution, we want freedom. We want change, revolution, we want freedom. All of us are people of color in the world want an end to the robbery of our country and communities by the racists, piggish, fascist dog American white man. Therefore the Vietnamese people everywhere and south are waging war of liberation against racism, capitalism, and the white-skinned pigs of the world. If we are to be free, to ourselves, to be black, decide where we will elect to go to office, and how we or she will function. If we want our young black men to revolt in the U.S., because Americans is the blacks want to do it, to get the underground, if we want to determine who teaches our children what we want and which dog against the rest. If we want the year will be spoiled to us, that is the holy days which in the hokey's country is called holiday, if we want this kind of freedom. A revolution, we will have a revolutionary culture, our songs must be about change, when we are the new rhythm and blues, jazz, spiritual music, must burst the atmosphere of the blacks and the ability to listen to it. Eddie Harrison says a side called "Listen Here," with actual screams, coming from a Black Saxophone, and the only culture worth keeping is the revolutionary culture...

Our culture must not be something that the enemy enjoys, appreciates, or says is attractive, it is something that is slavery to the slave master. It must smash, shatter and crack his skull, crack his eyeballs, open and make water and gut gold and run. Because the only culture worth keeping or that will be kept by black people in a revolutionary culture. Culture may be defined as the total creation of a people. Everything black people do, our food, songs, dances, music, art, literature, stories, poems, paintings, plays, speeches, talk, kiss, embrace, squarer, and clothes. Our black faces must be used in our revolutionary culture. All our energies, our dreams, our will, our total ways must be used to further the revolution through which we will attain our freedom. That is the way the bread which we so desperately need. Whenever the settler, the enemy, the enemy's weapon and our ways and attempts to please us, that is placing our black consciousness into the milky way of racist America — their total ways, their culture is not revolutionary. It is stagnant — counter-revolutionary, repressive and murderous. The black man that Mayor Alioto praises are either Toms, fools, or black men who are being deceived, who do not have a revolutionary culture.

A revolution involves the total people; it needs all the energies of the people, requires all of our attention if it is to successfully stand. Therefore it involves the total way of the people, how we feel the culture, and therefore our culture must be revolutionary, which by definition is anti-white, anti-capitalist, against imperialism, against the racist dogs. Lyndon Johnson has no use for revolution, nor revolutionary culture, he has no use for change

OFF THE PIGS

The Black Panther Party

George Murray
Che's Successor

CARMAS—Since the death of the Cuban revolutionary, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a Venezuelan, has emerged as the leading Communist guerrillas in Latin America and Fidel Castro's newest revolutionary leader.

His name is Douglas Bravo, the son of a former general, and "Hector," he operated with approximately 100 men in Venezuela's western mountain range, an area he has known since childhood.

Last month he was elected President of the Cuba-sponsored Latin American Guerrilla Congress at a meeting in Colombia.

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro personally and publicly designated Bravo to lead the liberation activity in Venezuela, whose oil makers are the envy of the world and where the dictatorial government is one of the strongest in Latin America.

Castro has often cited Venezuelan as the priority target in his campaign of liberation of the oppressed.

Bravo, in equal terms devoted to Castro, in a guerrilla manifesto he wrote in 1966, he described Castro as "the absolute master" of Latin America's future.

Bravo, 51, was an active Communist in Cuba, before Castro's rise to power.

The word "Castor" is known to those who live in the world of Castro's name.

Where is my father?

LETTER FROM
SAN FRANCISCO
STATE COLLEGE

Douglas Bravo, while managing the packet line at San Francisco State College, I bought a copy of the Black Paper and began reading it. But when I got to your article, I suddenly became interested in economics and become interested because of my love for it. I read your article in full. The first reading led me to the second reading and the second to the third. I have read your article six times now and find that your analysis is very well written. I want to express my congratulations to you on a very well written article in a very good area of study. The article reflects your keen understanding of capitalism. It is much more important than your own observations are -- hopefully -- a few constructive criticisms.

My first criticism is that it is still a book on technical -- it is because it is definitions of Economic terminology. As you know, many words have different meanings when used in an economic framework. Words like real, profit, and capital mean one thing to a person unfamiliar with economics and something altogether different to a student of economics. It will go directly to the next by the next below for an example. To go to the article -- you stated, "To avoid making an uncorrected assumption I have decided to present my philosophy" and you proceeded to present American Capitalism as panacea to true or Latin-American Capitalism. I find within the body of the article are two economic institutions, one is in the reality other an abstraction. I have a personal problem here of determining -- one, your philosophy and two, what is it you are advocating for Latin-American Capitalism? The possibility of this misunderstanding is what I want to impress upon you.

Thank you Brother,
Greene Blake

WHERE IS MY FATHER?

BLACK COLONEL BLENDS BUSINESS

"Like it is."

MARSHALL B.
BASS - tells industry

"Through neglect, segregation, isolation, prejudice and poverty..."

After more than 20 years in the Army, during which he was wounded while commanding a combat unit in Korea, Marshall B. Bass (U.S. Army Ret.) was asked to talk at a meeting of the Frontline Associates Industries. Bass was not present, and he made a speech instead. Bass said that the black man has been the victim of racism and discrimination, and that the situation should be improved. He said that the black man should have a voice in the community, and that he should be given equal opportunities. He also said that all too often the black man is made to feel inferior, and that this is a problem. He made some observations about the black community, and said that he felt that the black community should be given equal opportunities by the government.
BOLIVIANS FIGHT

Peking, December 20, 1968 -- Bolivian peasants hoisted, stoned and drove away the pro-U.S. dictator henchmen from their land on December 19, according to a report from La Paz.

Henchmen went to deliver a speech in Ilieno, a town approximately 55 miles to the northeast of La Paz, in an attempt to justify the destruction and cattle thefts cited by the peasants. They were chased and chased by the angry peasants and his arrival, the henchmen hastily got into their car under the protection of his bodyguards and police and left Ilieno in a hurry.

The agriculture and cattle unite tax announced recently by the pro-U.S. dictatorial regime of the Bolivia has met with strong opposition of the broad masses of peasants. The tax is a new measure of exploitation aimed at shifting the burden of the present economic crisis onto the peasants, imperiling them and then robbing them of their land.

JAPANESE STUDENTS FIGHT AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Peking, December 21 (special) -- The Japanese University students struggle against the rule of U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the decadent bourgeois educational system is gaining momentum, according to a Tokyo news agency report.

In Tokyo, progressive students of Jichi University have recently staged a series of demonstrations against the buildings of the University, including its head offices. The students demanded that the University authorities repeal their unprofitable decision on suspending from school those students who participated in the struggle against the expansion of the U.S. Military base in Okinawa and that the students should have the freedom to engage in political activities. In collusion with the labor government, the reactionary University authorities called in on December 21, seven hundred armed police to suppress the students forcibly in an attempt to drive the students out of the buildings.

However, in defiance of violence, the students barricaded themselves with black stones and bottles. Within one hour, the first police unerringly arrested 52 students. The ruthless police suppression of progressive students evoked tremendous indignation among the broad masses of students. On learning the news, two thousand students rushed to the University and staged another protest rally at its playground, strongly condemning the labor government and the University authorities for their crimes.

Students of Tokyo University and Meiji Gakuin University who are also on strike joined the rally and encouraged the students of Jichi University to unite closely and persist in struggle. The protest rally lasted for more than five hours in a militant spirit.

Progressive students of Osaka University recently occupied and blocked one of the University buildings in protest against the unjustifiable punishment of students by the University authorities. The students have denounced the sabotage by the Miyamoto Reactionary clique in the Japanese Communist Party and persevered in their strike since mid-October.

In June this year, the patriotic students of Osaka University participated in anti-U.S. demonstrations against the use of Naval Air Base by D.N.R. Forces. The reactionary University authorities unnecessarily punished three students on the pretext that "they disturbed order." The students put forth a steady demand that the punishment be waived by the University authorities, but this demand was rejected. For this reason, the students blocked the University building and erected barricades at its entrance with desks and chairs.

The mass-stricken University authorities, collaborating with the Miyamoto Reactionary clique, tried to deceive some students into opposing the progressive students. However, their plan failed through.

At a recent meeting, the students severely denounced the University authorities and the revisionists who were driven out of the meeting like frightened rats.

1,500 students of Osaka University held a meeting on the afternoon of December 18. They demanded the University's president to the meeting, firstly announced his reactionary administration and pinned for their just demands.

RED BOOK BEST SELLER

PEKING (XINHUA) -- More than 700 million copies of Chairman Mao's "Little Red Book" have been published and distributed in the last three years, according to an offical Chinese report. During the same period, more than 60 million copies of Mao's poems and 150 million sets of the collected works of Chairman Mao have been printed.

The printing effort was said to have occupied more than 300 Chinese printing houses since the advent of the Great Proletarian revolution three years ago.

FATAH

Bethlehem, December 16, 1968 -- The Palestine National Liberation Movement has declared that the Palestinian people have understood their own experience that in their struggle for the Liberation of Palestine, final victory will surely belong to them so long as they rely on themselves and on the rifles in their hands and persever in their armed struggle against U.S. and imperialism and Israeli aggressions.

This statement was made in a recent interview with a correspondent of the Israeli newspaper Al ZABAVI Nachricht, which published it today.

Arab reiterated the Palestinian people's determination to resist all plans of so-called "peaceful solution" and to carry their armed struggle through to the end. Emphasizing the profound nature of the Palestinian people's Liberation cause, Arabi said: "We are a nation of small land, we have the spirit of the great, we are a nation of small numbers, our strength is in the spirit of the great, our strength is in the revolution, we are not afraid of the enemy, we shall continue to fight until the final victory belongs to the Palestinian people for the sake of the victory of Islam and the victory of the just cause of the Palestinian people's Liberation..."

In a statement, the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (PPLM) and other Palestinian nationalist organizations and for their support of Israel as its criminal occupier of the Palestinian land and the oppression against the Palestinian people, declared that Fatah's position is clear, steadfast and unchangeable. It is the position of recording history that the Palestinian people, the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (PPLM) and the Palestinian guerrilla organizations are determined to resist all plans of so-called "peaceful solution" and to carry their armed struggle through to the end, no matter how many threats and pressures are imposed on them. They are determined to continue their struggle until the liberation of the occupied territories and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the pre-1967 borders within the framework of the two-state solution and the right of return for the Palestinian people.
IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

By Huey P. Newton
Minister Of Defense

In response to the Mulford Gun Bill, Minister of Defense Huey Newton wrote a statement which Panther Chairman Bobby Seale delivered on the steps of the Capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The statement is as follows:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature, which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war on genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people, who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the conflicting of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America, Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.
CUBAN REVOLUTION TEN YEARS OLD

(Editor's note: On New Year's Day in 1959, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and their victorious guerrilla army strode into Havana. They day before, Fulgencio Batista, the ruthless dictator who had been the prime object of the political and nullary movement led by Fidel, fled in an airplane to the Dominican Republic on route to Spain. For the bearded men (barbaros) and their female compañeras, the march into Havana was both an end and a beginning. It was the end of a period of armed struggle for power, a flight launched on July 26, 1953, with an attack on one of Batista's army barracks. And it was the beginning of a new age—the ongoing Cuban revolution which was to take steps toward the construction of communism, the development of socialist man and the destruction of U.S. imperialism throughout the Americas.

Fidel Castro was, in many ways, typical of Havana university students. He came from a wealthy family. He was active in left-wing student politics. He had little to do with the Communist Party. He got a law degree and thereby won the right to be called "Doctor." In 1953, Fidel ran for congress on the ticket of a left-of-center bourgeois political party, but he didn't win. In the same year, Fulgencio Batista, who had headed an authoritarian government in Cuba on previous occasions, took power by a coup d'etat, resulting in a constitutionally-elected reform-minded president.

As the Batista government assumed an overtly dictatorial form, Fidel gathered 125 friends, most of them students or recent graduates, for an armed attack on Fort Moncada barracks in Oriente province. The army easily repulsed the attack, killing and wounding dozens. Fidel was jailed, but as a member of the "bourgeoisie," he avoided the possible death sentence. At his trial, he gave his now famous "History Will Absolve Me" speech, in which he outlined his program for political and social reform based on the social democratic Constitution of 1940.

Fidel got a prison sentence, but he was released during an amnesty in 1955 and went to Mexico via the United States. In the U.S., he made contact with Latin American men and women in exile from Batista and from a dozen other despots. Batista was well known for his repressive policies and his illegitimacy, and Fidel was able to convince the exiles—many of whom were experienced bourgeois politicians—of the need for armed struggle.

With money and pledges for more, Fidel went to Mexico, accompanied by some recruits, including Camilo Cienfuegos, a pitcher for the San Francisco Seals. Camilo, who died during the guerrilla war, is the most famous martyr of the Revolution.

In Mexico, Fidel met two very important men: one was Ernesto "Che" Guevara, an Argentine-born doctor who had traveled throughout the continent and who had a keen political and strategic sense about the impending struggle. The other was General Alberto Bayo, a Spanish lobbying officer who served with the anti-fascist guerrilla movement in Mexico in the 1930s.

Under Bayo's direction, Fidel, Che and the band of men and women got together into training on a rented farm.

Fidel was arrested by the Mexican authorities, but he was released. They bought more guns and purchased a 62-foot yacht called the Granma, so named by its original owner, a Texan. (Granma is the name of the daily organ of the Communist Party of Cuba.)

The trip from Mexico ran into bad weather and took six days—far too long—and many of the men suffered scurvy. When the boat landed on a peninsula in Oriente Province on Dec. 2, 1956, there were 11 men aboard. But Batista's men spotted the yacht and engaged the men and women immediately in armed combat. Only 12 survivors made it into the protective cover of the Sierra Maestra mountains. The next two years of Cuban history—1957 and 1958—are fraught with mystery and contradictions. The guerrilla army, under the leadership of Che Guevara, engaged in continual harassment of Batista's army, while undermining the national network of transportation and communications. Every effort was made to win the support of the people in the countryside, to promote defections from Batista's army, to carry on political education. The guerrilla army grew. Batista's army was largely impotent to deal with the struggle in the countryside—it was not trained in counter-insurgency and there were no U.S. advisers. And the people supported the guerrillas, who methodically tried to apply revolutionary principles in the field.

One of Che's biggest victories was against Batista's forces, but was a pact made with another guerrilla band, the Escambray Front, largely under the direction of William Morgan, a North American ex-Marine and soldier of fortune. The Escambray units joined under the single banner of Fidel's 26th of July Movement in 1958.

Meanwhile, Fidel was carrying on a very delicate task of building a political movement that was based on broad-based support. Probably, he could not have built such a movement had his program been clearly developed and labelled as the revolutionary communist program it is today. Fidel got support in the cities from men and women of all ages, in all classes, for it was in the city that Batista's crimes were most visible. It was there that the torture and deaths (20,000 murdered), the corruption, the gangsterism and the decadence were most visible.

Even U.S. corporations gave money to Fidel, while liberals in the State Department and the CIA agreed that Batista had to go. Fidel was an unknown character, and since he appeared pretty much like any bourgeois reformer to the spies who checked him out, Washington was unconcerned.

For that matter, Fidel's political revolution the elimination of Batista and the institution of bourgeois democracy—did not threaten U.S. interests.

Cuba's Communist Party, known as the People's Socialist Party, originally saw Fidel as an adventurer, and their support for him even after armed struggle in the Sierra began was minimal. In mid-1958, a high-ranking Communist Party official, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, met with Fidel in the baths and from that moment on, despite some internal disputes, the Communists gave full support to the 26th of July Movement, eventually submerging the party in the Movement. Carlos Rafael today commands great respect and responsibility in the revolutionary government, though other old-line Communists, notably Ambito Escalante, are doing common labor as political prisoners.

Of course, Fidel Castro and his comrades were fighting for far more than a political revolution. The struggle of the bearded men and the women who fought alongside them was a struggle for sweeping social change. After the triumphant march into Havana in 1959, the contradictions that face Fidel and his band to fall apart. By allowing free-emigration, and concentrating on the youth, the Cubans sought national consolidation.

Social revolution meant Cuba could no longer depend on U.S. trade and capital. The island nation looked to the socialist world, and it received an allegiance which the Cubans have never allowed to become a suffocating beat hear. The liberals in Washington and Havana fell away in anger, horror and vindictiveness.

In Cuba, with the political and social revolution finally consolidated, and the contradictions largely eliminated, the job of building a new age could begin.
BUNCHY CARTER
JOHN HUGGINS
MEMORIAL FUND
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
P.O. BOX 3065
COMPTON, CALIF. 90223
A Showdown in Angola

Angola, Zambia

The armed struggle in Angola has reached an irreversible point. The guerrillas now claim control over two-thirds of the country. They "rule" the entire southwest population of areas under their control, including Mexico and Cunene Provinces — which is defended in six weeks.

The Portuguese have no support from the villagers and have stopped foot patrols in the guerrilla-held areas, which they wisely regard as "danger zones." Even the use of motor vehicles is becoming a thing of the past since the Portuguese ambushes. When they do travel, their convoys are at least 50 vehicles strong and covered by armored helicopters.

**MPLA**

The Portuguese admit that since 1966 they have been confronted with more powerful and well-trained guerrilla forces.

Since the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) started the active armed struggle in 1966, four regions have been established in Angola.

The first region covers the provinces of Luanda, Zaire, Uige and the north of the second Cabinda enclave and the southernmost provinces of Cunene and Cunene Provinces. The fourth region covers Cunene and Malange provinces.

These are the nine of 15 Angolan provinces where fighting is going on.

**PLAN**

Whatever future plans the Portuguese might have for Angola, the truth is that the guerrillas are sure to win recognition of how long the Portuguese held on.

They would not have held on so long if they had not been supported by their own communities.

The MPLA guerrillas have a fighting morale which no amount of expert propaganda or modern arms could break.

By mobilizing the masses, the people have pledged to fight until they are victorious.

**CONTRAST**

Portugal cannot expect to win because she has no knowledge of the place from where the fighting is being conducted.

In contrast, the guerrillas know the countryside, entry and escape routes, the possibilities of quick maneuvers, hiding places and have the total support of the people.

However, guerrilla fighting does not afford itself the opportunity for complete victory.

One of the first steps of warfare is the growth and development of the guerrilla force until it possesses the characteristics of a regular army and starts infiltrating into urban areas.

**ARMY**

Only then will the guerrillas be ready to deal final powerful blows to the enemy and achieve victory.

Triumph of the revolutionary people of Angola would surely be the product of a regular army even though its origins would be in the guerrilla armed forces.

The Angolan guerrillas are now establishing a regular army.

Since June, the Portuguese have started to use helicopters to patrol the forests of Angola.

Thirty-five helicopters have been sent to the Portuguese by South Africa.

Every day, these helicopters enter Angola's Cabinda Province from Southwest Africa.

Some of the soldiers fighting against the guerrillas are South Africans.

However, both bombers and helicopters have proved ineffective in dealing with the guerrillas.

**FAILLE**

But this tactic has failed and with the coming of the rains they will be forced to abandon all other tactics.

The Portuguese cannot expect to win through bombing. They have to meet the guerrilla on the ground.

The fact that the Portuguese have been forced to abandon foot patrols and use motor transports is a clear indication that their strategy is failing.

It also shows that they are slowly losing the war and admitting their losses through their actions.

**KEY**

As we drove on the desolate sandy road past the "checkpoint" into guerrilla-controlled areas of Moxo Province, heavily armed guerrillas came running from different directions of the surrounding thick forest and clustered around the Jeep.

All the new arrivals, including the guerrilla leader and President of MPLA, Dr. Amadeo Nova, and some of his top officials, who were going to open the first conference inside Angola since the Portuguese war started in 1966, respected the instructions of the guerrillas.

On the way to Luvungi conference camp after abandoning the Jeep, we passed many wrecked trucks and villages raised to the ground by Portuguese soldiers.

Despite their having had their homes burned, the villagers have happily settled in "President camp," under the supervision of the guerrilla commander.

**CAMPS**

At these villagers' camps were greeted by tear-jerking men and women expressing their confidence in victory.

With support from the rural population and units MPLA has been so successful in its political campaigns that guerrillas have for a long time been trained inside Angola itself.

The guerrilla movement has now become the number 1 ambition among the youth. Even the youngest children are growing up with a revolutionary spirit.

So many volunteers have been turning up to join the guerrillas that since late last year, they have been finding difficulties in arming them all.

**CADRES**

"The political-military training of cadres is a sure guarantee for the development of the armed struggle on firm foundations," said Commander Lusanda Kwanza, at Hand 2 base camp when I asked him why most of the guerrillas were teenagers.

The deeper we went into Angola the denser the population became and the more organized the people were. Both at guerrilla and president camps, people have established cooperative gardens, cassava, rice, maize, onions and other vegetables are grown.

"The Spirit Of The People is Greater Than The Man's Technology"
WHAT IS ULTRA-DEMOCRACY?

By FIELD MARSHAL D.C.

Ultra-Democracy in individualism manifesting itself as an over-ton to democracy.

Our Minister of Defense, for instance, pointed out his advocacy on Anarchist and individualism that "this is a class society; it always has been." The majority of the people that become Panthers are from the lowest class. One of the major characteristics of this class is to think and act as an individual.

This tendency was and is perpetuated by the ruling class (governing) in its rhetoric and in its governmental documents such as the declaration of independence, constitution, bill of rights, etc. Having people thinking and acting individually is an aid to the ruling class in its exploitation and oppression of people around the world is general, and the exploitation and oppression and the perpetuation of racism against black people in particular. All laws and institutions of the society are structured to create individual thinking and action. This prevents oppressed and exploited people from seeing their problem as a collective one, such as the exploitation and racism perpetuated against all blacks, therefore, an ascension to collective thinking and action, to see themselves as a class and to press and exploit people are to wage a successful struggle to gain their freedom and liberation.

All things having a dual nature like love and hate, cover the positive aspects of individualism as the part of the masses of blacks in this present society.

Dissolve the exploitation, oppression and racism of this society, the masses of black people are totally unexploited and unexploited, therefore, means of survival other than employment being developed by black people. Prime Minister Stokely Carmichael, "The black man has a dream, work, you got it or you take it." Although black people have three methods to fulfill their desire and needs, the latter reveals the black revolution.

Many black people become very revolutionary in the process of its action if not in their thought. They develop ways of surviving in this society not dependent on the system. This is done individually or in very small groups never collectively. These are the people who would really want to become Panther party, as a means to control the least in particular and the lot of blacks in general.

When three people come into the party they are as individuals have conversations with each other. Within the party these perspectives prevent party policies from being carried out well or not at all. On the one hand, an individual may be commanding to survive in the present society following only the rules and lives that serve you individually and respecting those that do not in revolutionary by nature. On the other hand, coming into the party and continuing to obey only orders and directions of the party that pleases or satisfies you individually creates a counter-revolutionary and is called Ultra-Democracy.

A few examples are "the Panther Party should make democratic adaptations from the bottom to the top, or let the lower levels discuss all problems first, then let the higher levels decide." On an individual level, a command will be told by an officer to clean one of the Panther party, and he will respond by saying, "I don't drive the car, therefore I don't clean the car." This is Ultra-Democracy. If it is not eradicated it will damage or completely destroy the party.

Some methods of correction are as follows: (a) Education of the rank and file to destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. (b) To build up the collective leadership. (c) To build up the collective leadership in order to give collective leadership. The Black Panther Party and its members should understand and demand the methods of carrying their own movements.

In the Oakland Tribune, Staff Writer in "Seven Up," has said, "If each individual doesn't expect to get a job of his peers," said Supreme Court Justice Phillip Phillips, Jr., in the opinion of the Oakland Seven trial, "we can't get anything in this case." The Black Panther Party must have thoroughly studied the works of Malcolm X, Harry Belafonte, and John Holt. It truly intends to railroad these people because, he feels, the lack of direct movement just as the courts railroaded Huey.

The Seven were organized into the Draft Seven demonstrations of October, 1967. They are charged with having been ordered that the Sacramento papers originally filed against Huey by Secretary for going around in the State Senate in a sense of "commit a disloyalty of the State"--which in a federal court. These charges were later dropped against Brother Lundy and the Black Panther Party demands that the charges against the Seven be dropped.

Sending an organization of the Oakland Seven and their supporters out as soon as the trial opened, two hundred demonstrators showed up at the Alameda County Court House, ignoring even our own law. Constitution, Judge Phillips related in giving the Seven a public trial. He allowed about 200 spectators in the courtroom. The rest were shoved bodily down the elevators and into the main lobby. Suddenly a line of Alameda County sheriff's appeared. Cohn, the pigs began throwing the building outside, one brother knocked cross-eyed by a pig, and he was forced to "hurling the pigs" and "rein forcing to disperse." The pigs recaptained Stokely and Alston and whipped his head, his nose was pulled, and his face made to look at least 40 years old. Judge Phillips and Lowell Lundy were attached by a bullet. The pigs recaptured the Seven's quarters and arrested them. The court ruled down all of Charles Curry's motion to continue the case. Curry showed up by now D.A. J. Francis Coleby had "poisoned the atmosphere" of Alameda County with his pigish state's.
**POWER OF THE PRESS**

This is the to the downtrodden people of the world and the racist pig power structure.

Every week *The Black Panther* publishes a paper, that spreads from California to Africa and its primary function is to serve as an organizing tool for black people and all other oppressed people throughout the world.

Our paper is so important that it is an absolute necessity that the information we deliver within this paper, reach the brothers in the street, those that are classified with the racist, imperialist government. This also pertains to hippies and the youth that are opposed to the decadence of this society and of most importance, to lift the people to an awareness.

The pigs don't want you to read anything that the Black Panther Party produces. This especially relates to our papers world-wide circulation. This phenomenon has occurred because we write about the evil of this society, how the pigs mess over our people, how we dissect in believing that Black Capitalism in the answer, etc. The author of Black Capitalism is none other than Dick Nixon, the 7th peak of the United States. The power structure doesn't want you to read this stuff, because they are afraid that when the people finally realize what's happening, they will say, "In God we Trust, our country, our sacred, ruptured, murder, come for who's ours?" That is what they don't want you to do. How in essence, Black Capitalism means Black pigs. They should never push you to read the truth of the political assassination that occurred two weeks ago at UCLA's campus. The incident involved two true revolutionaries by the name of "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins.

Last week we shipped papers to our chapter in New York, on a Friday morning via the Air Lines, which takes at the most, eight hours. The pigs held our papers until this past Monday. That's only one example of the hell we receive, from the pig power structure.

A newspaper can be used for many purposes, the use is primarily for two reasons to give political consciousness to the masses and as an organizing tool. We believe that you, the people, will gather together and make a decision, uncorrupted by economic, racial or other social barriers.

"To join with others in collective effort to help rebuild and rehabilitate America and urban areas by the full use of advance technology, new materials and methods and by utilizing the maximum and meaningful participation of the people of the inner city in all aspects of this urgent task so that decent, adequate housing can be made available and put within the economic reach of America's low-income families."

**PURPOSE OF THE B.P.C.**

We must educate the working people in the political impact that the U.A.W. and other unions have on their social and economic lives. We must most other groups in a revolution to throw out the upper class leaders by democratic elections or any means necessary. We have allowed ourselves to become part and partners in the exploitation of non-working people by simply remaining quiet and passive. We must, with the pigs, give all the power to the people as we throw out the International By-Laws and local by-laws of U.A.W. and other unions.

To this end...

- Kenny Harris, Director B.P.C.
- Los Angeles, Calif.
- Fremont, Calif.

**COMMUNITY UNIONS**

"Join with other groups in the community to organize community unions so that the working people in the community will not be underemployed by the opportunity of participation of self-organization and self-union in dealing effectively with their problems."
JUDGE WILSON’S DECISION

Chairman Bobby Seale has been exonerated of all charges stemming from the shooting death of his house. The “pigs ran amok” and arrested Chairman Bobby on some trumped up gun charges. The following is the official statement that accompanied Chairman Bobby’s release from the prison system.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ALAMEDA BEFORE HONORABLE LEONEL J. WILSON, JUDGE

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, Plaintiff v. ROBERT SEALE and ARTIE P. SEALE, Defendants

NO. 4180
MEMORANDUM IN RE MOTION TO SUPPRESSEVIDENCE

This motion came on for hear- ing before the Court on January 3, 1969 upon defendant’s Motion to Suppress the admission of the possession by defendant of a .45 caliber automatic pistol with an allegedly altered serial number, a sawed-off shotgun, and a hand grenade under the provisions of section 1253 of the Penal Code. It was stipulated by and between the People, through Lowell Jansen, Assistant District Attorney of Alameda County, and the defendants through their counsel, Charles R. Garry, that the arrest of the two defendants was not by way of an arrest warrant as to the incident that is involved in the proceedings, nor was there a search warrant in existence for the seizure of the本文的证据 which are the subject of this particular motion.

Penal Code Section 1253.5 provides for a hearing De Novo when a motion is made in inferior Court under the provisions of said Code section, and places the burden on the prosecution to show that the search and seizure was reasonable and lawful. A careful and comprehensive study and review of the entire proceedings as presented herein leads this Court to the following conclusion:

A. Officer Alcorn’s testimony was at times inconsistent with other credible evidence. This was a times excessive and an occasion demonstrated a "concessional memory" which unusually significant helps ful to his case and not so sharp otherwise. For instance, his testimony that when he received the initial radio transmission to go to 19328 Street, he was told that the citizen informant had stated that he had heard the three Negroes say, "There has to be killing; there has to be killing," and "Let’s go in and talk to him about it," is not born out by the evidence. He could not account for the initial transcript of the informant’s conversation with Bobby based upon what the citizen stated that he could not come out what it was about and heard a statement saying, "Well, we’re the only people (niggers)."

B. The inconsistencies and Contradictions of Officer Alcorn’s testimony and his apparent emotional involvement were such that it is difficult to suppress the evidence from the "concession and sanity."

C. When Officer Alcorn alerted a few minutes after being at the vicinity of 19328 Street that Bobby Seale knew that what had been a routine police assignment now become a situation wherein Bobby Seale was to be arrested and make an arrest that had special meaning for him, and his actions thereafter were colored by this realization, (See RT 37 wherein Alcorn stated "I probably didn’t... never to him that it would be a leader in his cap to arrest Bobby Seale.)

D. The arrest of the four occupants of the yellow car who presumably had factored in the unlawful violent protest, and seizure of weapons from the vehicle evidenced little or no taking for a basis for a probable cause to re-arrest or search any further. It is not possible to know that some of the persons seen coming into the house were armed with pistols, and there were no illegal weapons as such found upon them, and it is common knowledge that the Black Panthers were prone to be armed. Therefore Officer Alcorn’s statement to Bobby Seale that he had arrested the four occupants of the yellow car (RT 35-34).

E. When Officer Alcorn returned to the home of Bobby Seale, the house was discovered and there was no evidence of any unusual conduct or even the prospect of such.

F. There was nothing of a further nature or conduct or arrest of Bobby or Artie Seale when the officers came to their home to make the arrest.

G. There is sufficient evidence to sustain a finding that the officers were not unreasonable in their arrest for the arrest of Bobby and Artie Seale for conspiracy to commit riot or murder.

In light of the foregoing, this Court finds that the arrest was not unreasonable and was not probable cause to make the arrest of former police officers and the search of the Seale apartment and seizure of the two guns and hand grenade.

There, the Motion to Suppress the aforesaid evidence is granted.

DATED: January 20, 1969.

LEONEL J. WILSON
JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT

WANTED DEAD FOR MURDER

S.F. PIG MICHAEL O’BRIEN
4785 - 18th STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

OFF THE PIGS

KLAN KILLER CLEARED

REVOLUTION

Revolution is the only solution. To this crazy mixed up evolution we must add unity, strength and the mass is standing from us. It is time for us to arm them to do the right thing and end the most suffering we can. We are a physical tools upon which we must act, or suffer. Could it happen again? If we start rearming our schools and stop allowing violence to be used all and all? Get the gun and save your life! It is not too late to correct this. Close to this conclusion be part of the Revolution! We are armed.

The revolution is everywhere. Revolution is the only ideology.

Judee R. Guelph, Jr.

PANTHER POWER

San Francisco Bay Area
WHAT WE WANT

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our Black Community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our Black Community by organizing in the Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black Community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution gives 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 get a fair trial the defendant will be forced to select a jury from Black Community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the Black Community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colonies in which Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for some people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are suffered, 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 the right of the people to alter or abd to abolish it, and to institute...
RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

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

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

THE RULES ARE:

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

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

1) Speak politely.
2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
3) Return everything you borrow.
4) Pay for anything you damage.
5) Do not hit or swear at people.
6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7) Do not take liberties with women.
8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

1) Obey orders in all your actions.
2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor
and oppressed masses.
3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

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

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.
SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE PRISONER IS INJECTED Forcefully INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVELING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON. (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)"

Elbridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 25th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an unlawful decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has twice objected to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole, because he had a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself.

"...Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court op. cit. 137, 138, 140, 141)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary was presented to the parole board? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole or any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense.”

Cleaver’s "hearing" a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision.” (Petition for Hearing in the Superior Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority violate the Cleaver’s due-cause hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority’s unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be impropriated by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to gain in this 'well of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Superior Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an unlawful decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn’t the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver’s case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn’t accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to revocation. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn’t afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Elbridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Shearin puts it: "...The unprotected evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his vocal eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure government, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concept of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense public campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man’s freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver’s case is not allowed his freedom, it is not a just matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDREDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldredge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldredge Cleaver. I enclose $________ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldredge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee...

Name

Date

Address

City State Zip

Profession Organization or Title

IODEC, 495 Buena Vista, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scherer, Director
BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Council to the Black Panther Party is sponsoring a full breakfast program for children in the Black community.

All children in grade school and younger are invited to enjoy a hearty breakfast free of charge. The breakfast will be served every morning before school begins. The program begins at 7:00 a.m. and lasts until 8:00 a.m.

The National Advisory Council and school administrators are calling on all mothers and others who want to help with this program. The children will be served eggs, toast, coffee, and milk. The cost is 50 cents per student.

If you would like to make a donation, please send your contributions to:

Black Panther Party
PO Box 420
Oakland, CA 94628

Thank you for your support.

COMING IN FEBRUARY...

A NATIONWIDE BIRTHDAY WEEKEND CELEBRATION FOR HUEY P. NEWTON

BLACK BOOKS

Books by Africans & Afro-Americans

PHONE: (415) 656-0234
5800 GROVE ST. OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
FEE PARKING WHILE SHOPPING
10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man knows himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little choice to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.
We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.
We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.
We believe that if these businesses will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individuals and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.
We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.
We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.
We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPULSED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REESTABLISHED.
We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven’t received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the schools authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.
We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.
As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school’s destiny.

We hold these truths as being 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. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abrogate it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Preadence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable 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 usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

"IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENT UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNION hasn't become a member of this UNION OF BLACK STUDENTS UNION send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U., and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual basis. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:
BLACK STUDENTS UNION
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3106 SHATTUCK ST.
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

COMING SOON

THE BIOGRAPHY OF HUEY P. NEWTON

By Bobby Seale and Those Who Know Huey. With an introduction by Eldridge Cleaver.
MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Please Clip and Mail to:

HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND
P. O. BOX 318
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

1 Pledge $5

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NEEDED: TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON SAYS;
"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN
THE MAN’S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUS-
TICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE
PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECH-
NOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN’S" THEN WE
WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALIIES IN THE
REVOLUTION – WE NEED ALL TYPES OF
TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:

FOR DEFENSE
FOR FINANCING
FOR OFFICE WORK
FOR TRANSPORTATION
FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

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

HUEY POSTER $1.00

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

Effective January 20th
7:30 am till 9:30 am
Monday thru Friday
at the
St. Augustine’s Episcopal Church
2624 West St. Oakland
for information
call Father Neil at 534-6684
or
Ruth Beckford Smith at 883-8211
or inquire at
Black Panther Party
National Headquarters
3106 Shattuck St.
Berkeley, Calif.

ESSAYS FROM THE
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
by HUEY P. NEWTON
WITH FORCEFUL INTRODUCTION BY
GEORGE MURRAY
MINISTER OF EDUCATION

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

REMEmBER
BROTHER MALCOM
Born, May 19, 1925
Assassinated, Feb. 21, 1965

SUPPORT YOUR NEWSPAPER –
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Knock, Knock
Who’s There
“The Pig”
You Got A Warrant?
Don’t Need One, I’m
Coming In
Bang! Bang!
Oink! Oink!
Off The Pig

Bobby Herron