PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

Following is President Ho Chi Minh's New Year's message:

Dear compatriots and fighters—

1968 was a year of very glorious victories for our armed forces and people throughout the country. The U.S. imperialists had to unconditionally cease their war of destruction in the North. Since early Spring, 1968, our compatriots and fighters in South Vietnam have continually attacked and continually risen up, and have recorded very brilliant victories.

Certainly the U.S. aggressors will meet with complete failure. Our armed forces and people throughout the country, despondent with the impetus of victories, will surely win complete victory.

On the occasion of New Year, 1969, on behalf of the people throughout our country, I wish to convey my warmest greetings and wishes to our compatriots and peace-and-justice-loving peoples in the world, including the progressive people in the United States, for their wholehearted support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

May all our compatriots in the North, South Vietnam, and the world, continue to develop revolutionary spirit and gain even more victories.

I hereby extend my greetings to compatriots in North and South Vietnam. Let us continue to persevere in our struggle for independence, for freedom, for the spring of our Country.

Let's fight so as to free the Yaungs and the puppets.
EDITORIAL

NATION CELEBRATES HUEY'S BIRTHDAY

By BIG MAN Co-Editor

Thousands upon thousands stood up and shouted slogans as a very clear indication that the people of racist, dehumanizing and militaristic governments on the earth are tired of the injustices and brutal policies of this country.

As the big clock struck one, it was the birthday that was important itself, but the fact that the occasion gave revolu-
tionary potential a chance to flower. The People have vowed that Huey will not spend another birthday in the, inmate, military factory of the master killers of America.

More Chapters across United States held rallies and birthday parties, in honor of HUEY P. NEWTON. There were people of all colors turned out in force to DEMAND that Huey be set free.

In Los Angeles, San Diego, Vallejo and Calistoga the weather was a mighty storm and a sure that we would have victory in the contest to hear Huey's message from prison. In New York, Kansas City, and many other cities the people heard speakers and had the message broadcast and played over the radio waves in an effort to bring in a new influence on the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

BERKELEY BENEFIT RALLY

On Sunday, February 16, a benefit rally for Huey P. Newton was given at the West Berkeley Community Center, in honor of the Minister of Defense's Birthday.

The audience was almost filled to its capacity, and the people were eager to give the speakers and revolutionaries support such as the Chairman of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY Bob Seale, Rev. Earl Nell, Attorney Charles H. Garry, SRO leader William A. Hcone, Terence Young, SFO leader in the Los Angeles chapter of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and revolutionary poetry by Brother Manuel "Lil" Caskey, as well as Brother Dee. There was an almost omnious silence surrounding the empty chair of Huey P. Newton, but the people were clear about the disap-

MESSAGE FROM HUEY

"Taped In Prison"

REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, WHITE RADICALS WHO ARE SUPPORTING BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

I'm very happy that we are all here together today, not because I'm in prison, but because I'm alive and have the opportunity to be with you. The fact that we are together today is a great occasion that we can use to further our aims and goals.

Today it should mark a new time in the revolutionary experience in the country, especially in the towns where the two-REVOLUTIONARY-BROTHERS were assassinated. It is a time to celebrate our victories and to look forward to the future.

The students at the many universities across the nation are challenging the racism of the schools and are also led-
ging the march of湖北's black liberation struggle. The student movement is the future of this country.

We would not have been able to free a university, free a school, or a free society in the past. Today we can do it because we have developed the people, the organization, the archives, and the resources to do so.

We must make sacrifices for such gatherings, but the sacrifices are worth it. We are not alone. We have the support of the masses of people in the struggle for freedom.

The students at the many universities across the nation are leading the struggle against the racist and colonial power structures. They are the future of this country.

Our Minister of Information Education is the voice of the people, the voice of the revolution. He is the one who speaks the language of the people.

The students at the many universities across the nation are also leading the struggle against the social and economic oppression of the black community. They are the future of this country.

So, TO THE PEOPLE, TO BLACK POWER TO BLACK POWER TO THE VANGUARD!

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

HONORING BROTHER MALCOLM

On February 25, 1965, Black Power lost a true revolutionary and leader of his people. The bro-
th of whom we speak is Mal-
ocola Little, also known as Malcolm X.

But we will not tolerate too much on Brother Malcolm because it was his life that was inspirational and relevant to Black Power.

Malcolm's life was stolen away from us by establishment-oriented provocateurs, as have been the lives of many other revolutionaries who under-

stood the real situation as tragical and who posed a threat to the establishment, the decimated establishment.

We of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and Black People all over the nation say "Power" to Brother Malcolm in his memory. His death will not have been in vain.
FREE HUEY BIRTHDAY RALLY IN KANSAS CITY

LARGE TURNOUT FOR PANTHERS

Black Leaders 'Serve Notice' on White Community
TALK OF REVOLUTION

Crowd of 700 Packs Gregg Center to Hear Black Panthers

The Black Panther party served notice on white Kansas City yesterday after-noon at a rally that a revolution is coming if black demands for justice and equality are not soon satisfied. The rally drew about 700 persons, most of them black, into the Gregg Community center at Seventeenth street terrace and the Peace. The applause and cheers that greeted much of the oratory indicated clearly that not everyone was there just to satisfy its curiosity about the militarized organization that established a chapter here only two weeks ago.

Start is Delayed

Scheduled to begin at 3 o'clock, the rally did not start until 3:20. As the line outside the building kept growing the 500 seats filled quickly. The crowd, three and four deep, overflowed against the walls. Nor did many leave a half-hour later. It was scheduled to end. Most wanted, for the Panthers had waited until the last minute to speak. "It was explosive. We were forced to build this country," Pete O'Neal, deputy chairman of the party here, said, "and if forced to, we'll tear this... down."

"People are afraid of the word revolution," said Bill With- field, deputy minister of information. "They know the Black Panther party is revolutionary people. The system must be changed. We can't go on living the way we're living. The revolution is coming..."

These and similar remarks prompted cheers and applause.

Some Stand 'Guilty'

As the crowd jammed into the community center gymnasium, several young men wearing black berets and black coats stood along the walls and stage and stared stoutly ahead with their arms folded either in front or in back of them.

The rally opened with a panel discussion moderated by Keith Black, deputy minister of education. Participants were the Boys, television安娜; pastor of the Roman Catholic Church; Rev. Withfield, Jack- son; former Kansas City mayor; and Rev. Berker city councilman; W. P. Black, state professor at the St. Paul School of Theology; Reverend Roy Philip, a minister of the Black Panther church; and Berkie Fish, a leader of the Lincoln community council.

Their four-hour discussion centered on the subject of the problems the system caused and tolerated on the black community by whites in Kansas City. The police department, the Kansas City Board of Education, the city administration and the business leadership of the city all received severe criticism.

Mr. Lawson at one point said he was in the process of changing the system there was an immediate need to stop the way the police were operating in the black community. Withfield said he was present to find out what the Panthers stand for, leading its platform. He said he knew some of what he heard and many others had been fighting for a long time.

Neglect as Cause

"I believe in Martin Luther King," Watson said, "but I believe a man has a right to protect himself. When people ask me what are the Black Panthers going to do, my answer is, "Whatever they do, it's brought about by your neglect."

Fish took the same tack, commenting that he had received calls last week that he should not play host to the Pan- thers at the meeting.

"I told them I won't, but I feel it is my obligation as a Panther to do as I am here," he said. "The white power structure is responsible for their being here."

A 15-minute movie about the Panthers' national organization and its leaders in Oakland, Calif., was shown. When Ed- drose Chaver, author of the bestselling "Ball on the Wall," and Deputy police minister of in- formation, began to talk, the auditorium, he was greeted with applause.

Concluding the meeting, the chairman of the committee, who had been present at the start of the meeting, was also present at the end. "This meeting has shown the need for community support and dedication to fellow- man," said Verlanda Lewis, director of operations in the Oakland East Bay Area. The Panthers seek to win the people for the political and social implications.

DEATH AND DISEASE LINKS THE PANTHERS

A new threat is now on the shoulders of the Farm Workers in Mexico. It is a political and social issue in the United States. An exposure of the pesti- cides and insecticides used by growers has been made. A recent U.S. Senate report on the pesticide industry stated that 100 to 200 pounds of these chemicals are used in the United States each year, which is about the same as the amount used in Mexico. This report is the result of a U.S. Senate committee investigation of the use of these chemicals in the United States.

The report found that the use of these chemicals is widespread throughout the United States, with the highest concentrations found in states with large agricultural areas. The committee also found that the use of these chemicals is often illegal, with many growers using them in violation of local or federal laws.

The committee noted that the use of these chemicals is a major health and environmental hazard. The committee recommended that the government take steps to reduce the use of these chemicals and to protect workers and the public from their harmful effects.

California Wine Boycott

ARTICLE TO INFORM THE BLACK COMMUNITY ABOUT THE CONDITIONS IN DELANO AND THE DEATHS OF FARM WORKERS

The secondary boycott becomes farmland.

This year the California Grape boycott is taken another turn. For the first time in history, farm- workers have noticed pickle lines in front of many stores. The lines were long, and shoppers from protesting stores that carry- ed the product were generally unsuccessful. This is the reason for the new tactic that will be used in California. A new tactic is a petition campaign against the Safety Stores. This strategy was introduced by Fred Frank in the LA area last year and proved to be very sucessful. So the campaign is now going throughout the nation. You will see petitions all over the sidewalks in front of stores. The farm workers are asking for your support and your signatures, and that you help us as much as you can.

The hope is that by closing Safety stores, people will not continue to buy the grapes and force them to negotiate with the strikers. This can only be done with the community's support and dedication to fellowman. The farm workers seek to win the people for the political and social implications.

REBELLION WAR DECLARED AGAINST DELANO WORKERS

For the past two months, there has been an air of war in the home of a Delano boycott family. The house was burned, and Mr. and Mrs. Chaver, has been the target for night raids from some unknown group. "We will not be moved," Chaver says.

The incidents have been occurring since the family became involved in the Delano boycott. At first, they were small acts of intimidation, such as the call threats, and egg throwing. Later, the attacks escalated with the use of unusual tactics. The attacks were thrown through the wind- ows, doors, and on the streets. On one occasion, there was a near serious rioting for the raiders, But Reuben Chaver, still refused to abandon the protest.

Last week there was a vigil to protest theスタンダードの警察institution of the police station, a very successful and not at all viol- ence. There was obvious mass support, the San Francisco police had taken no action to stop protests of the house. In light of this, we ask the support of the black com- munity in persuading the police to take action.

SOLD SESSION AT THE HACIENDA

Since 1951, 32 occupational fa- talities involving agricultural chemicals occurred in California. During the same period, 52 children and 37 adults died from accidental exposure to agricultural and other chemicals. A total of 136 deaths caused by a variety of poisons and insecticides were reported in 1969. In 1966 a few cases were recorded by county officials who received information about these cases from agri- cultural and other sources. Six cases were recorded in 1968. In 1969, 22 cases were recorded by county officials who received information about these cases from agri- cultural and other sources.

The statistics are frightening.
CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The Minister of Education

We must destroy all cultural nationalism because it is reaction- ary, and has become a tool of the bourgeoisie to divide and con- trol the people. The U.S. power structure which divides the black and white, is used by the white bourgeoisie to divide the black people in the ghetto — it murdered Al- fred "Blinky" Carter, our Deputy Minister of Defence, and our former Deputy Minister of Instruc- tion.

Cultural Nationalism is a fiction — a people’s development as a whole. We see that cultural nationalism is necessary in the early stages of a people’s political development. For instance, if we say we’re black and people are saying what is necessary and true, but being black and white will not free any of us.

Nationalism always exists in an oppo- site attitude. At one time, the African point that they first began to challenge the imperialist government. This is a situation where we, as a whole, are talking about this. We have a common enemy, our enemies. And we are going to defeat them together.

In 1960 all over the U.S., we began to talk about this. We started to talk about the culture, to talk about the culture in terms of defeating black bour- egeoisism in ourselves. The reason was that we had to fight the imperialists, and we had to fight against the bourgeoisie.
PUPPET HAYAKAWA V. S. BOOTLICER WILLIE BROWN

Puppet Hayakawa and Bootlicker Brown exchange heated words on roots of campus crisis...

... but as the debate fires up, Pig Mayor Alioto tugs Puppet Hayakawa’s shoulder...

... as Pig Chief Cahill puts a similar friendly arm on Bootlicker Brown and tempers ebb

Gramma BOOKS

COMPLETE MARXIST WORKS
Black Struggle & Colonial Revolution, Labor plus Literature from Vietnam & Cuba

2509 TELEGRAPH AVE BERK. 841-9744
The People's Liberation Army of Vietnam

COLOMBIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

Revolution, organ of the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), recently published a document which pointed out the tremendous achievements in the first year of the revolutionary armed struggle achieved by the Colombian People's Liberation Army, and called upon the revolutionary people of Colombia to strengthen their struggle and strike hard at U.S. imperialism and the Colombian oligarchies. The document was jointly issued by the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the People's Liberation Army and the Regional Patriotic Committee of Alto Sinu and Alto San Jorge.

It pointed out first of all that the broad masses of the Colombian people are rising up in struggle in all parts of the country and their political consciousness is rapidly brightening.

It said: "Standing in the forefront of the triumphant struggle of the Colombian people is the Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). In Colombia, the People's Liberation Army, the armed arm of our Party, has emerged and has been growing stronger daily. Today, it has become the brain and soul of the armed struggle of our people."

The People's Liberation Army, it continued, "has unfolded its struggle on three principal fronts: fighting the enemy; building and developing revolution; and mastering, educating, organizing and arming the broad masses of the people. Our people's army is fighting under the banner of absolute confidence in victory, profound and boundless love for our people and irreconcilably hatred for our class enemies. We are convinced that two are bound to win the fight."

The document added: "Parallel to the People's Liberation Army, there have appeared the revolutionary peasant militias and the regional patriotic committees. The last-mentioned are the embryo of a patriotic front for liberation."

It pointed out: "The People's Liberation Army, during the period of occupation of U.S. imperialism and the operations in the first year beginning from June 67, in the first year, the People's Liberation Army, in coordination with the Revolutionaries, won over thousands of weapons and recovered the U.S. imperialist equipment from the hands of the enemy. The people's army has faced the challenge of the big battlefronts, and in the course of fighting, the People's Liberation Army has forced the enemy to retreat."

Revolution has also published a new document entitled "The People's Liberation Army which now combat the achievements of the People's Liberation Army in June and July, 1967. The document pointed out that the People's Liberation Army has taken a series of offensive actions in the course of fighting."

In the first eight months of fighting, eight detachments were set up, including the "Marva" detachment composed of women fighters."

The document condemned the reactionary authorities for cruelly persecuting the people's inhabited region. It stated: "The Colombian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the People's Liberation Army and the patriotic committees, carrying on the line of the Party and applying the thought of the great leader Comrade Mao Tse Tung, shall continue instead the blood of the people and lead them to the road of revolution."

It called on the Colombian people to counter with conscious struggles the repression, oppression and exploitation of the people by U.S. imperialism and the Colombian oligarchies, and to firmly support the People's Liberation Army. It also called on all the fighters of the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary peasant militias to reckon their efforts in annihilating the enemy."

CONFLICTS OF THE TRIDENT OF MILITARY TROOPS IN SPAIN

WORKERS CONTINUE STRIKE IN DEFANCE OF TYRANNY

SPAIN

The worker and student movement has been marching forward since the end of last year in Spain, which is ruled by the fascist head, Francisco. Confronted with this vigorous people's movement, the Franco dictatorial regime, carrying aside all pressures, declared a nationwide "state of emergency" on January 24. But this reactionary measure only stirred up the indignation and resistance of the Spanish people, who have a glorious tradition of struggle, still more.

Workers' strikes and rallies took place in Madrid, the capital, and Bilbao, the industrial area in northern Spain, to protest against the "state of emergency" announced by the fascist regime. On the evening of February 7, the people in Madrid came out against the "emergency" regulations. They shouted "Freedom! Freedom!" and held placards reading "Franco murderer!" and courageously and defiantly fought the fascist policemen.

In the industrial city of Bilbao, about 15,000 workers went on a two-hour strike on January 31 against the capitalists' owners' unprovoked attack of a worker who openly opposed the government announcement of the "state of emergency." Then on February 3 and 4 the workers in four of the city's steel plants downed tools. On February 6 some 25,000 workers in the Bilbao area had joined the ranks of the strikers. The strike was the biggest ever in the Bilbao area in recent years.

Repression of the revolutionary people by the reactionaries can only arouse fierce resistance from the people. The fascist suppression by Franco's dictatorial regime can by no means intimidate the Spanish people. On the contrary, it will only hasten its collapse.
BLACK MAN STANDS OFF 5

PRESS RELEASE

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BLAKE, 5 Mr. Walton made a left turn and got into a fight with any pre-

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WASHINGTON/MOSCOW COLLABORATION INTENSIFIED

Shortly before and immediately after Nixon took office, the evacuees in the Kremlin were waiting for their orders. They had been instructed by the Kremlin to act swiftly to secure the release of the American captives held in the succession of so-called "political solutions" to the Middle East problem. It was stressed that "initiatives" on the problem must be "mutual". This means that the Soviet revisionists will join the U.S. revisionists in the dirty activities of collecting information.

The intensified collaboration that was being worked out between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, U.S. News and World Report, in a recent article, divulged the criminal objective of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the two most treacherous enemies of the revolutionary people of the world, which are collaborating and struggling with each other in their vain effort to redivide the world between themselves. It said: "What the Kremlin wants from Mr. Nixon is an agreement that the U.S. and Russia should get together and divide the world into spheres of interest and influence, with a few "in man's land's" open for grants.

The more U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, amidst their collaboration, the more clearly will they reveal their ferocious attitudes before the people of the world and the more quickly will they go to their doom.
DATE: February 20, 1969
PLACE: Shafter's Park, North Richmond
TIME: Between 7:15 p.m. and 8:30 p.m.
CAUSE OF ACTION: Police officer claimed black woman was sitting on a bicycle, and wanted to arrest her.
REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

A Black child sits in a classroom and stares aimlessly out the window. In front of the class she has been taught to write, a teacher addresses the black child and the class at the same time. The teacher is black, the black child and the whole class is black. The teacher speaks in a Language heard constantly – the Language of the poor Black people. The black child listens, she is not interested, not involved. She is being taught the Language of the poor Black people. She is being taught to watch, to observe, to listen, to hear, to see the Language of the poor Black people. She is being taught to accept the Language of the poor Black people. She is being taught the Language of the poor Black people. She is being taught the Language of the poor Black people.

The chain was broken, a free breakfast program was born in Oakland, California. The breaking of this chain opened up a new era in the Black colony of Afro-America. The important aspect of this era lies not merely in the fact that the chain was broken, but in the manner in which it was broken. The capitalists ruling class of this country knew that this hunger existed and had the means or power to eliminate it. The proof of this lies in this government's own congressional report on hunger in class whose claim has made it on its own, and who have historically acknowledged this hunger, the food, paid lip service to the oppressed and neglected at having 'escaped from the ghetto, known that this hunger exists. All the civil rights organizations with their middle class orientation know that this hunger exists and have resources and manpower to do something about it, but instead of concentrating on the real and important needs of the people for food, the class weakness of bourgeoisie society surfaced and their true allegiance shone through. These people and their organizations indulged in idealism and petty bourgeois individualism and went off chasing a false dream of integration into a sick society, and a moral and a political problem, and our children were betrayed.

Breakfast for School Children

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA — The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is in working with and for the Oakland Epcopalean Church's program, breakfasts, in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community. All children in grammar schools and young adults in Junior High Schools can receive, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 25th and West, and at the Black Community Center, at 45th and Grove Streets.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our own have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have this program included in a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of them are empty stomach people in the Black Community mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others are trying to raise children in the black community where parties oppress us — are asked to contribute to work and contribute to support this noble program. Food, food, food, and food for the stomachs to which it is at times when it comes to properly preparing our children for education, LET'S DO IT NOW.

Thank you.

Breakfast for School Children

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINES EPCopal Church, 7024 West St, OAKLAND

[Box for Money]

Enclosed is $____

[Box for Check]

Food or Uncharged State Kind and Quantity Below

If business for include the tax exemption

Name:

Address:

Signature:

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSO — ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH
PORK CHOP

The Propagators of cultural house neggers as tools to divide nationalism are no more than the field negroes from their move. We are the last part only a reflection of the nationalist bourgeoisie. They optimize the idealism of the Kominos, the high priest of the type of aesthetic rhetoric and Pork Chop nationalism. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between the blond Black Power, I'm ashamed of his blackness, and the Black Power that will be a negative "Negro Capitalism." This sophistry is both a lie and a perdition. We are not all blacks.

CAPITALISM

The word capitalism and the use of the power structure to produce products to straighten him, does not oppress him, but puts him in a position (so he says) that is better (richer-man) than the position of the field negro, the slave master.

WHO DECIDES FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

Daily decisions are made which affect the lives of Black people. These decisions affect the kind of schools, hospitals, jobs and the type of political and economic structures under which Black people will live.

The question is, who makes these decisions? Black people don't decide for themselves. The answer to the question is obvious. The decisions are made by whites, who live outside the Black community. The decisions that affect the lives of Black people are made by a position of subservience and treated like immature children by the white ruling class.

Black people occupy a particular community yet they have no say example, whites who perpetrate this or any other program can do is to make decisions, because of the about the community. They either act in a vacuum, and the necessary power, or they fail large sums of money to "correct" these mistakes. Even with these minor changes, a program to make decisions in their own interest. Consequently, when these are constantly in a position as is far discussed, Blacks are forced to move as they fickle, and to decide what's good for them. This attitude of the exception of a few taken from middle-class apartments and sub-

The so-called Model Cities Program is a prime example of how inaction in the making of decisions and hastily establish-

This black capitalism is another program that we were slaves. Even after 1866 the power structure to put the power structure to produce products to straighten him. These programs have been of the black bourgeoisie is a position to people who worked on the field, and exploited the masses. It was built this country, when cotton and still part of the struggle to keep the people oppressed, it is not a struggle, a class struggle. The black "Negro Capitalism" is in the black bourgeoisie, in the black bourgeoisie, in the movement, in the mass of people, in the movement, in the mass of people, and to understand the revolution.

We say we know where it is, and it's up to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to expose and to denounce all the picket rhetoric spouted by these hollenders, and turn them over to the people.

We know that you, the people, despise these hollenders and are not relegated to these reproductions, that repeat the gospels of the slave master.

As we are a people's party we under stand that the racists are using the any means necessary.

This black capitalism is another program that we were slaves. Even after 1866 the power structure to put the power structure to produce products to straighten him. These programs have been of the black bourgeoisie is a position to people who worked on the field, and exploited the masses. It was built this country, when cotton and still part of the struggle to keep the people oppressed, it is not a struggle, a class struggle. The black "Negro Capitalism" is in the black bourgeoisie, in the black bourgeoisie, in the movement, in the mass of people, and to understand the revolution.

We say we know where it is, and it's up to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to expose and to denounce all the picket rhetoric spouted by these hollenders, and turn them over to the people.

We know that you, the people, despise these hollenders and are not relegated to these reproductions, that repeat the gospels of the slave master.

As we are a people's party we under stand that the racists are using the any means necessary.
OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE

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 we now 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 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 that police brutality in our black community is organized by policies from the 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 of 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 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 has been drawn and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the black community.

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

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

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object of destroying our rights, is to be expected, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

FREE HUEY NOW
GUNS BABY GUNS
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 members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains-subordinates in either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary actions necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions made by the national executive committee and state, or local executive committees and staffs where such 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 counters revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

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

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 MAJOR 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.
**10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS**

We want an education for our people that expresses 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 doesn't know where he stands in this position in society and the world, then he has little chance 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 state 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 businessmen 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 individual racists 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 EXPELLED, EXPENDED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.**

   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 those ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish 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.

    Prudence, 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 hable 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, spreads a design to reduce them to absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.
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 PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority had made an outland 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 tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having 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 hand 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 that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any one of them had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 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 in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At this 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.

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decisions." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret 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 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 imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme 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 reversal. 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.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Shearin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from failure to continue rehabilitation, but from his undue 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 unbecoming, 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 concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal debate and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of all this. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak and act politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a 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 Eldridge Cleaver's political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose $____ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

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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 INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MANS!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES 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:

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
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Ruth Rockford Smith at 800-8211
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BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
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FROM THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE
by
HUEY P. NEWTON

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