

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE 25 cents

VOL. VI NO. 12

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SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1971

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BOX 2867, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126



SUPPLEMENT INSIDE

ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE DEFECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY



"For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the Community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full-scale development of our original vision..."



LEAD POISONING CAUSES MENTAL RETARDATION

Many children, mostly Black, who are forced to live in wretched slum areas, suffer from lead poisoning because they like the taste of the paint that is usually peeling off the walls of their living quarters. Little do they realize that this sweet-tasting stuff could harm them, make them suffer, for its probable lead base is poisonous. Tests show that hundreds of St. Louis, Missouri children suffer from lead poisoning. Lead poisoning usually occurs in children from ages 1 to 6 years. Its most serious effect is mental-retardation.

The Metropolitan Tenants Organization is concerned, however. This group, through the efforts of Ivory Perry, Housing Coordinator of Union - Sarah District Community Corporation, has challenged health and political leaders in St. Louis to wage all-out war on lead poisoning. They want building codes enforced. They want children taught not to eat the paint. They want all children tested for lead poisoning.

So, each Saturday, lead poisoning tests are given free to children brought by their parents. The upstairs quarters of the Union-Sarah District Community Corporation office on Delmar Street are used as the test center. Volunteers



People waiting to receive lead poisoning tests.

enrolled at the medical schools of St. Louis and Washington Universities draw the samples of blood needed. Union - Sarah sees that those children suffering from lead poisoning get the proper medical attention.



Ivory Perry in M.T.O. Office

One Saturday, more than 125 children and their parents came to take these tests. A program of transporting parents and children to and from their residences is available to assure them of being there.

Donations of medical supplies are needed such as band-aids, alcohol, cotton, syringes, etc. In addition, money is needed to provide transportation. Tests are given from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. each Saturday. Those interested in obtaining more information may call the Metropolitan Tenants Organization at 361-4770 (St. Louis, Missouri).

Metropolitan Tenants Organization
St. Louis, Missouri

REAGAN-NIXON CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY TO DISOBEY LAW

The California Welfare Rights Organization, in another step in its continuing battle to compel Governor Reagan to conform to the mandate of Federal law which requires increases in AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), grants, brought suit in Federal court against Governor Reagan, other state officials, the President and high ranking Federal officials alleging a conspiracy to obstruct justice and violate the rights of recipients under Federal law and under the Constitution.

The suit comes in the aftermath of a summit meeting between Reagan, Nixon and other high ranking Federal and State officials on California's welfare problems. At that meeting California was given more time to come into compliance with a Federal statute, which should have been complied with by July 1, 1969. California has already been found to be in violation of the Federal statute by a Federal District Court in San Francisco, the California Supreme Court, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, but as yet the Governor persisted in taking no action to bring the

State into conformity, and made it clear that he was in no hurry to comply.

The meeting with the President was but one of the several actions taken by the Governor to circumvent Federal law and the Constitutional rights of recipients. In January, by-passing the procedures established under Federal law for resolving issues of conformity, the Governor directly appealed to the Vice-President to delay the issuance of a decision by HEW which would have resulted in the termination of Federal funds. At that time the decision was withdrawn, even though the HEW official concerned had no authority to do so. When a similar request for a delay was made by the State of Indiana, the very same HEW official denied the request and submitted a three-page legal decision conclusively establishing that he had no authority to take such action.

It is alleged in the welfare rights complaint that the recipient's right under Federal law to grant increases has been compromised by the conspiracy, that the withdrawal and subsequent delay in issuing the HEW decision terminating Federal funds to California violates the Social

Security Act and HEW's own regulations, that the delay granted to Governor Reagan, but denied to Indiana, denies to the recipients their rights to equal protection under the law and that their rights under the due process clause of the fourteenth Amendment have been violated. It is further alleged that the Federal and State officials named in the complaint agreed to avoid the requirements of Federal law and the Constitution and place political considerations and power over the rule of law.

The suit was filed only as a last resort after a dramatic appeal to HEW was made by the president of the California Welfare Rights Organization on April 4th, 1971.

"The failure of HEW to act while California continues to thwart Federal law and deny benefits to needy children who are suffering acknowledged and conceded malnutrition is not only immoral, but must be considered a direct and immediate threat to the very foundations of our government and to those who cherish law, order and justice. No one in this country, including the President and the Gov-

ernor of California, can place himself above the law," said Peter E. Sitkin, attorney for the California Welfare Rights Organization. Mrs. Germany, president of CWRO stated: "We have, for the past two years, utilized all legitimate means to compel the Governor to conform to Federal law. We have litigated in Federal courts, in State courts and before HEW. On every occasion we were successful in demonstrating that California has violated the law. Yet the Governor persists in denying what we are legally entitled to receive. He makes mockery of a citizen's obligation to adhere to law, while utilizing our children as the scapegoats for his own illegal action."

Mrs. Germany went on to say: "Whatever political or philosophical differences one may have with respect to welfare, all must join in recognizing that changes in law must come through legislation, not through violation of the law. This is a lesson not yet learned by the Governor who has prevailed upon the President and the Secretary of HEW to join with him in a demonstration to the poor that there

are two sets of laws in this country - one that can be broken by the rich and powerful, the other that can suppress the poor and the weak. We will continue to persist, for we are right. This lawsuit is necessary to expose the Governor and to demonstrate that his notion of welfare reform is but a euphemism for violating the rights of poor people to the detriment of hundreds of thousands of needy children."

Not only is the Governor's persistent failure to conform to the Social Security Act a violation of federal law, but it flies in the face of the public policy of California, as expressed by the California Supreme Court just two weeks ago.

As the Assembly Welfare Committee reported, failure by the Governor to comply will ultimately result in the loss of \$700 million dollars in Federal funds and the shifting of the welfare burden to the county taxpayers of California.

San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation.

DECENT HOUSING SHOULD BE A HUMAN RIGHT, NOT A CLASS PRIVILEGE

WE WANT DECENT HOUSING FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

Black people and all poor and oppressed people here in Amerika have suffered and are continuing to suffer the degradation of inadequate housing conditions. These intolerable conditions range from no heat in below zero weather to rat infested buildings replete with falling plaster.

At 3735 W. Douglas Park these conditions exist very vividly. Over twelve families reside in this death trap building, and the majority of the twelve resident families are receiving public aid from the government. As any welfare mother will tell you, the money received from the government is always less than enough to survive. Welfare families are forced to live in inferior housing because this is all that is provided for them by the reactionary ruling class of Babylon. Many avaricious businessmen who realize this, have set up indecent housing for welfare families in order to obtain those families, meager monthly checks, knowing all along that there will be no reprisals from the government for their actions against the people.

The welfare families who occupy this slum building at 3735 W. Douglas Park, realized that their problems stemmed from the U.S. government itself, so instead of appealing to the snakes who were responsible for their housing conditions, the families came to the Black Panther Party for aid and assistance.

Mrs. Lawson is a resident of the building and has to care for ten children while expecting another. She is afflicted with asthma and the cold in her apartment only adds to her already deteriorating condition. She has made constant visits to hospitals because of her condition, and yet, her dog of a landlord still refuses to improve the building's heating system.

There have also been cases of small children being bitten by rats that run freely throughout the building. Mrs. Durr, the mother of one of the children bitten by rats, has large rats in her apartment. Another sister in the building complains of falling plaster. She watches her small children constantly so that they will not eat the plaster. Also throughout the building sparks fly from light switches, water and steam shoot from radiators that cannot be turned off, and whole walls fall apart.

Members of the Black Panther Party talked to the landlord of the building, a pig named Thomas. He had the nerve to accuse the residents of the building for causing its unsafe condition, and he used this position to justify his unconcern for the building's con-



3735 W. Douglas Park
Chicago, Illinois



Crowded, inadequate facilities



One of the families forced to live under such conditions

dition. We know that the people are not responsible for rats running rampant, lack of adequate heating, and falling plaster. The garbage piling up in the back of the building, which has become a breeding ground for rats, is there because there is no garbage collection service for the building, or a regular janitor to remove it. Pig landlord, Thomas has done nothing but endanger the

lives of the residents. The occupants of the building are demanding that the building be turned over to them so that they may improve it themselves. The Black Panther Party stands solidly with the residents of the building.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
Illinois Chapter, B.P.P.

CALIFORNIA TRYING TO TAKE LEAD IN WELFARE CUTBACKS

In the fascists' attempts to commit genocide on people of color, inferior medical care plays a large part.

In Reagan's recent cutbacks in State funds and Nixon's cutbacks in Federal funds going to the States, the amount of medical coverage people who receive so-called county "aid" has become almost nil (nothing).

Some of the changes made in Los Angeles County were:

1) No special medical work can be done without first getting permission from the Welfare Department, no matter how urgent it may be. (This "okay" usually takes at least a month or more, and is often denied.)

2) Only a few medicines can now be gotten on the Medical card. These are usually quite inferior medicines to what is usually used to treat an illness. For instance, very few, if any, antibiotics (drugs such as penicillin, ampicillin, tetracycline) can be gotten on the Med-i-Cal card. These drugs are used generally to fight bacterial, fungus infections, such as pneumonia, ear and throat infections that might be gotten from an open wound (such as cut or burn) vaginal infections in women, and venereal diseases. These drugs are denied right off the bat. The only way they can be gotten is for your doctor to call a special agency, which will in turn call a social worker, who takes it upon himself to decide whether or not a person will die from the infection, or if he will okay the prescription. Of course, birth control pills remain on the list of available drugs;

3) No more eye glasses can be made without the eye doctor's first filling out request forms and sending them to the worker. The worker looks over the forms and decides, after a month or so, whether or not a person can have his vision corrected by glasses. Quite a few denials are received here also;

4) The only dental work that can be done is extractions (getting teeth pulled). Here too forms must be filled out and sent to the worker;

5) People supposedly receiving medical "insurance" can now only go to the doctor twice per month, no matter how many times

they get sick or how sick they are. Hospital admittance of Med-i-Cal patients without consent from the social worker is almost impossible. You have to be nearly dead before you can be admitted. Recently, for example, Los Angeles, little Osceola Carter, two years old, nearly died before he was finally admitted into the hospital. Since his birth, he has had continuous respiratory disorders. He has suffered from pneumonia twice. The first time he was admitted only after he was allowed to become very ill. He has adenoid and sinus trouble. Only a month or so ago, he had pneumonia again, and had to see a doctor twice a week. The fascists would not admit him into the hospital, so after the second visit to the doctor, his mother had to pay for the other visits. About two weeks after the peak of his pneumonia, Osceola developed tonsillitis. The pig doctor, knowing his history of respiratory problems, still would not admit him into the hospital. Two days after his mother found out that he had tonsillitis, he had to be rushed to the hospital. He woke up in the morning with blood in his mouth. His tonsils had be-

come so inflamed with infection that they had burst. They finally admitted him. Had he been admitted sooner, a lot of pain and misery could have been avoided.

Even though one might have a Med-i-Cal card, he is usually treated coldly by medical personnel. The card holder is treated as one of those good-for-nothing people, who is leeching off of the working people. In addition, since Med-i-cal has come into existence, avaricious doctors have gotten rich from this easy source of money.

We say, however, that we will fight to better conditions in this fascist Empire. And we will win. We will continue to run our free clinics and free medical programs for the survival of our people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Southern California Chapter
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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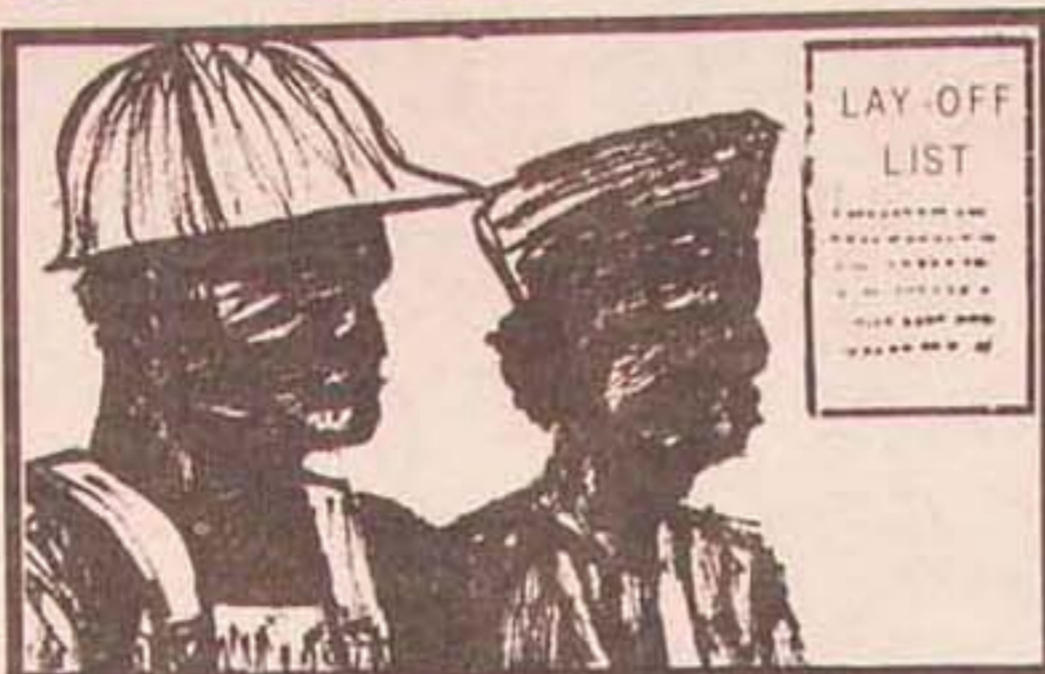
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ELEVEN EXPERIENCED WORKERS "LAID OFF"

NOTE: The following is a letter sent to the Twelfth Naval District Civil Service Commission in San Francisco protesting the elimination of the Tool Room Attendants job at Hunters Point Naval Yard in San Francisco. We fully support these Tool Room Attendants' demands for the continuation of their employment.

March 3, 1971
Hunters Point
Naval Shipyard
San Francisco, California



Twelfth Naval District Federal
Civil Service Commission
450 Golden Gate Avenue
San Francisco, California

Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned eleven tool room attendants at Hunters Point Naval Shipyard were on February 16, 1971, given layoff notices from our jobs. These terminations are to become effective on April 19, 1971.

We feel that this action was unfair and illegal, and that it constitutes favoritism toward the already more privileged categories of workers on the shipyard.

We have learned that, despite possible protestations of innocence, the decision of which and how many people were to be sacrificed was made, not in Washington, but at some level on Hunters Point Naval Shipyard.

In 1966, tool room personnel were successful in having instituted a procedure for attaining the Tool Room Attendant rating. By that time many of us had some twenty years' experience in this work.

In order to get these ratings we were required, after completion of a written qualifying examination and the subsequent oral examination, to sign statements

to forego any advancement above the position of Tool Room Attendant.

These tests seem to have been used, in conjunction with the seek-no-higher-position promises, to "freeze" us into our low retention priority status. You should also be aware that these tests were barred to anyone who had less than ninety (90) days already on the job.

Our vacated positions are to be filled by Limited Machinists who will be, in effect, "bumping" from one shop to another. To fulfill "bumping" requirements they should be fully qualified; that is they should previously have performed the duties required of them in their new positions, or at least should be able to perform their new duties with no additional training.

This is rather like an aircraft PILOT "bumping" an airline STEWARDESS because he has higher retention rights (in other words, JOB DISCRIMINATION PRIVILEGES).

Three employees who had tool Room Mechanic (Limited) rates — positions higher than ours — in our shop and with our skills were laid off because, apparently, they had no "bumping" rights within our shop. However, we are told that machinists from ANOTHER shop DO HAVE "bumping" rights into our positions. We feel that our combined,

extensive experience in our field has provided the Navy with a service which will be costly to replace with new trainees.

After being respectfully received and our cases attentively heard by the office staffs of Senators Tunney and Cranston and Congressman Burton, we were shocked at Mr. Keith Jones' evident coldness toward us. Mr. Jones, acting as a representative of the Twelfth Naval District Federal Civil Service Commission, left us with the impression that he had been carefully and negatively briefed on our case prior to our conference with him.

In sum, we feel that our livelihoods are jeopardized by carefully planned manipulations of the powers in this facility, whose motives are legally and morally questionable.

Please consider this letter as an individual as well as a collective appeal from the decision to terminate us on April 19, 1971.

Sincerely,

Blanche M. Proctor
Albert J. Law
Ebella Manton
Lillian E. Beach
Mamie A. Flowers
Roy Spencer/Hopson
McDaniel Hopson
Edna J. Bartels
Billy J. Rhinehart
Harold E. Gelkey

A state of "red alert" has been declared in the Panama Canal Zone due to an armed revolt led by Black G.I.'s at Fort Davis. The brothers on this base are part of an organization known as "Black Power".

On March 21, 1971, Black G.I.'s took command of their platoon at Fort Davis, declaring that they wanted to begin to determine their own destinies. Black people from the surrounding community of Rio Abajo, where the brothers had been doing a lot of community organizing, came to the aid of these G.I.'s in their struggle. Subsequently, the brothers took command of the entire Fort and stayed off at least twelve to fifteen units that had been sent in to quell the "disturbance".

The authorities at Fort Davis closed the Fort to the Black G.I.'s, leaving instructions to the other military bases in the area to be on "red alert" and in combat positions ready to move at any given moment.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

BLACK G.I.'S REVOLT AT FORT DAVIS PANAMA CANAL ZONE

"A HAPPY EMPLOYEE IS A GOOD EMPLOYEE"

A few weeks ago, Mr. Greer director of Newcomb Hall Food Services, University of Virginia, called a meeting of all Kitchen employees. The purpose of this meeting was to 1) announce a new slogan to replace "10 minutes to shine" and 2) pose a question to the workers.

The new slogan, "A happy Employee is a good employee" is exactly like the last one, "10 minutes to shine" — absurd. As one Newcomb Hall worker told us, "That is ridiculous. How could anybody be a 'Happy Employee' under the working conditions in the Food Services?" Of course that does not mean it is any more nonsensical or kindergarten-like than the gold star one receives for perfect attendance at work during the week. Nor is it any more stupid than a number of other things that are done by Mr. Greer and other University administration officials.

Why are these officials (like Greer) playing what appear to be games for imbeciles? The answer is that they are trying to keep University employees in a powerless position while increasing their own authority. By using slogans like Greer's (or even more open ones like "Amazing" Grace Ordell's, "If you can't follow the rules and regulations, then take the door"), the management creates an atmosphere of fear. The obvious intent of the slogan is to say to the worker — I am all powerful and am allowed to do almost no work while you must do nearly all the work and do as I say or get out.

It would be fortunate for the workers if the management confined itself to slogans only but they don't. At the same meeting that Greer introduced his new slogan, "A good employee..." he also asked the piercing question, "What do you think of me?" Quite obviously none in their right mind would tell their boss what they thought of him, especially right after you've been warned that a "good employee" has nothing to be unhappy about. Thus the question can only be seen as another power tactic. Since no one answered him, he can say: 1) to himself that no one has the nerve to question him, and 2) to others that everyone likes him. This article testifies to the falsehood of both of those premises. The following are only a few of the grievances of the Newcomb Hall workers:

1. Racism. Since Blumerich came in as head of the Bakery, several popular Black workers have been fired for no apparent good reason. At least three Black men with more than ten years of service each, were fired for nothing more than the color of their skin. One of them worked there for sixteen years, cutting out 300 dozen donuts per day. Blumerich fired him and then replaced him with a machine that cuts out only 100 dozen donuts per day.

Length of service or familiarity with the job seem to make no difference in qualifying Blacks for promotion in either the bakery or kitchen. All cooks, a meat-

sy exhausting job, are Black; with rare exception, all their supervisors are White.

Another example of the racist practices of Food Services may be seen in the difference in pay between Whites and Blacks doing equal amounts of the same work. This pay difference exists even when Black workers have worked for a longer time than the Whites.

Still more evidence of racism is found in the training programs. In one particular program last fall, there were 14 people in the class. Of the nine who finished, only two were White and they finished in the middle of their class. Oddly enough, however, only these two White women received the promotions that the course was intended to give. 2. Wages. Blumerich, head of the Bakery, has made up his own rules to oppress the workers. Among them is one that says if you miss one day unexcused, then you MUST miss the next day that you come in. In other words you may lose a day's pay for a day that you are either too sick or too poor to see a doctor and get a written excuse for your original absence.

3. General Grievances. On the 4th floor treatment of workers is totally without human respect. For example, they have to ask their supervisor, the assistant to the Business Manager of Food Services, for permission to go to the bathroom.

Fourth floor people are required to take their "breaks" in the office. In the kitchen, they are required to sit down and eat there during "meal time." These workers want to know why, if "Breaks" and "meal times" are "free times", they can't use them as they see fit.

Not infrequently the pay roll clerk has failed to turn in worker's time sheets. This means that when it's time to be paid, workers' checks are not there. Pay has been delayed as long as three weeks, which is an incredible hardship when your low salary is all you have to live on.

In another recent meeting, Greer dictated that radios no longer will be allowed in the kitchen and that all kitchen workers be required to "stay neat and clean" and to use more deodorant. As part of his cleanliness campaign, Greer ordered that cooks wear clean, white shoes at work. This means that workers will have to buy a pair of shoes with limited outside work use. Moreover, keeping a pair of white shoes clean (or a white uniform clean) when you spend the entire day working with grease, or berries, or tomatoes is hardly possible.

These are only a few grievances mentioned by Newcomb Hall employees. Clearly none of them were spoken of when Greer asked to be told how much he was liked, but the fear which people like Greer and Blumerich count on to keep workers silent and obedient is diminishing.

Reprinted from The Virginia Weekly

OPEN LETTER TO MUHAMMAD ALI

1048 Peralta Street
Oakland, California 94607
March 23, 1971

Dear Muhammad,

We want you to know that you're still our champ, not because you are the master boxer (and you are, of course), but because you are the heavy weight champ who has refused to compromise Black manhood. We respect the dignity and integrity with which you have worn the heavy weight crown. Even though your recent fight with Joe Frazier will stand in the archives of history as the greatest fight in history, it is really only an incident when we consider the fight you have waged against U.S. imperialism. You dared say "no" to fascism, they took your



crown and tried to destroy you, but still you did not compromise. They immobilized you (as a boxer) for three years, but they did not immobilize your mind nor your spirit. We can only salute this kind of courage. When you fought Joe Frazier you were fighting the whole reactionary system. The system had immobilized you, persecuted you, hounded you and yet you came back strong. Yes, you out-boxed Frazier, you won the fight, you only lost the "decision". But whether or not you win in the ring is not our major concern --- our concern is that you win in the universe.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

WISCONSIN ASSEMBLYMAN INTRODUCING BILLS FOR POOR AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE

Wisconsin Assemblyman Lloyd A. Barbee has recently introduced a variety of bills into the Wisconsin State Legislature to protect the rights of poor, black and other people suffering under the oppression of the racist, fascist U.S. power structure.

"I have now introduced a bill that would prohibit clubs like the Eagles and the 'White' Elks from receiving special tax exemptions when they discriminate on the basis of race or religion.

"This proposal will not only remove the special tax privilege given to all bigoted clubs in this State, but it will also not allow individuals who contribute to these so-called 'Fraternal Organizations' to claim their contribution as a tax deduction.

"The problems that we have in Milwaukee, relating to judges and other public officials who are members of clearly bigoted groups, such as the Eagles, in order to get votes from their bigoted members, is something I hope to correct through provisions in a Code of Ethics for public officials.

"Arbitrary educational requirements that have been established for professions such as barbers, beauticians, plumbers and other similar trades are really not necessary. The high school education required for these professions has little relationship to the skills required, because persons seeking to become licensed in any of these trades must pass an examination given by a licensing board made up of practitioners in that field. If a person can pass that examination he should be allowed to enter into that profession.

"For this reason I introduced a bill which would prohibit any licensing agency from considering the degree of education in trades and semi-skilled professions.

"I am going further by planning to introduce a bill that would allow individuals who independently master professions such as law or architecture, to be granted

a license upon successful completion of the required examination.

"There is no point in forcing people to stay in hot houses such as schools and apprenticeships once they have the basic skills.

"Education is becoming less and less relevant to a number of people. A number of trade professions are utilizing means that will never allow people to maximize their potential.

"For example, many people drop out of school because it is boring to them, or for other reasons; but these people are quite capable of entering even the highest of professions.

"I am most concerned that arbitrary educational requirements keep many poor people out of the professional fields.

"Some of the reasons for setting certain educational standards for professions like plumbing or electrical work are supposed to be related to the health, safety and welfare of the State; but in reality organized labor or the professions set up standards to control the labor market, and thus keep the number of blacks and Spanish-speaking people in these professions disproportionately low through an apprenticeship program, school or through tests that are unnecessarily difficult.

"For this reason I am looking into all inspections of both homes and commercial buildings where it is required that this work be done by someone who is licensed or bonded, when such licensing or bonding is designed to keep nonwhites out of this area.

"I testified this week (week of March 22, 1971) before the Assembly Judiciary Committee in behalf of my bill prohibiting anyone from garnishing a welfare recipient.

"It is bad public policy for state and federal governments to give grants to people who are in need and

qualify for welfare benefits and then permit unscrupulous merchants to garnish these erstwhile assets.

"All poor people should know that while their government gives them meager funds to live on, this same government stands by while private merchants and loan sharks take these funds from them."

Also State Assemblyman Barbee has introduced a bill to repeal the Madison, Wisconsin statutes concerning voluntary sexual activities between single and / or married persons, some of which voluntary acts are punishable "crimes".

"My bill would take government out of the bedroom," Barbee said. "It would keep sexual matters where they should be -- in the private realm of personal choice between individuals."

Specifically, the Barbee bill would remove criminal penalties for adultery, fornication, cohabitation, indecent exposure and the possession of "indecent matter". It would permit individual prostitutes to operate on the basis that they and their clients are consenting adults, but it would bar houses of prostitution on the grounds that they are controlled by organized crime.

Barbee said that one of the effects of erasing the so-called sexual morality crimes would be to reduce police entrapment of prostitutes, male homosexuals, etc., and cut down on the harassment and blackmail of homosexuals. Prostitutes and homosexuals are humans. They should be respected and accorded fair treatment. Making them criminals is neither fair nor just.

The Milwaukee legislator's measure would also repeal the current statute barring abortions. "Abortions are a private matter between a woman and her physician and the State has no business making them a crime," Barbee said.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

FASCISTS RUN AMUCK IN THE COMMUNITY OF LAS VEGAS

On Sunday night, March 28, 1971 in the Black community of West Las Vegas, Nevada at approximately 10:00 P.M., the pigs of the L.V.P.D. attacked the family of Mrs. Fannie Owens of 1213 Washington Ave. These pigs kicked down the door, tore out the tape from a stereo, threw clothes from dressers under the pretext of looking for a gun.

These capricious dogs ordered everyone from the home. There

were four of Mrs. Owens' children home. Mrs. Owens herself was not at home. The pigs came to the front door and were let in by the Owens children. After they were inside, they kicked the back door down, made all the children go outside, and ran throughout the household throwing everything around. Once the children were outside, the pigs lined them up and placed 12-gauge shotguns at their heads. The pigs told the

children that if they opened their mouths or moved, that they would be shot down.

Mrs. Owens says that she owns a gun, but the pigs did not take it or examine it. They then lied and said they were looking for a robber who supposedly ran in the house through the back door. The next day, these pigs sent several lockkeys out to try and apologize to Mrs. Owens for the inhuman actions perpetrated upon her family

and home by their fascist pig brothers.

The fascist pigs of Las Vegas have stood up blatantly before the community and showed once again that the oppressed people have no rights which the fascist oppressors are bound to respect.

In order for the people to have a voice in the actions of the police, we need community control of the police. The people are also aware of the fact that

the pigs are trying to provoke them to madness, and once the people become mad, there is no strength on earth that can halt the people as they step up zealously in the quest for freedom and liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Black Community Center
Las Vegas, Nevada

CHARLES BURSEY IS SILENCED AT SUSANVILLE, CALIFORNIA CONCENTRATION CAMP

Charles Bursey is a member of the Black Panther Party, a political prisoner within the California penal system. He was convicted in one of the series of trials stemming from the April 6th, 1968 assassination of Li'l Bobby Hutton by the Oakland Pig Department, and sentenced to a term of two to fifteen years.

He was sent to San Quentin Prison where he began serving his term. In an effort to isolate him from the Party and the large prison population at Quentin, he was transferred to a prison camp in Susanville, California in May of 1970. Susanville is a Conservation Camp, which supposedly houses prisoners for the purpose of doing forestry work. The "camp" is located in a remote section of Northern California, accessible only through narrow mountain roads.

Recently, Charles was asked to speak to La Raza Unida, a Chicano organization at the camp. Charles is a member of the Afro-American Cultural Group there and was asked to speak to La Raza Unida as the Afro-American Cultural Group's representative. He did speak there on April 4th, 1971; and four days later, he was drugged (when he went to the clinic for his regular prescription for his sinuses, another medication was substituted). He was then told to go to "classification", a routine evaluation of work. When he arrived at the designated area for classification, he discovered that he was at a disciplinary board hearing, charged with "racial agitation". He was then put on a bus (prisoners' bus) to San Quentin that same afternoon (Thursday, April 8th. On that same night, the prison pigs at Susanville instigated a terrible disturbance.) He became ill on the bus (from the medication he was given), and began to vomit. When he arrived at San Quentin, he was immediately thrown in the hole, into a strip cell, with no bedding, toilet, etc. He became dizzy and passed out. He was then taken to the hospital, after the pigs had let him lie there (in his cell), unconscious for over a half an hour. (No one, including his wife, had even been informed of this secret transfer.)

The following is the report filed by racist pig Vernon Smith, of Susanville Concentration Camp, which sparked the



disciplinary hearing and the subsequent kidnapping and secret removal of Charles Bursey from the "camp". (Note that this pig audaciously signed his name as the Coordinator of the Mexican-American Group, which position was never given him, of course.):

J.R. Kitchell, P.A.C.S.
Group Coordinator
Date: April 4, 1971
Subject: Mexican-American Group

From: California Conservation Center, Susanville 96130

On this date I attended the Mexican-American Group meeting. No sponsor was in attendance.

The Group seemed to be orderly, although many things were in Spanish which I could not understand.

One part I do wish to bring to your attention. There was a guest speaker - inmate Charles Bursey B-22804 bed 602 a Black inmate.

The gist of Bursey's speech was to get the Mexican-Americans to unite with the Blacks and overthrow the institution and the Department of Corrections. He did not speak of the outside. He was very specific in advocating violence and killing personnel. He specifically mentioned Mr. Mattocks and Mr. Frickey. The only people mentioned other than institution personnel were Mr. Procinier, Governor Reagan and President Nixon. He claimed to have a list of personnel that he personally would start with to use as an example for the other inmates.

I certainly believe in letting individuals speak about change in their culture and also their ideas in carrying out the change, but my question is: Can we tolerate or can we afford to let an individual attempt to organize other inmates with a specific purpose in mind to kill personnel that he has specifically named?

This is for your information and disposition
Vernon D. Smith, CPS 111
Coordinator, Mexican-American Group
cc: Townsend
Mattocks
File

INMATES OF SUSANVILLE EXPOSE TRUTH

We have all seen what happens when a member of the staff here at CCC (California Conservation Center, Susanville) fails to understand our idiom and cultural tendencies.

Charles Bursey, a Black Brother, was transferred to San Quentin after a speech he gave at a "La Raza Unida" meeting last Sunday night. (April 4th,

1971)

In his speech, Brother Bursey, made it clear to all of us that Mr. Frickey, Mattocks, Reagan, etc., had to be dealt with. CPS 111 V. Smith, being incapable of comprehending what Brother Bursey was talking about, assumed that Brother Bursey was talking of killing these people.

Still not satisfied with kidnapping and sending Bursey to San Quentin, the staff reverted, on the night of April 8th, to tactics known to all of us. Staff personnel instigated a disturbance on the Cascade section. After a few windows were broken, staff started picking inmates at random and took them to the hole. Most were released but 1 Chicano and 2 Black Brothers face disciplinary action. We are expecting further repercussions from the staff. The staff was, and is, obviously trying to instigate racial tension between the inmates.

The root of the problem lies with the Administration. They have tried to force people like CPS 111 V. Smith upon our Groups. The Administration failed to consult with the different Groups about actions they had taken behind our backs.

If the Administration had consulted us before they made their unwise decision, we would have told them that these persons are not qualified to administer any kind of assistance to us. They cannot assist us individually, and this has been proven, much less collectively as a Group. These people don't understand our background, misconstrue our way of talking and ridicule our cultures. How can these people, lacking all this vital knowledge, help us? If anything, they will hinder the progress of the Group. That is what the Administration is trying to do! If the Administration denies this, let them remove the obstacles that they have placed before us and prove to us that we are wrong!!!

We cannot, and will not, sit idle while the Administration constantly makes decisions that perpetuate injustices to the people.

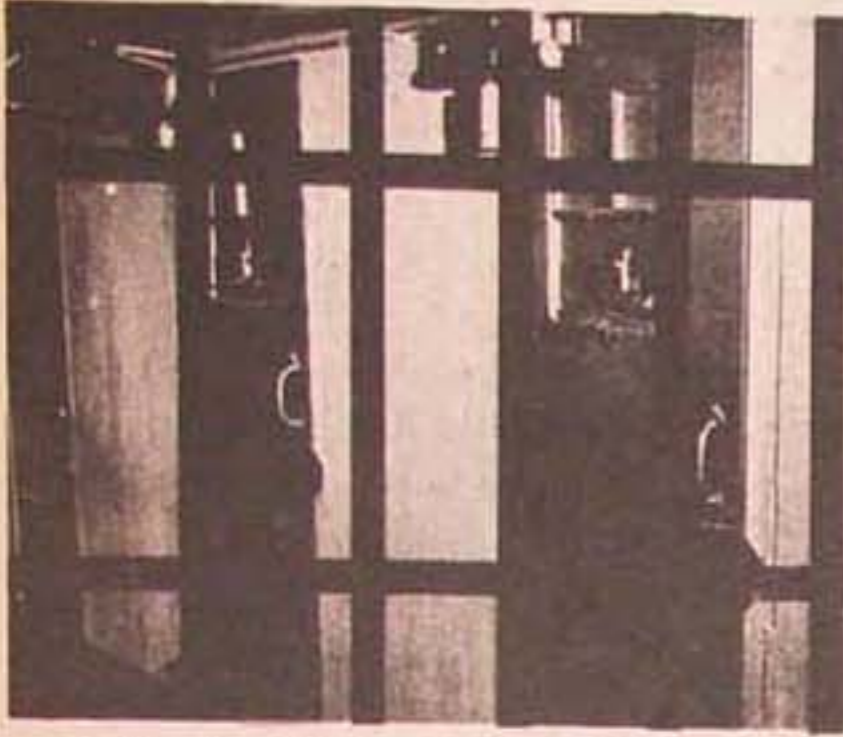
We call for the support and power of the people!

VENCEREMOS!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

La Raza Unida
Afro-American Group

CONVICTS OF SUSANVILLE, UNITE!

STATEMENT TO ALL SUSANVILLE INMATES



This is a personal call to you to forget, or put aside, your personal egos and join all of us in a STRIKE!! This strike is to be effective Monday, April 12th, '71, starting at work-call (7:45 A.M.). This Strike is to protest and demand immediate changes in the following:

1. Bring down the canteen prices to one compatible to our means. And call for an investigation of the canteen.
2. Better food at the mess-hall. Better prepared, and seconds available to everybody.
3. Racial discrimination and harassment by staff to stop immediately.

4. Higher pay and more pay numbers. Pay to be compatible with the cost of living.

5. Immediate release of inmates being held unjustly in the hole, after the incident that took place the night of April 8th, '71.

6. We want to determine what is going to be spent from the Inmate Welfare Fund. And call for an investigation of the Inmate Welfare Fund.

7. We want the Administration to remove the coordinators which were forced upon La Raza Unida and the Afro-American Culture Group.

8. Stop the Disciplinary Courts from punishing inmates by taking money from them in the form of "fines". And call for an investigation as to the whereabouts of that money.

9. We demand that a convict union be established to secure the full payment of the money paid to the Department of Corrections by Forestry for convict labor.

10. We demand that Article 5 of the Directors Rules for correctional institutions regarding the Education and Training Policy for California Prisons

be adhered to, which states, in part, "A Major percentage of the inmates in correctional institutions need vocational or general educational care fully adapted to the need of each individual to aid him in developing an efficient and well ordered life. It is the Policy of the Department to provide each inmate with as much practical education as his capacities will permit."

11. We demand a stop to the forcing of convicts out to camps, who are illiterates and semi-illiterates, to work for slave wages.

12. We demand that those who don't have a trade be granted an opportunity to learn one.

THIS AFFECTS ALL OF US. STOP BEING A SATISFIED SLAVE AND JOIN US IN A STRIKE!!! THERE WILL BE NO BYSTANDERS! EITHER YOU ARE WITH US OR AGAINST US! CONVICTS OF SUSANVILLE, UNITE! STRIKE! STRIKE! STRIKE! STRIKE!

NOTE: On April 12th, inmates of Susanville did, in fact, bring into effect a general work strike in protest of the above demands.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

RACISM IMPRISONS BLACKS IN E. ST. LOUIS

We, as black "Brothers and Sisters", of the city of East St. Louis, Illinois and the County of St. Clair feel as though it is our duty to write you and express our feeling on the injustice, harassment and sarcastic actions brought upon us by the inadequate, selfish and ambitious individuals in our jurisdictional district whose only purpose seems to be to send as many blacks to prison as possible.

Our police force charges brothers and misuses every constitutional right available to them (the brothers) in order to clean up the books, instead of seeking justice and righteousness. We are forced to go on lineups without proper counseling and some are even being bribed into admitting crimes they haven't even

committed.

We are being picked up on one charge and indicted on several others; we are being put into courts that are prejudice against blacks; ridiculous bonds (fifty thousand dollars) are being set, knowing 70 percent of the blacks come from low income families; young blacks who are eligible for probation are going to the penitentiary; whites are being given probation or county jail time. For instance, several brothers witnessed a white ex-con go before Judge Harold D. Farmer who requested to place him on probation. But this wasn't good enough for the ex-con so, he refused to accept probation. He was then asked the number of days he had served in the county jail which was seventy seven days and

was released with time served. We'd like your support.

"OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESS"

In response to the injustices, we, the black inmates of the St. Clair county jail are receiving, we are protesting the following:

1. Bonds:

Bonds should be set within a man's reach. Bonds are being set beyond the reach of our families' income therefore, a man is held here five or six months. Then he is sent up or released and his family has suffered those months without his support or help.

2. Inadequacy of the court appointed lawyers:

A man (defendant) is appointed

a lawyer by the court at the time of his arraignment. However, he usually does not meet with that attorney until the trial is about to come up which does not allow enough time for a thorough investigation. Therefore, due to those circumstances, we are not being properly represented and do not receive fair and impartial trials.

3. Receiving trumped-up charges:

A man can be arrested on one charge but the police procedures are to put as many unsolved cases on that man as possible. (In other words trying to clean up the books). Someone can come to bail you on your original charge only to find you've been given two or three more charges without having gone before a

magistrate or judge and without receiving any charge slips or even being notified of those charges.

4. Biased court:

We are being tried by a 99 percent white judicial system in the city of Bellville which is 99 percent white. And we are not being tried by members of our own peer group and the constitution states, plainly, a man should be tried by members of his own peer group. We don't mind going to court because justice is necessary. All we want is to receive fair and impartial trials.

Representative:

Richmond Russell
Richard Witherspoon
Lamont Ivory
Henry W. Thomas

REPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE

FREEPORT, LONG ISLAND

On Monday, March 15, 1971, white students led by members of an organization called R.A.T.S. (Racists Against The Sambos) in concert with the school administration cooked up a plot to inflict more oppression and brutality upon the black students at Freeport High School. The well-planned plot went as follows: An announcement came over the P.A. system that a bomb was hidden somewhere in the

school. White students led by members of R.A.T.S. took strategic positions at fire exits, armed with sticks, knives, guns, rocks, bats etc., and waited for black students to emerge. Black students, upon emerging from the fire exits, were met with a hail of bottles, rocks and racist slander from white students. The black students were forced back

inside the school only to find that the gates leading from the lobby to the hallways had been pulled down. This confined them to the lobby area, making it possible for the pigs to inflict more brutality upon the unarmed black students. Previously, because of racial tension, the pigs had been assigned to hang in the school hallways to ensure "law and order". This time the brutality was being perpetrated by the best

of the Freeport pigs led by pig chief, Elar. Elar's fascist henchmen and nigger lackies Roosevelt Mindrick and Julian Pierce, along with Richard Gordon, badge #125 were beating young Black students.

As if this were not enough, the Black students who quite naturally defended themselves and escaped from the lobby were met with more racist brutality in the form of white community resi-

dents who joined other repressive forces outside the building. Many Black parents who had been alerted about what was happening to their children came to their aid and attempted to protect them but were met with the same racist oppression. The acts perpetrated by these racists and pigs have left the already oppressed community of Freeport in a state of siege.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

SOLEDAD SEVEN TEAR-GASSED



PRESS RELEASE
April 12, 1971

The week of April 5th clearly points out the rising level of repression unleashed upon the poor and oppressed when they are forced to appeal for justice within the courts and prisons of this country. We as poor people and as people of color are victims of a national conspiracy, a national conspiracy initiated and implemented by those who profit from our oppression and their agents on the government levels.

On April 5th the three remaining members of the Soledad 7 (Jessie Phillips, James Wagner, and Roosevelt Williams) on trial for their lives, for the alleged murder of a prison guard, were tear-gassed unconscious and brutally attacked in their cells. These brothers, who go to trial on May 3 in Salinas, are on trial for the same reasons as the Soledad (3) Brothers, their political activity within the penal system. They were tear-gassed because they refused to submit to another blood test without the permission of their lawyers. They clearly stated that they would take the tests if their lawyers gave their approval. The prison guards immediately proceeded to empty two tear gas canisters into their sector, disregarding the objections of a Third World prison guard who thought the treatment excessive. They then went in and forcibly took the blood samples. The people and only the people can insure that such attacks do not occur. We must build mass support for the Soledad 7 (now 3) at their trial in Salinas, May 3.

On April 6, one day after the attack on the Soledad 7, the Soledad Brothers appeared at the so-called Hall of Justice. It was their first court appearance since September. They were in court to get a determination on their trial date and the presiding judge. The defense put forth two motions: one requesting the transfer of the Soledad Brothers from San Quentin to San Francisco County Jail in order to facilitate visitation by the families and the building of a proper, effective defense. The other motion was merely a request for the brothers to be retained for two hours after the hearing to confer with their lawyers. Both motions were abruptly denied, the trial date set and the judge assigned in less than five minutes. It was a blatant denial of rights of the brothers and any consideration of justice.

As John, George, and Fleeta were leaving the courtroom, a guard grabbed George's folder which included his legal papers and a Black Panther Paper. George refused to give him his legal papers, but left the Panther paper. The guards, wishing to further provoke the brothers, continued to push and poke George with their clubs. George defended himself and was then attacked by 6 to 8 guards in the courtroom. John and Fleeta, who were almost out of the courtroom, attempted to come to the aid of George. They were also attacked. The people were enraged and attempted to come to the defense of the brothers. Two units of the Tactical Squad were called. They cleared the courtroom and the building after attacking many of the spectators. Frances Jackson, sister of George and Jonathan Jackson, who is seven

months pregnant was jabbed in the stomach with a guard's baton.

This was one of the most brutal manifestations of a police state experienced in the courts. At this time, the Bay Area is the prime focus of political repression in the nation, with the trials of Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, Los Siete de la Raza, the Soledad 7, members of the Black Panther Party, and the Soledad Brothers.

The people can no longer afford to ignore the rise towards fascism in this country. We must build a united front to free all political prisoners and in doing so we must make the link between the selective repression of political prisoners and the general repression of the masses of the people. We are calling for a Day of Solidarity to Free All Political Prisoners. A day of solidarity which, we hope, will signal the beginning of the building of a truly mass movement to defeat the escalating forces of reaction.

Join with us May 1st at Dolores Park, San Francisco 11:00 A.M. If we do not move together we will not move at all.

Political Prisoners Solidarity Committee

"The world is a place for human beings. We must go forth united understanding that our struggle is not separated from the rest of the world."

Bobby Seale

ARIZONA SENDS YOUNG BLACKS TO DEATH ROW ON TESTIMONY OF HALF-BLIND WITNESS

Tucson, Arizona (LNS) - Robert Lee Skinner is a 20 year old Black man who has lived in Tucson, Arizona all his life. He has been active in organizing and educating his people to their oppression although he is not a member of any established group. In the course of time, local police have told Bobby and others close to him, "We're going to get you."

What follows is the story of how they did.

On October 3, 1969, Mason Branch, a liquor store clerk (and reputedly one of Tucson's big heroin pushers) died in a hold-up at Crown Liquors on Grant Road in Tucson. After an "investigation" (during which a prime suspect in the case was murdered), four men were arrested and charged with murder, armed robbery, and conspiracy. The four were David Williams, Donnell Thomas, Paul Wright, and Bobby Skinner.

A Preliminary Hearing was held, and ended with Skinner and Wright released for lack of evidence. The other two were held on mere threats. About one month later, the police re-arrested Bobby and Paul and another hearing was scheduled for the sole purpose of hearing testimony from a prosecution witness named George McDonald.

Prosecutor Horton Weise introduced a statement that McDonald supposedly made to the police. But when George took the witness stand, he called the

statement a complete fabrication which had been spoon-fed to him by detectives in the Sheriff's office at the Pima County Jailhouse. He faced eight robbery charges at the time.

McDonald told the court that detectives offered to drop seven of the eight charges and give his aunt a thousand dollars if he'd sign their prepared statement. His aunt had been present at the Sheriff's office and was willing to back up McDonald's story but the court wanted no more of it.

The prosecutor then brought its star witness to the stand: Lucius Sorrell. Sorrell is blind in one eye and admits to being under the influence of heroin and LSD on the night in question. State psychiatrists conveniently declared Sorrell incompetent to testify so the prosecutor introduced a statement Sorrell supposedly made to him while Sorrell was interned at the Arizona State Mental Hospital. According to the statement (written in advance by Weise and signed by Sorrell in the hospital) Sorrell saw and recognized all four men (though he never knew Skinner and Wright) running across an unlit park, on a moonless night about 100 yards away, with only one good eye, while under the influence of two powerful drugs.

The defense could not cross-examine Sorrell because of his "incompetence." And so, on the basis of two highly questionable statements, Skinner and Wright were bound over for trial.

The first to go to trial was

Donnell Thomas. His first trial ended in a hung jury, but the second time around the prosecutor took no chances. Donnell is another politically aware Black man that the police said they would "get."

The day before his case went to the jury, Tucson was treated to sensational headlines -- MURDER SUSPECT CHARGED WITH SODOMY IN PIMA COUNTY JAIL. The stories did not mention that the "sodomy" was supposed to have taken place inside a locked one man cell in the maximum-security tank with the guard-witness situated at the other end of a hundred foot catwalk.

The charge was laughed out of court but the damage was done. Donnell was found guilty of murder as charged and sentenced to death in the gas chamber.

The unbelievable verdict had a great effect on Donnell's cousin and co-defendant, David Williams. Through his lawyer, David made a deal with the court. He would plead guilty and make a confession if in return he would not get the death penalty. The deal was made, and in his confession David stated that although the other three men had been with him earlier the day of the murder, they did not go along with him and they had no knowledge of his action.

In spite of the agreement, David Williams is now on Death Row with Donnell Thomas in the Arizona State Prison. Both were

sentenced by the same judge.

Paul Wright's trial came next. Paul took the stand and admitted being with Williams during the day but said he and the others left David before the hold-up occurred. Paul has never been considered an activist and the police had no special reason for wanting him. For being "cooperative," he received five years probation for manslaughter.

Bobby came to trial last. He and Paul Wright had been out on \$15,000 bond apiece. This is a high bond by Arizona standards: one week earlier a stockbroker who shot and killed a longhair who had trampled on his lawn was released on a \$5,000 bond. The judge said that she was setting the high bond for Bobby because she was "afraid that Robert Skinner might become another Jonathan Jackson."

While Bobby was in jail, the prosecutor offered him a "deal" too: they would drop all three charges against him if he would sign a statement admitting that he was a member of the Black Panther Party (there's no Black Panther Party or affiliate in Tucson). The police still publicly insist that Bobby and Donnell are Black Panthers -- they must have been indoctrinated from the outside, right? But, considering the weakness of the prosecution's case, and remembering the "deal" that David Williams got, Bobby went to trial.

Prosecutor Horton Weise asked for a mistrial 12 times, his case was so weak. Prosecu-

tion witness George McDonald denied, as he had at the preliminary hearing, that his statement was his own doing: "Mr. Weise, I told you when you came up to see me last week at Florence (the state prison) that that statement was a complete lie. Why are you hassling me?"

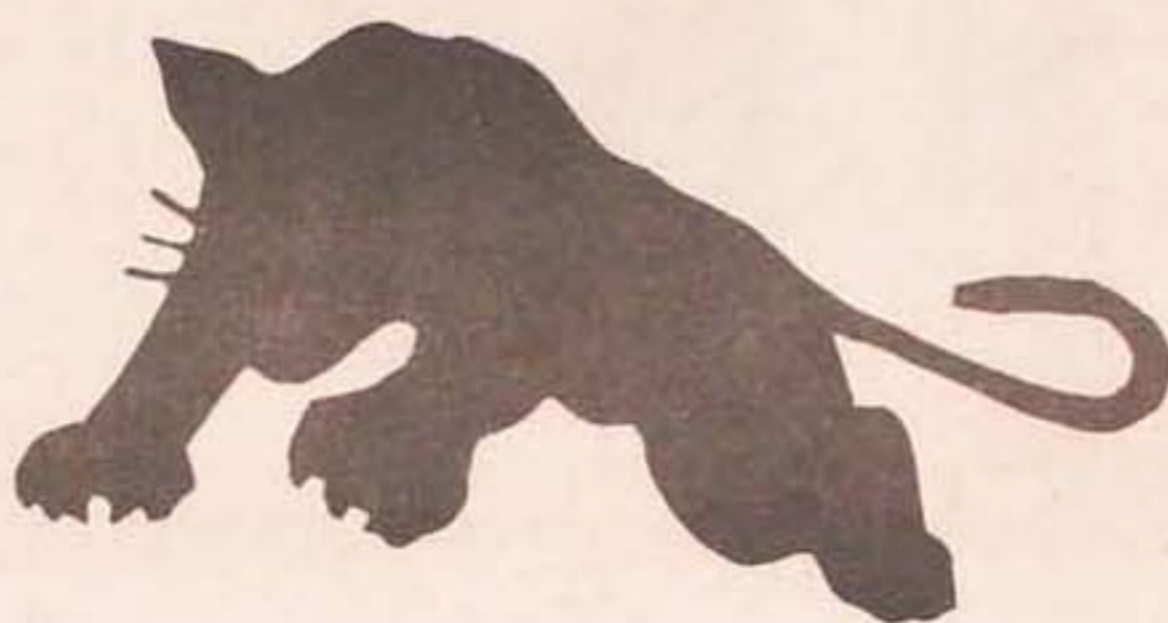
Lucius Sorrell, the one-eyed witness, next took the stand and said he didn't know what anyone was talking about. The prosecution whisked him away and brought him back a week later and he seemed to remember everything that Weise wanted him to.

Unfortunately for Weise's case Sorrell did not know when to stop talking. Under cross examination, he admitted that prosecutor Weise had told him to say "certain things" and he would be a free man the day after Skinner's conviction. Even the testimony of a detective was discarded by the judge amid obvious lies. It looked like the case against Bobby Skinner had fallen flat on its face and we went to hear the verdict with less apprehension than usual.

But juries in Arizona, like juries everywhere, are very carefully picked -- the verdict: guilty of first-degree murder -- the sentence: life imprisonment.

Bobby Skinner is a 20 year old Black man with a wife and two sons, one just three weeks old.





ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE DEFECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By Huey P. Newton,

Minister of Defense of The Black Panther Party and Servant of The People

The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions, because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. But we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a new return to the original vision of the Party.

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution". This was in response to another contradiction - the criticisms raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our above-ground action -- openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground, and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization above ground so that the people will relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive to them. When you go underground without doing this, you bury yourself so deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be just that--striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending--because the people cannot relate to them and there is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.



The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people, by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors who come to the community in many forms--from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors, the people would support us and defend us. They would know that, in spite of the oppressor's interpretations, that our only desire was to serve their true interests; and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground, but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us, because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full scale development of our original vision and come out of the twilight zone which the Party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, and the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party

and murders of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten-Point Program -- our survival program. Our programs would be meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black community and oppressed people are found in North America the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle, because it serves the true interests of oppressed people and administers to their needs -- this was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology. It was structured by the practical needs of the people, and its dreamers were armed with an ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.

When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had been through many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the Twentieth Century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.

When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together, in a systematic

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ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE DEFECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

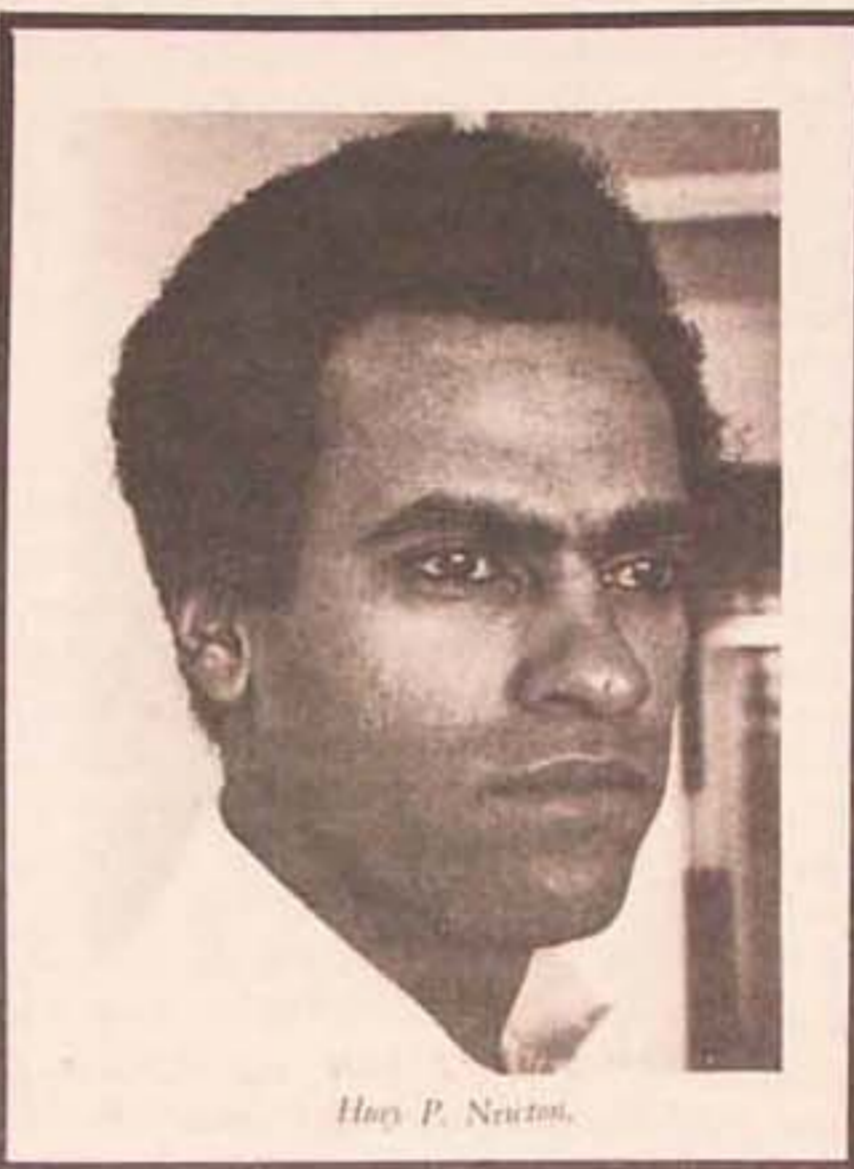
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manner. We did this through our basic Ten Point Program. In actuality it was a 20-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe". This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.

The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions, for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom, it is not making a political statement and could even be counter-revolutionary.

We realized at a very early point in our development, that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalism wiped out slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. This is why when capitalism wiped out feudalism, capitalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist; but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended, so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion; we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for freedom, and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words they have to see first some basic accomplishments, in order to realize that major successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will



Huey P. Newton.

have to guide them into this understanding. But he can never take them from A to Z in one jump, because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore he is no longer a revolutionary, if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process - non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the policemen in front of the office of Ramparts magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were Police Alert Patrols all over the country, but we were the first armed police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the

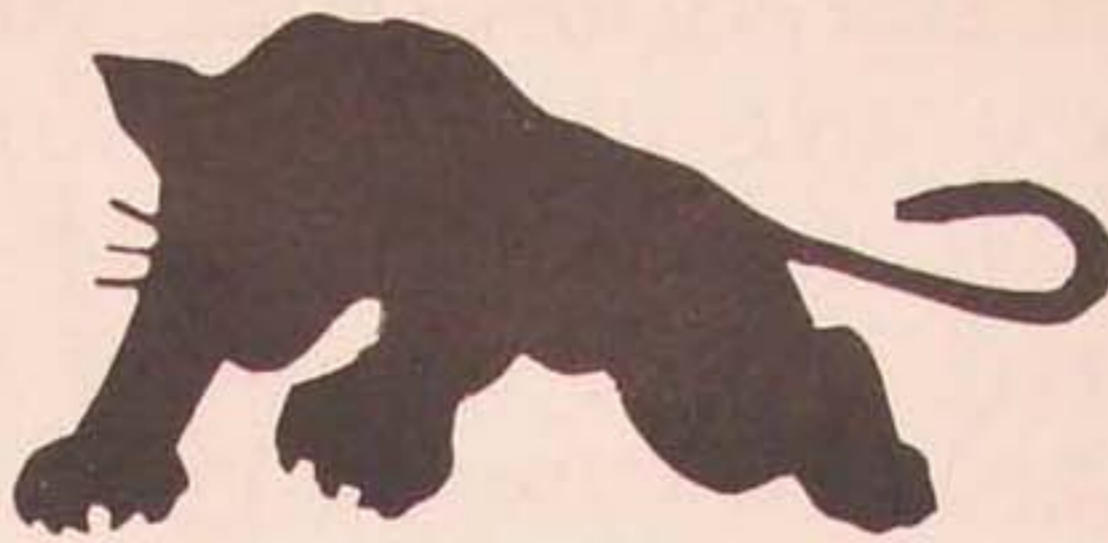
support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time an action is revolutionary is when the people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have, your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary, because the fascists carry guns--in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power is the gun, but the emphasis is on grows. The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon, so that you can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that, "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of getting rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end

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in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of Ramparts Magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as the Revolution and the Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process, and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards and community police or something like this. This is why we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way they would get salvation is through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested

in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of Ramparts. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This move

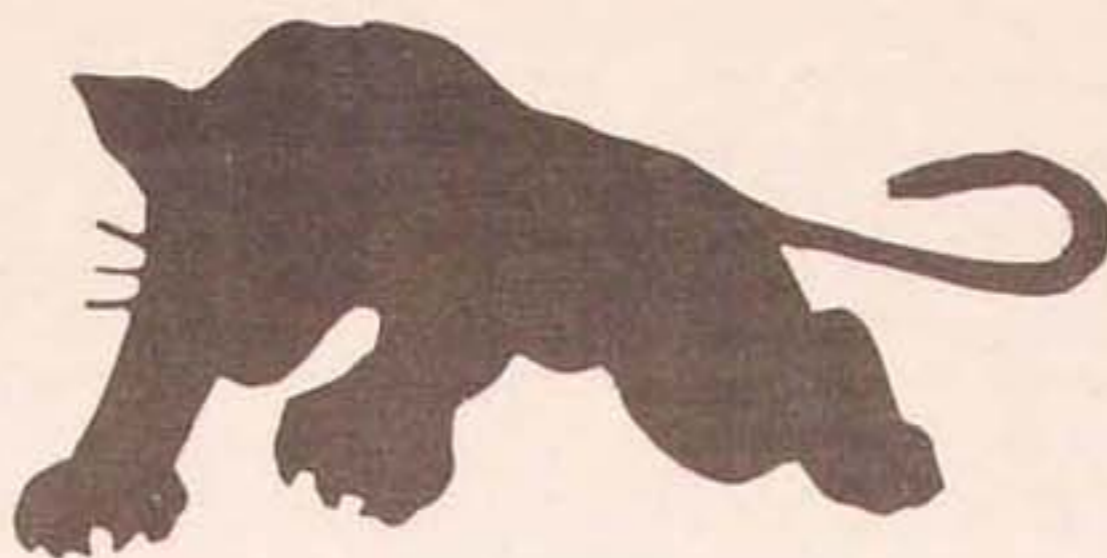
was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

What the revolutionary movement and the Black community needs is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program - the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs, so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community, so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The Black community does not relate to them, so we were left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was not necessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed, because I would not stand for it. But Eldridge's

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influence brought this about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it, police or any other agency of

Eldridge was never fully in the repression tries to destroy the pro- leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby was snatched away from us, I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership, because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party. But I knew that he could make a contribution; and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't do it. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind, because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer the people an "either-or" ultimatum. We must instead gain

the support of the people through serving their needs. Then when the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when we were related to in a positive way.

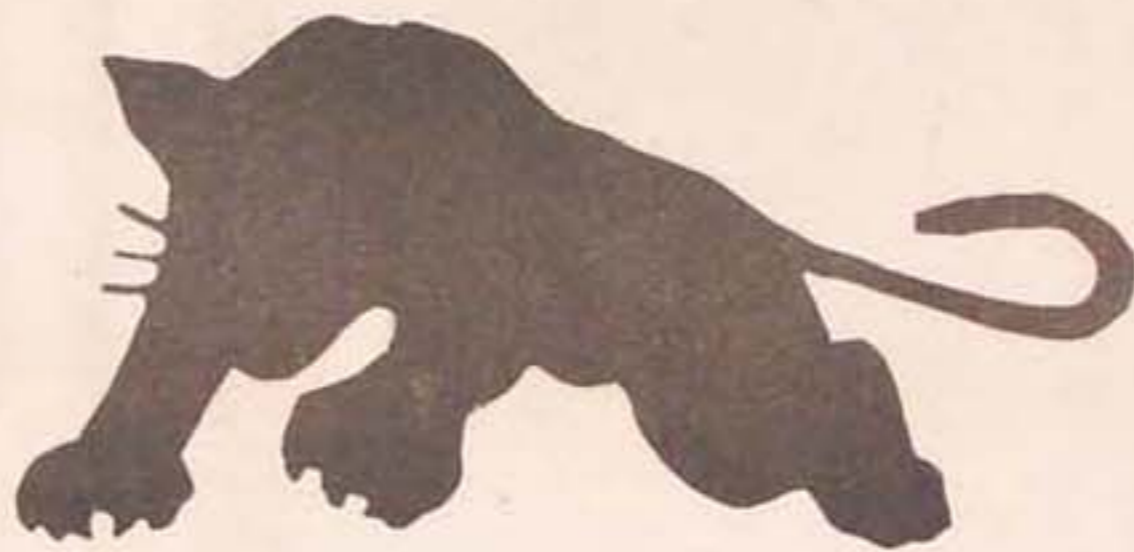
So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver and he has defected from the Party, because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy, because the people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect

analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival program. We can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests. We can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

HUEY P. NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE







POSITION PAPER NO. 1 ON ART OF SURVIVAL FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture, Black Panther Party



Emory Douglas

If we, the Black artists, are truly to call ourselves artists that are serving the Black community through our

art, we must begin to project those conditions that Black people are affected by everyday, transforming them into images of awareness. These images of awareness must stimulate Black people to move progressively forward as one people for freedom.

Black people are faced with the crisis of how best to survive the oppressive conditions that we are subjected to, day in, and day out. We are forced to live without adequate clothing, food, medical care, shelter etc. All these inconveniences being the product of the American Empire, Babylon.

We must begin as artists to project, in our art of survival, that survival involves more than just the gun alone. Oppression comes in many forms, all of which Black people are so familiar with.

In the past we have spoken for the Black community through our art, without listening to their grievances or their expressions of pleasure (whatever makes them sad or whatever makes them happy). By so doing, we have become artists with an abundance of artistic works having little or no

real meaning to the immediate needs of the Black community as a whole. Therefore, some forms of art of survival which may have been progressive yesterday, may be reactionary today, in a given set of conditions. Everything is in a constant state of transformation, the new into the old, the old into the new.

At this time it is my belief that Black people demand gas and electricity on cold and dark days; doctors and medicine in times of sickness; breakfast, lunch and dinner in times of hunger. It is our duty as servants of the people to advocate the needs and desires of the oppressed community through our images of awareness with much enthusiasm. Putting life on a much purer plane than everyday life, but nearer to what we believe life should be, free of exploitation of man by man - based on cooperation, transforming the whole world society into a state of Revolutionary Intercommunalism.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Emory Douglas
Minister of Culture
Black Panther Party

CLEVELAND BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN PROGRAM TO EXPAND

The Cleveland National Committee to Combat Fascism, (2312 E. 79th St) is seeking to establish another survival program for the people of Cleveland, Ohio.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in junior high and high schools can receive free, full breakfasts in the mornings before they go to school. We are asking support from local businesses in the form of facilities and supplies. The fact that the Black Panther Party has implemented this program and fed over 150,000 children last year shows the necessity for such a program.

The schools and the racist-

oriented fascist Boards of Education should have had this program instituted long ago. But these school boards and administrators, being part and parcel of the U.S. fascist pig apparatus know that the continuation of hunger is their number one weapon for carrying out genocide on the poor and oppressed peoples of the U.S. Understanding this, the National Committee to Combat Fascism does not intend to stand by and let this form of genocide continue. We know that healthy bodies and sound minds are necessary if a people are going to continue to exist. In order to exist, the people must survive. Therefore we offer a survival kit.



Included in it is a Free Breakfast Program so that the people will be around when the time comes to throw off the fascist chains of oppression. People in the Black

oppressed community of Cleveland, mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the communities

where racism and fascism are running rampant are asked to come forth to work and support this much needed program.

Those who want to volunteer their full or part-time services in the mornings can do so by contacting the Cleveland National Committee to Combat Fascism, 2312 E. 79th St.

We strongly urge as many people as possible to unite with this community program. We are also asking all businesses throughout the Black community and other oppressed communities to donate the necessary foods and utensils to prepare the meals for our children.

All donations may be sent to the Free Breakfast Program for Children, National Committee to Combat Fascism, 2312 E. 79th.

**FEED THE CHILDREN!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

N.C.C.F.
Cleveland, Ohio



**CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
SUNDAY APRIL 28th
A BUS WILL BE GOING TO
JOLIET AND STATESVILLE PRISONS
(ILLINOIS STATE PENITENTIARIES)**

BUS LEAVES:

**WESTSIDE: AT 10:00 AM FROM
2350 WEST MADISON ST.**

**SOUTHSIDE: AT 9:30 AM FROM
4233 SO. INDIANA ST.**

All who plan to visit inmates should have prior visiting arrangements made (necessary visiting papers).

This is not necessary for those who just wish to see the prison(s).

For further information on the bus-sing program or schedule to other prisons, call: 924-6575 or 738-0778.

SURVIVAL AT THE BALTIMORE CITY JAIL



Conditions at the Baltimore City Jail are barbaric. Beginning again on February 17th, 1971, the jail officials have really shown their true nature through their animalistic attitudes to their genocidal counter-attacks. Ever since the savage attack by pig guards upon Panther, brother, comrade and friend Marshall (Eddie) Conway, the guards have been out to get blood on their hands, by ever murdering or seriously injuring someone. In these past weeks I have been a victim and a witness to the outright savage brutality being committed behind these jail walls. I will relate here to the most brutal of the attacks. February 17th, Marshall Conway was attacked by one guard, defended himself, was later attacked by 7 guards, handcuffed, beaten and maced, John Tate, struck in left eye with handcuffs, beaten and maced. Larry Wallace, beaten, gassed, maced and kicked but managed to escape, only to be nearly killed one week later. February 24, 1971, James Statton was attacked by 6 guards. One of the pigs used a blunt and heavy object to strike Statton. Statton's head was busted open in three places. To justify the attacks upon Statton, the pigs charged him with assault with intent to murder a jail guard. Mark Herbert was taken from the shower, naked, and beaten, then dragged off the section. Vernon Collins was handcuffed and repeatedly kicked. When he (Collins) protested, he was beaten and maced. Conrad Field was also beaten, kicked and maced. After the beating all four were placed in isolation cells (meaning the hole).

Some hours later I was taken from my cell on the L-section of the jail (which is the maximum security section), handcuffed and beaten skillfully by a band of pig guards (black and white) who were really ready to commit murder. Shalaco Jackson who saw my beating and protested it, was taken from his cell and given the same treatment as I had received. Except Jackson was more unfortunate than I, he came out with a fractured or possibly broken nose, both eyes swollen shut, and very likely rib injuries. Larry Wallace, who escaped the pigs' attacks the week before, was this time beaten very badly. He was knocked unconscious once and brought back

around, beaten and knocked out again, then brought back around again and thrown into the hole. Shortly after, my cellmate and comrade Phillip "Billy" Costes was brought into the isolated solitary confinement area, after being beaten and maced. One pig guard who enjoyed beating Billy so much, showed his sadistic, animalistic, genocidal nature by leaping out to beat Billy again. When Billy pleaded that he was hurt and to stop the beating, the pig stated: "When I see more blood then I'll know you're hurt". The beatings didn't forecast the end of the torture.

Costes, Jackson, Statton, Wallace and I were lodged in a 5 X 8 size cell, added to the fact that the five of us were herded into that tiny dungeon, were stripped naked and had no toilet or sink. We were forced to urinate in a small hole in the middle of the floor. We were served sandwiches for six days. And for six days nobody ate, realizing that howell movements would make living conditions worse. There were eight of us all together being held in solitary confinement on trumped-up charges of assault with intent to murder jail guards.

Before I go any further, let's examine the nature and reasons for the charges placed on each man. Let's begin on February 17th with Marshall E. Conway. Conway and a pig guard (Sgt. Gilhart) were engaged in a heated argument about Conway's visit (which I'll later explain). The guard (and there are over 10 witnesses who saw it) attacked Conway first, by striking him with a ring of keys. When Conway defended himself but was quickly subdued by more guards, he (Conway) was charged with assault with intent to murder pig guard Sgt. Gilhart. During the confrontation of Conway and Gilhart, pig guard Robert "Wesley" Cox attacked John Tate and Larry Wallace (the same 10 witnesses saw this also). Later the next week Tate and Wallace both were charged with assault with intent to murder pig Robert W. Cox. But on February 24th the pigs really attacked the deck. Now as I've said before, and understand this, that L-section is a maximum security cellblock. Security on L-section is outrageous: There are no recreation privileges; three to four

guards work on the section; and showers are given by one cell at a time, or two inmates at a time. On February 24th those same rules were active. But on that same day, the pigs claim that six inmates beat Sgt. Joe Greene. How could six inmates beat Sgt. Greene, when L-section rules only allow two inmates out at any time. And the two inmates who were out were in the shower. How could the inmates get out of their cells without the keys to open them. How could six inmates have possibly beaten a guard, when two of the six inmates were bathing; the second pair were cellmates in the last cell in the back of the tier (which means they would have been the last two to take showers on the bottom tier. Meaning that there was only the front two cells open, and the guard had at least eleven more cells to open before he'd reach the last two cells. So it's impossible for the other two inmates to have been out; and how could the last pair of inmates beat Sgt. Greene when their cells were on the top tiers, and the showering hadn't even gotten to the top tiers, which means that the cells were all locked. But, nevertheless, the pigs pushed aside the facts, and presented the inmates with new indictments charging assault with intent to murder pig guard Joseph Greene.

Why were these 9 brothers and only these 9 brothers charged. Here are the reasons why! Jail warden Hiram Schoonfield, Deputy Warden Howard Parks and other high ranking jail officials fully blame for the February 17th jail riots and hold responsible Marshall Conway, Arthur Tocco, Charles Dutton, Larry Wallace, Phillip Costes, Vernon Collins, James Statton, John Tate, Mark Herbert and Conrad Whitfield. These trumped-up charges stem from the vengeance of Warden Schoonfield. On February 17th, Marshall Conway received his weekly visit at or about 9:30 a.m. The pig Sgt. Gilhart didn't let Conway out of his cell until 10:15 a.m. The visits are only 20 minutes long and visiting hours are over at 10:30 a.m. Along with Conway were a number of other inmates whose visits had been held up for no apparent reason. Protesting started, and the guard opened up with a heated argument with Conway. The argument, while being loudly contested, was bringing other guards on the section to in-

vestigate. The pig, being aware of this, attacked Conway. More pigs arrived and Conway was beaten and dragged away. The people began to loudly protest the action. The Deputy Warden rushed to the section and, without asking what the trouble was and without warning, threw a tear gas canister into the section. The disturbance should be fully blamed on the Deputy Warden of the jail, because the only disturbance before the gas was thrown were mere shouts of protest. Several brothers were trapped in cells, overcome by gas, and began to cough up blood. The people who'd withstood the gas started breaking out windows for air. With the gas still effective, and before the people could regain their senses and willingly stop the protesting and go into their cells, the reactionary jail officials sent another gas canister onto the section. Realizing to go into the cells now would be suicide, reality was faced by all the people, black and white, of L-section, that we were being attacked; not punished, but attacked. The people began to prepare to defend themselves, when another gas bomb was dropped on the tiers. The people took to anything that could be used as a weapon (ralls, poles, sticks, pipes, buckets, brooms) and drove the pigs away from the section. But the pigs dropped two more gas canisters before they retreated. This brings it to a total of 5 gas canisters used on an area where air circulation is very poor. That is attempted genocide. However, the people secured and held the section for 6 hours under pig siege.

When the press was admitted inside the jail, the people presented to them their demands, grievances and the actual conditions of the jail. Among the demands were:

1. Complete amnesty for Marshall E. Conway; 2. People being brought to trial within 90 days after their arrest; 3. The immediate halt of excessive high bails and cruel and unusual punishment in the court and prisons of America. The grievances dealt with: 1. The lack of medical attention and having no jail doctors on duty 24 hours a day; 2. Inadequate and poorly prepared food; 3. Only one 20 minute visit per week; 4. No recreational privileges; 5. Brutality by jail guards upon inmates. Jail conditions consisted of the over-

crowded, poorly heated sections and cells and unsanitary living conditions. The people then decided that if no reprisals were made, we'd give up the section. The pig warden gave his word, no retaliation would come on the jail's part, so the section was surrendered to him.

But things became even worse. More brutality, no visits, no commissary, more gassings, no showers, food and water were cut off for nearly three days, and incoming and outgoing mail was stopped (which is a federal offense), and 24 hour day "lock-in's", and no medical attention at all.

The brothers of L-section knew that pig warden Schoonfield was lying and also knew the aftermath of the riot would be inhuman and barbaric. But we also knew the real task was to alert the people outside the jail walls, to make the people aware of what's going on inside the jail, to expose the jail and its officials to the people. Letting the power of the people decide what should be done about the conditions at the jail. For in the final analysis it will be the people, and the people only, who will pass judgement upon the fascist regimes in America. The people at Baltimore City Jail are going through what thousands of people are going through across the country. The racist, fascist oppression of the prison systems of Amerikkka. Warden Schoonfield and his pig army are due for a rude awakening if they think the revolutionary spirit at Baltimore City Jail can be broken by their savage brutality and genocidal attacks. Comrade Marshall Conway was first kidnapped, then later railroaded into prison to a term of life plus 30 years (with 15 more years still pending). But Conway left behind, on L-section, a family of revolutionary brothers, whom he taught and educated, and brought to political and revolutionary awareness. So we hail Revolutionary love to Marshall Conway and all people in the maximum security camps of Babylon. Hold high the banner of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, and stay strong, for we're winning all over the world!

FREE ERIC, FREE BOBBY, FREE ANGELO, FREE RICHIE, ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Charles "Rock" Dutton
Baltimore City Jail
Inmate Liberation Front

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS



APRIL 15, BIRTHDAY GREETINGS
TO COMRADE KIM IL SUNG, COURAGEOUS AND
BELOVED LEADER OF 40 MILLION KOREAN PEOPLE



The Black Panther Party wishes to use this occasion to not only express our best wishes on the anniversary of the birth of Comrade Kim Il Sung, but also to again confirm the militant solidarity between our Party and the struggling oppressed people of the U.S. and the heroic Korean people.

It is our firm belief that under the continued wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the entire Korean Fatherland will most assuredly be soon reunited. The unnatural division of a whole people that the U.S. imperialists have perpetrated - separating mothers from children, husbands from wives, entire families - will be as much a part of History as the inglorious defeat the U.S. suffered when they invaded the sovereign Korean soil in 1951.

The example of the struggle of the Korean people, like the very brilliant thoughts of Comrade Kim Il Sung, have inspired us in our struggle here inside the U.S. Monster. We have seen, through your fine example, that this U.S. monster that is our common enemy and oppressor is not almighty. He can be defeated.

And so it is in this fraternal spirit that we commemorate the birthdate of Comrade Kim Il Sung by intensifying our own struggle, here inside the U.S., against U.S. imperialism, fascism and racism.

**LONG LIVE COMRADE KIM IL SUNG
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

Central Committee
Black Panther Party



INTERVIEW WITH A NEW MAN — A CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY

"... And each and everyone of us will pay on demand his part of sacrifice...knowing that we are getting ever closer to the new man, whose figure is beginning to appear." Ernesto Che Guevara

CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK

Q. Do you know who Lenin was?

A. Yes, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the one who put into practice the first socialist revolution in the world, which was thought out by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, but it was he who put it into practice in 1917. This began with the great Socialist Revolution of October, 1917, and culminated in November.

Q. Do you know anything about the conditions or the situation of the leaders of the Black Panther Party?

A. Well, the leaders of the Black Panther Party find themselves, well, in a state where all the time they are harassed and persecuted by the police, by the National Guard, and at any moment they attack the local headquarters of the Panthers and they are forced into exile and imprisoned all the time, especially the leaders.

Q. Do you know anything about the U.S. student movement?

A. I know that the U.S. student movement participates in many demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and for example, that the National Guard attacked Kent University last year and killed 4 students.

Q. What do you think is the difference between the North American people and their government?

A. I think that they are two very different things, since they are against each other, because the U.S. people struggle against the government and it keeps them in conditions -- for example, racial discrimination -- in which the Black children are undernourished and we ourselves hear this in the political information sessions, that the cost of a hospital bed there can even be \$75, and that the people are always against the war in Vietnam and many men have been sent to Vietnam to fight against their own interests.

Q. Can you tell me who Antonio Maceo was and what he did?

A. Antonio Maceo was born in Santiago de Cuba, June 14, 1845, and was the son of Mariana Grajales and Marco Maceo. His parents had a little land and he helped them some. And he grew up and first he was a muleteer -- no first he was a coal vendor, and then a muleteer. Then after the outbreak of the war of 1868, a few days later he joined up, together with his father and his two brothers. A little later his father died. Because of his efforts in his work he reached the grade of Major General, and he carried out the most resounding assaults in the whole world, and he led the invasion from Oriente to the West, crossing the trails of Mariel to Majana, and that of Jucaro to Moron. He was also one of the representatives in the protest of Baragua, protesting strongly against the Pact of Zanjón (by which the leadership of the rebellion against Spain agreed to call a halt to hostilities for several compromises and promises of reform). And later he fell. He had more than 25 wounds in his body. He fell during a small skirmish in San Pedro de Punta Brava, December 7. He fell there in San Pedro de Punta Brava and died in Havana, Panchito Gomez Toro, who was the son of General Maximo Gomez (note: also Black) fell at the same time. They were buried together.

Q. What kind of man was Maceo?

A. Maceo was a very audacious man, and very -- well we could say -- he had a very clear vision, and he was also a man with many political qualities. For example, we have the Protest of Baragua, of which he was one of the chief initiators (those who opposed the Peace Pact wanted to continue fighting for complete independence from Spain), one of those who protested fiercely against the Pact of Zanjón.

Q. Did Maceo have another name? What was he called?

A. They called him the Bronze Titan.

Q. Why?

A. Because of the wounds that he had received all over his body. He had 25 wounds in his body. They also called him The Chief -- he was the highest political officer of the rebel forces in the country.

Q. What was he like? Was he blond?

A. No, he was mulatto.



Q. Who was Martí?

A. Martí was our Apostle. He was born on January 28, 1853 on Paula Street in Havana. His father was a second Sergeant of the Spanish Army. His father was named Mariano Martí and his mother was named Leonor Perez. His father had a farm in Matanzas province. Once Martí saw a slave who had been hanged, with his back flogged, and that day he vowed to wash away this crime with his blood, and he kept this promise when he fell in Dos Rios in Oriente, fighting for the freedom of Cuba. He has written lots of books, and these books are very good, and the majority of them are political books, some are verses. He was also a teacher and a poet, and he died in Dos Rios in 1895.

Q. What was he like?

A. He was a man who always opposed Spain with his political activities. He was imprisoned in Spain and deported, and imprisoned in other countries because of his political activities in different places.

Q. Was he a big man or a little man?

A. Well, they say that, in physical size, he was a small man, but for his thoughts and other things he was a very big man.

Q. Who was Juan Almeida?

A. Juan Almeida Bosque is a man who participated in the first action against the Batista tyranny, the attack on the Moncada and the 26th of July Movement. He was also one of Fidel's closest confidants. He landed in the Granma and currently he is a Comandante and a member of the Polit Bureau of the Party.

Q. Do you know anything about him personally?

A. Well, his color too is Black.

Q. What are his other characteristics?

A. He's very brave, and on more than one occasion he was a prisoner, for example when they attacked the Moncada, and he never betrayed any of his comrades.

Q. What has impressed you most in your life?

A. The thing that impressed me most? Well, let's see... there are many things, but... What kind of thing?

Q. What has been the most important thing in your life?

A. The most important thing in my life has been my participation in this school, the Camilo Cienfuegos Military School.

Q. What was Cuba like before the Revolution?

A. Before the revolution Cuba was very corrupt; there was a lot of robbery, gambling, and there was poverty among the peasants because in Cuba there was latifundism (ownership of large estates of land by a small absentee oligarchy or foreign corporations), which was, you could say, exploitation of the peasants. They were exploited by the latifundists, who didn't work, they just had the land which was cultivated by the campesinos (peasants) and they took advantage of the work of the peasants.

Q. What is a gusano? (note: The literal translation of gusano is "worm")

A. Gusanos are the Cubans who leave the country, because they're not communists, they don't like communism and they like, well, to be able to profit from imperialism.

Q. What is your opinion of a gusano?

A. The gusanos are, we could say, expatriated men. They don't have a country because they abandon their country for convenience of politics. They'd rather be in an imperialist setting than a communist one.

Q. Have you ever known or spoken with any gusanos?

A. I knew some gusanos in school when I was a civilian. They were people who thought that they were very important, they wouldn't have anything to do with the communists. They could hardly wait to meet up with other gusanos to gossip and tell stories -- counter-revolutionary stories.

Q. What do you think is the difference between a capitalist country and a socialist country?

A. The difference is that an imperialist country tries to expand its empire to take control of more countries. It's the politics of ambition, like the example we have of the U.S. And a socialist country isn't, well, it isn't an ambitious country except in the sense that it tries to help society, direct it on a good path and not on the path to exploitation.

Q. If you were in a capitalist country, like the U.S., what do you imagine life would be like?

A. Well, it would be... well, it would be a boring life. (I wouldn't like to live in a country like that)

Q. For you, personally, what would be the difference between living here and there?

A. Well, the differences would be in the kind of politics, the kind of ... like there, there is racial discrimination, and they mistreat students when they participate in any demonstrations, and then they're expelled from their own educational centers because of their protest against the government.

Q. What does racism mean to you?

A. Racism is trends practiced against a race. For example, in the U.S. there is racial discrimination against Blacks, and that isn't good because race doesn't matter. All we have is a different color, but this doesn't imply anything, because we're all people, and we all have the same basic qualities. And there in the U.S. Blacks are treated like... dogs, like animals. There they believe the Blacks are a lower class than the Whites.

Q. And here in Cuba, before the revolution, was there racism?

A. Before the revolution there was social discrimination and also there was a little discrimination. Before there were prejudices, but not that much. What perhaps existed was that Blacks had different beaches, that they had everything apart from the Whites, different cabarets, different everything -- everything apart.

Q. Do you think that the Black Panther Party is the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in the U.S.?

A. Well, it is my understanding that it is.

Q. What do you think about the fact that a Black Party is the vanguard of the whole country?

A. Well, I think that they are the principle leaders of that movement because they are the most exploited in the U.S., primarily the Blacks, because in general everyone is exploited there, but the most exploited are the Blacks, even more than the Puerto Ricans and others that emigrate there from other countries.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

THE SUPER PIG

Gerald W. Kirk is one of the American Power Structure's fascist gimmicks — THE "SUPER PIG". THE BOOT-LICKING PUPPET GUARANTEED TO "INFILTRATE" THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, BUT HARDLY TO STOP IT!

Ever since the enslavement of Black people here in this Empire, the slavemaster has always had his handpicked "housesniggers" to use indiscriminately, to pull the coarse rope of oppression tighter around the necks of the suffering Black masses, whose only crime has been to seek to be free. The slavemaster used his puppet quite frequently; and whenever he needs a fool to try and quell the subversity that's running rampant throughout the slave quarters, he can always depend on the good ol' reliable "Sambo" to do the job. For just like "Sambo" was the one who fled into the town to warn all of those white, racist Ku Klux Klans of the invasion of Nat Turner, he is again running to warn those counter-revolutionary elements in America of the ultimate insurrection of the people.

On March 18th, a small racist band of bigots, who compose the "TRUTH ABOUT CIVIL TURMOIL" (TACT) organization, which is a component of the John Birch Society — a blatant and well-known association which has a reputation for its vicious denunciations and inhuman brutality against Black people, particularly, and all peoples of color — this organization sought to bring this insane bootlicking, Gerald W. Kirk, to the oppressed community of Winston-Salem (North Carolina) to continue to propagate his madness, bent on stagnating the process of the revolution.

Kirk's record, with a long line of assaults against the liberation of his people and his attacks against the humanity of the world, has proven that he has, indeed, been faithful to his master, and has "served his country well".

This fascist fool has been successful in allegedly infiltrating the SDS, the DuBois Club, and was supposed to have been a liaison of



the pigs to the communist Party in the Chicago area. He proudly proclaims that for nearly four years he operated inside the "peace" movements, student progressive forces, and movements by black militants and revolutionaries as an undercover agent of the F.B.I. He boldly smiles when he tells of his activities with these groups. He even claims to have arranged for "War on Poverty" grants for "black militants" to "build their arsenals". And now this Super-Fascist tells of the "Communist - led against Americans, and how to stop it."

Kirk was brought to Winston-Salem to speak at the auditorium of a local Jr. High, about a week after the same racist school administration, who gratefully granted him and his master Klansmen the use of the public institutions, flatly refused the same privileges to the National Committee to Combat Fascism here, when we were planning to hold our Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity at another one of the local High Schools. The people, the supporters of Bobby Seale and of real justice were forced to stand outside in the cold (during the Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity meeting) while the racist power structure of Winston-Salem housed this insult to the Black community and more than 200 known supporters

Hear Former FBI Undercover Operative
GERALD W. KIRK

INSIDE THE SPIDER'S WEB

"The Communists, black militants and revolutionaries will never succeed in overthrowing the government of the United States. But, unless they are stopped, they will scare the American people into accepting socialism from Washington. This is what it is really all about!"

Brunson School

N. Hawthorne Rd. Winston-Salem, N. C.

Thursday, March 18 — 7:30 P.M.

Donation: \$1.00 Advance \$1.50 at the Door

SPONSORED BY

Winston-Salem TACT Committee

of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Black Communities of Winston-Salem have no doubt in their minds as to who is really working in the best interest of the people. If "black" men talk

the same rhetoric as George Wallace and Richard Nixon and are welcomed with open arms by the white racists of the school board and the racist power structure, then it is clear that these are the forces against and which we must come together as a mighty fist to destroy. The Black Communities and oppressed communities all

over the world are not so easily fooled. And we understand that it will be necessary to kill ANYONE who stands in the way of our freedom.

We, the people, are the jury and we convict SUPER PIG GERALD W. KIRK of the felonious charges of working hand-in-glove in conspiracy with the Nixon-Hoover-Mitchell regime to eventually attempt to bring about the complete genocide of all poor and enslaved people, particularly Black people.

Your name is one that is on a long list of counter-revolutionary traitors who are striving to commit genocide on our

people and electrocute our Chairman Bobby and Comrade Ericka in New Haven, Connecticut. Every deathblow that you have struck against us will be avenged, when

the people seize control of their destinies; and their wrath will take the heads of all of those of you who have so foolishly taken sides against us.

A PIG, IS A PIG, IS A PIG...

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

N.C.C.F.
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

BROOKLYN:

African Shop
Livingston & Flatbush

All Sol's
555 Nostrand Ave.

Arthur's Grocery Store
163 Kingston Ave.

Arthur's Newstand
8 Kingston Ave.

Black Fox
769 Nostrand Ave.

Boot Black
606 Nostrand Ave.

C & M Restaurant
276 Kingston Ave.

Callensten Store
231 Kingston Ave.

Candy & Luncheonette
376 Utica

Candystore
331 Franklin Ave.

Candystore
511 Franklin Ave.

Candystore
792 Franklin

Candystore
829 Franklin Ave.

Candystore
2154 Fulton St.

Candystore
292 Nostrand Ave.

Candystore
355 Nostrand Ave.

Candystore & Newstand
694 Rockaway

Candystore & Newstand
702 Rockaway

Cutter's Pharmacy
621 Nostrand Ave.

Duroa Jigs (African Shop)
402 Nostrand Ave.

Freedom Bookstore
526 Nostrand Ave.

Eddie's Candystore
379 Nostrand Ave.

Gail Stationary
1111 Rutland Rd.

Harry's Candystore
2227 Arlin Ave.

J & H Luncheonette
699 Nostrand Ave.

Jenkins' Candystore
924 Fulton St.

Kingston Car Service
284 Kingston Ave.

Larry's Candystore
849 St. John's Place

Lunch & Candy Store
100 Kingston Ave.

New Shop
280 Utica

Newstand
Corner of 145th & 6th Ave.

Newstand
414 Rockaway Ave.

Newstand
2 Sutter Ave.

Nicholson's Candy Store
305 Ralph Ave.

Omauale's Boutique
637 Thruway Ave.

Ottis
943 Sutter Ave.

Ours Inc.
1727 Pitkin Ave.

Prince's Candystore
735 Nostrand Ave.

Psychedelic Unlimited
521 Franklin Ave.

R & B Variety Shop
791 Saratoga Ave.

Record Shop
356 Franklin Ave.

NEW YORK: THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY THANKS THE FOLLOWING PARTIAL LIST OF STORES FOR GIVING THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK THE OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

continued on next page

WHERE IS FRED BENNETT?

Fred Bennett has been a trusted member of the Black Panther Party for over three years now. Most recently he was assigned to the task of coordinating our Party's Branch in East Oakland (California). As such he directed and coordinated all our work in that area, building up fine and close relationships between the comrades in the Party and the East Oakland community, and developing the people's survival programs.

In this past three years, Fred has very often gone off to himself, without notifying anyone as to where he would be going or how long he intended to stay away. That is, due to a restless nature, he would temporarily interrupt his day-to-day activities for a time. And then Fred would come back. Because we understand our comrades' need to attend to their personal needs (Fred has a wife and large family), and because Fred always worked especially hard, hardly ever stopping for a moment of rest, we never really questioned this behavior. He would usually not stay gone for



more than a couple of weeks and would return and explain his absence.

However, Fred Bennett went away the last time over two months ago.

Not finding this unusual, we looked for his return in a couple of weeks. But to this day, he still has not even so much as called. As a dedicated Panther, Fred Bennett would not do this. Even were he actually leaving the Party, we are certain he would tell us, and explain the reasons why. This is how Fred Bennett is.

What we fear is that the pigs, knowing well how serious and dedicated a worker Fred Bennett has always been, used one of his usual absences to commit some act of foul play. That is, we believe, in fact, that Oakland Pigs, in conjunction with Federal pigs, have done some serious, treacherous deed to Fred Bennett. We will find out; they can be sure. We will not rest until we do.

Therefore, if anyone has information on Fred Bennett's whereabouts, please contact our Central Headquarters, at 1048 Peralta Street in Oakland; or call (415) 465-5047.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

TO THE PARENTS OF PRISONERS

The Black Panther Party in meeting the needs of the people, is trying to implement a Free Bussing Program so that you may be able to visit your loved ones being held in prisons throughout racist Babylon. If you would like to visit your loved ones, send your names and address in to the Chapter or Branch of our Party nearest you.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

VOTE

APRIL 20, 1971

FOR OAKLAND CITY COUNCIL:

REV. FRANK PINKARD

PAUL COBB

NEW YORK STORES

continued from
last page

Record Shop
668 Sutter Ave.

Sound Town
812 Franklin Ave.

Stone's
650 Nostrand Ave.

Unique Hi Fi
691 Nostrand Ave.

Vann's
589 Franklin Ave.

Washington Candy Store
365 Chasson Ave.

Wright's L & M Store
1507 Fulton St.

Yardboro Store
1263 Bedford Ave.

Yoca Cab Service
888 Sutter Ave.

HARLEM:

Al Mosley's Variety Store
130 Lenox Ave.

Afro Mart (Sam Barnes)
103-W. 125th St.

Afro Sound
1708 Amsterdam Ave.

Ben Davis Bookstore
135th St. & 8 Ave.

Ben Franklin Newstand
135, Corner of Lenox Ave.

Blackshop
7th Ave. bet. 128th & 129th St.

Candy Store
2038 Amsterdam Ave.

Candy Store
2224 8th Ave.

Candy Store
2194 8th Ave.

Continental Bazaar
317 145th St.

Dainley's Candy Store
1785 Amsterdam Ave.

Glenn's Candy
3619 Broadway

Heritage Afro Media
16 W. 125th St.

Hoyd's Candy
2095 St. Nicholas Ave.

J & J Candy Store
2084 7th Ave.

Jessie's Sweet Shop
3659 Broadway

Joe's Newstand
750 St. Nicholas Ave.

Kingston Car Service
284 Kingston

Lloyd's Candystore
1724 Amsterdam Ave.

M & M Luncheonette
276 Kingston

Macfish Candy Store
205-28th Ave.

News Stand
139th St. & 7th Ave.

News stand
140th St. (Corner Lenox Ave.)

News stand
145 Broadway-Subway

Riccardo's Candy
1059 Amsterdam Ave.

S & L Candy Store
125th & Madison Ave.

Sam's News stand
125th & Lenox Ave.

Sam's Soul Newstand
125th & Park Ave.

Scott's Newstand
155th & St. Nicholas Ave.

Serritta's
497 Albany

Sight & Sound Record Shop
82 W. 125th St.

L. Smith News stand
145th & St. Nicholas Ave.

Stan's News stand
753 St. Nicholas Ave.

Sugar Hill Candy Store
958 St. Nicholas Ave.

Tobacco Shop
1916-7th Ave.

Yruno African Shop
1976 Amsterdam Ave.

LONG ISLAND:

Al's Stationary Store
817 Prospect Ave. Westbury

Billy's Barber Shop
75 S. Franklin St., Hempstead

Book City
206 Fulton St. Hempstead

Ed's Supermarket
10 Union Street, Hempstead

Egress
200 Fulton St., Hempstead

Fish & Chips
93 S. Franklin St., Hempstead

October 1966

Black Panther Party

Platform and Program

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 CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What We Believe

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

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

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

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

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man's right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

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

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

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

SERVING THE PEOPLE

BODY AND SOUL

All Power to the People



IT IS MY BELIEF THAT WE BLACK PEOPLE NEED GAS AND ELECTRICITY ON COLD AND DARK DAYS; DOCTORS AND MEDICINE IN TIMES OF SICKNESS; BREAKFAST, LUNCH AND DINNER IN TIMES OF HUNGER.

