

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE 25¢

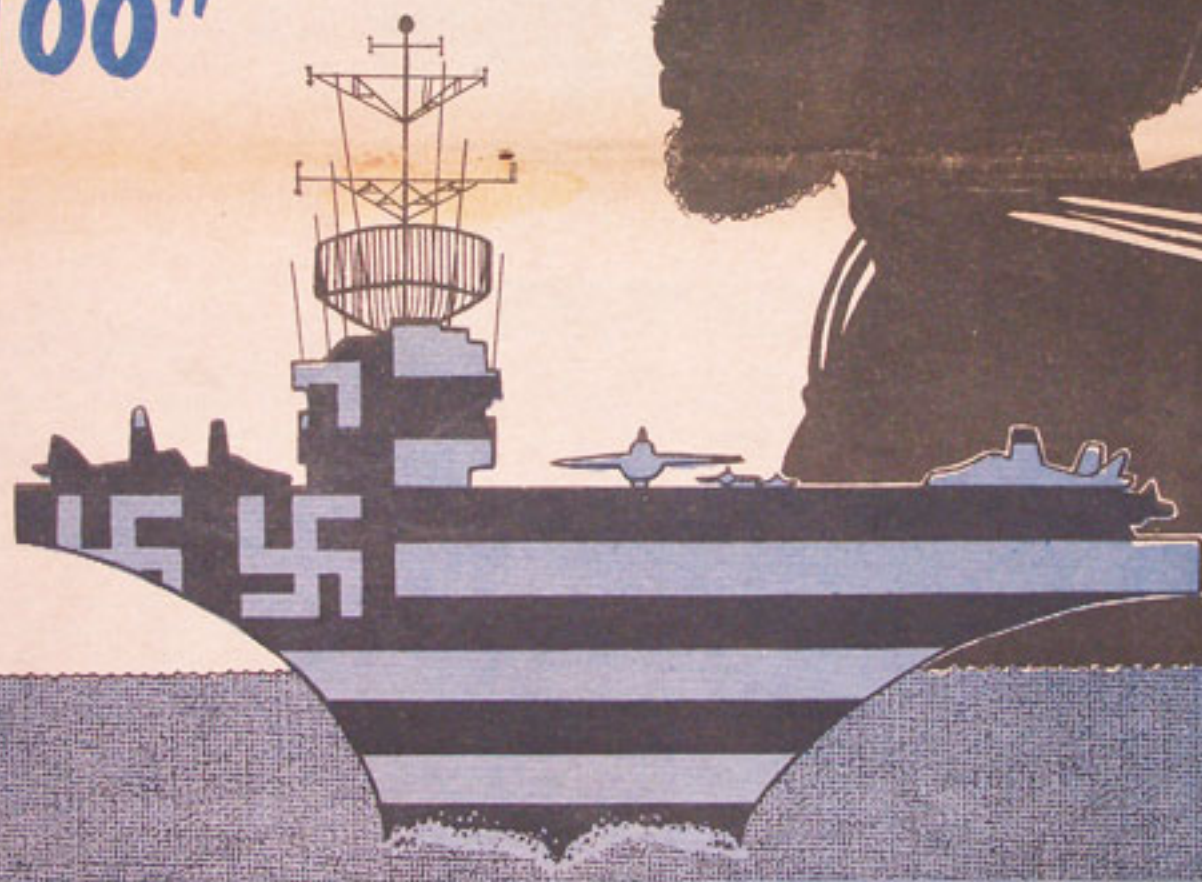
VOL. IX NO. 5 Copyright © 1972 by Huey P. Newton THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1972

PUBLISHED WEEKLY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
8301 EAST 146 STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621



**"YOU CAN'T BE
BLACK
AND NAVY,
TOO"**



SEE ARTICLE INSIDE PAGE 2 ALSO, SEE SUPPLEMENT
OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION PART XVI PAGES A, B, & C

SURVIVAL TICKET
VOTE FOR
SURVIVAL

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND
ELAINE BROWN FOR CITY COUNCIL



"YOU CAN'T BE BLACK AND NAVY, TOO"



Despite its facade of "improving race relations", Black seamen find the U.S. Navy as racist as the rest of American society.

The U.S. armed services has historically reflected the racism which permeates every sector of American society. The treatment which Black people and other minorities receive in the military follows the general pattern of the ordeal we face in so-called civilian life. The injustices and mistreatment we receive throughout all branches of the military provides us with a mirror image of the racist arrogance of white America.

In the past few years the various branches of the armed services decided they had to change their image since many Black and other progressive people were refusing to enter the military. The U.S. Navy singled itself

out among the armed services as the 'leader in improving racial problems.' Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt has implemented many meaningless reforms to give the appearance of easing the problems of Black sailors that the Navy itself has caused and perpetuates.

Some of these reforms include: relaxing regulations to permit brothers to wear their hair 'Afro-style'; stocking ships with 'soul food'; implementing a so-called 'sensitivity' school; and appointing a minority affairs panel of Black officers to 'study' the problems of Black sailors.

The absurdity of Zumwalt's reforms

and the inherently ingrained racism of the Navy came to light recently as Black sailors demanded to be treated as human beings. Three U.S. Navy ships have experienced violence as Black seamen defended themselves from attacks by racist white sailors.

In the first of these incidents, at least the first in which the Navy released news of to the public, racial tensions led to fighting aboard the naval oiler, *Hassayampa*, while floating in Subic Bay off the coast of the Philippines. Eleven Black brothers were held for disciplinary action, while not even one white sailor was arrested or charged.

The second incident occurred on board the aircraft carrier, *Kitty Hawk*. It is around this racist incident that the Navy has thrown a tight shroud of secrecy; they have done the utmost to hide what happened. What little information has leaked out centers around a fight which occurred between Black and white seamen while the *Kitty Hawk* was engaged in maneuvers off the coast of Vietnam. The fighting is said to have involved hundreds of sailors. The first news released by the Navy, however, only mentioned that 25 Black sailors were being charged with 'assault and rioting'. Court martials were planned immediately while the brothers were many miles from home and at the mercy of racist naval officers.

Even from the very sketchy information available, people from the Black community and many Black organizations realized that these brothers on the *Kitty Hawk* were being railroaded and demanded that the court martials be halted until the ship docked back in San Diego. A letter, co-signed by Rep. Ron Dellums of Oakland and Mayor Warren Widner from Berkeley, along with others signatures, was sent to the Secretary of the Navy demanding an immediate investigation and a halt to the court martials. Image conscious Navy officials, realizing the growing community concern and attempting to hide behind the phoney shield of enlightened race relations, have postponed the court martials. Efforts are being undertaken by the Black Serviceman's Caucus in San Diego to secure lawyers for the brothers upon their return.

Meanwhile, 130 Black and white (120 Black sailors and 10 whites) Navy men exposed Captain J.V. Ward's attempts to stage race riots on the aircraft carrier, *Constellation*. The ship returned to port last week after leaving San Diego for training maneuvers only days before. The brothers were told to go ashore so that their grievances could be discussed in a calmer atmosphere. It became obvious that this was another racist scheme when Captain Ward returned two days later and ordered the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

THE TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES

NATIVE AMERICANS SEIZE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BUILDING IN WASHINGTON, D.C.



300 tribes of Native Americans gathered in Washington, D.C., to demand the U.S. government fulfill all broken treaty obligations.

"The American Indian, a dehumanized and oppressed people, have suffered almost more than any other group of people, the brunt of the 'American' experience.

Unlike Black people, who were brought to this country as slaves and to make the white man rich, the Indian people were at home. This is their homeland. When the attempt at enslavement made by the intruding white man proved at first unsuccessful, his only desire was to destroy the Indian people and rob them of their land; the land they had preserved so well. The North American Indian has always been a master of survival.

The North American Indians are an ignored, forgotten people. Thus, representatives of the many Indian communities across the country have gathered in Washington D.C. to awaken the people of this country and the world to the oppression and efforts at genocide perpetuated upon their people, which began with the founding of this country.

In light of their oppression, The Black Panther Party supports the just effort of the Indian people to capture the attention of the world's people to the commonality of their oppression with that of Black and other poor, oppressed people. We support their "9" Demands and the "20" Point Plan; the "Trail of Broken Treaties"; for renewal of contracts - reconstruction of the Indian communities and securing

an Indian future in America!"

The above statement of support is from the Black Panther Party, Washington, D.C. Chapter, for the "Trail of Broken Treaties" caravan, which represented 300 tribes of North American Indians who began to gather in Washington, D.C. on October 30th, to demand the government's fulfillment of all United States treaty obligations and the protection of Indian people's rights to water, minerals and land.



"Indian people are now standing straight and tall. This is our country, this is our land. We have the right to live and thrive."

One of the major desires of the Trail of Broken Treaties is that the government change the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), to the "Office of Federal Indian Relations and Community Reconstruction". The BIA, as it is, represents a racist approach to Indian people's needs. White people manage and supervise Indian schools, roads, real estate, and they are of course, watched constantly by the police. The ending of such practices are all part of the Trail of Broken Treaties' 20-Point Plan.

After arriving in Washington, D.C., having spent one night in a rat-infested church, the leaders of the Trail of Broken Treaties went to the Bureau of Indian Affairs asking for decent housing during their stay there; their request was denied. Refusing to tolerate the conditions of the housing originally offered them, the Indian people took over the BIA building.

Immediately following the seizure of the building the leaders of the Indian people presented the major officials of the BIA with nine additional demands. One called for the dismissal of the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the Deputy Commissioner of the BIA, and the Director of the National Council of Indian Opportunity. The American Indian Movement leaders have accused and made evident the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a dumping ground for incompetent government workers.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10





ELAINE BROWN: "Let's start here in the city of Oakland, implementing people's power in the United States and people's power all over the world."

"WE'RE TALKING ABOUT WINNING IN OAKLAND"

CONCLUSION

When we talk about the United States, we know that the United States, whether we want to concretely admit it at all, whether we want to really understand that the United States is the key, as my mother used to say, 'the key to the kingdom.' All the struggles that are going on around the world--what can we do about helping the Vietnamese, when we talk about helping the people in Africa, their struggle for liberation and for self-determination? There's not too much we can do while Nixon is still president and it really won't make too much difference whether it's Nixon, McGovern, or it could be Agnew. The President must do according to those people who really run the country. The H.L. Hunts, the J. Paul Gettys--those people. If Nixon doesn't do right, then he can be replaced easily. The machinery is very functional and it does work that way. He's a good speaker, not as good as John Kennedy was, but he's a good enough speaker that they can allow him to have a little leeway here or there in his style. But the president is not that important, because the people that control the economy in this country are controlling the entire world.

So when we talk about what the people of this country can do for the Vietnamese--when we rally for the Vietna-

mese, we will rally for the South African struggle, for the struggle in Mozambique or Zimbabwe, or for the people that are struggling in Brazil, or for the people that are struggling anywhere throughout the world; for the Cuban revolution to continue to progress. What do we really mean we can do to help these people if we still have Nixon, or Nixon's associates in power at this point. It really can't mean very much. Not only do we realize it, but the people around the world are looking to us to start settling the issue of the oppressed and the oppressor. And we have the ability to really implement that power, to really start changing the face of this world, because the war weapons and war machinery are in the hands of the same people that the money is in the hands of. In other words, 'if you don't like the way we're controlling you with our money, we'll show you how we can control you with our guns.' And the gun is almost an obsolete weapon. Everyone knows in Vietnam they're using laser beam bombs, 'smart' bombs, electronic eye bombs; and now they're talking about using meteorological warfare; it'll rain too much or it won't rain enough. This is the kind of thing that exists, and those of you who have studied or read anything about what this country is doing, know that they do have this power and they will im-

plement this power. They're not worried about whether or not we demonstrate in Washington, D.C. Nixon laughed at 250,000 people who went to Washington, D.C., and said 'down with the war; stop the war in Vietnam.' He said, 'Alright', and sent troops into Cambodia. It was a joke; the demonstration became a joke, because this is the kind of power that they have.

But we're talking about seriously winning--winning in April, 1973, Malcolm said, 'by any means necessary', and a lot of people got side-tracked by, 'any means necessary'. They thought by any means necessary meant go out into the street this minute with your gun while they have laser beams, and call that strategy, and call that implementing any means necessary. We are talking about winning, we are talking about implementing people's power in this country. I know that a lot of you think we really have had a strong beginning, a lot of things have happened. I think it sometimes because a lot of people in our Party have been killed in the name of the things we want to do, and the things we want to implement. A lot of those people were very close to me. So when I talk about, 'let us begin something', it makes me wonder what were the lives of thirty people

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

QUALITY EDUCATION, NOT "INTEGRATION"

In New York City, as with most large metropolitan cities, Black children have always been subjected to the worst schools, teachers, and learning materials that the city could offer. In recent years, something new has been added, now our children are being used as tools in the oppressors best interest; to fill up empty classrooms in white community schools under the disguise of 'integration'.

In 1961, Black children from the Tilden House Projects in Brownsville, New York, were taken out of their school district (#23) and put in District 18 in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn, which is predominately white (in 1961, Canarsie was 98% white and 2% Black). This was done because District 18 did not have an adequate amount of students to qualify for federal funds usually allotted to public schools (Some of District 18's schools were going to be closed because of the lack of students). The Tilden House Black community protested their children being taken out of District 23, but were told by the school board that they had no choice. Under the disguise of "integration", Black children were put into the white school district so that white public schools could prosper from federal funds. As the number of Black children attending school in District 18 began to multiply, however, the school board began to switch Black children from school to school when a certain "quota" of Black students was reached. Over the years, it was discovered that Black children were pushed completely out of District 18. In June, 1972, about 90 Black students from District 18 graduated from elementary-jr. high school without being assigned a high school to attend in September 1972; they were told that they were no longer in District 18, because the district had enough "Blacks". (The Black students graduating from elementary and jr. high schools in District 18 were being sent to P.S. 285; which has a student racial make-up of 50% white-50% Black).

When school resumed in September, Black parents went to register their children in P.S. 285 and found that the local school board refused to accept any more Black children into the district. The parents went to local school boards, the Central School Board and to the Board of Education to

register their children in school. During this time, 18 Black parents were arrested for "trespassing", at P.S. 285 and at the school board. The racist arrests of the protesting Black parents did not serve its purpose: to



White classrooms suddenly become "overcrowded" when it is discovered that Black students are planning to attend.

dissuade us from seeing to it that our children receive quality education. The parents proved that they were legally in District 18 under Circular 58, which is a guideline for all local school districts. They proved that the trespassing arrests were false. They also exposed the illegal process that District 18 used to push Black children out of that district. Under the guidelines, children cannot be zoned out of a school district without that school district first having consulted with the children's parents and getting their approval.

P.S. 285 finally accepted students who had brothers and sisters already in the school. Chancellor of Schools, Harvey Scribner, gave the word for the remainder of Black children to go to P.S. 252, a predominately Black and Puerto Rican school in District 18.

Parents refused this offer on the grounds that P.S. 252 should be closed down because of its unsanitary conditions and safety hazards. They argued that all the students should be placed in adequate schools. After the community's refusal of P.S. 252, Scribner said that the Black students would have to go to P.S. 68. Knowing the racist attitudes of both white parents and students at P.S. 68, the Black parents went down to the school to investigate it. Before they were able to get out of their cars, they were met with hostile remarks and threats by people from the white community. Then knew that their children could not attend school in such an atmosphere; they turned down P.S. 68. Scribner

then gave the order that the children be allowed to enter John Wilson Jr. High School, P.S. 211. P.S. 211 has a student population of 70% white and 30% Black. The Black parents decided that at this school their children would be in a better educational atmosphere; P.S. 211 was accepted. On October 13, 1972, the remaining Black children (31 in all) were officially registered at P.S. 211 and assigned to classes. However, white parents protesting the admittance of the 31 Black children blocked the entrance to the school and took over the building for three nights. Although this was illegal, none of the racists were arrested. They left the school only after making an agreement with school officials to keep the school closed the remainder of the week. The 31 children were to report to school on the Tuesday following Veteran's Day.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

THE BLACK PANTHER

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
8501 EAST 14th STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621
TELEPHONE: (415) 636-1986

YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$8.75
APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES
PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.



Sister ELAINE BROWN, speaking for the Black community and the Black Panther Party, expressed our solidarity with the oppressed Mexican-American farmworkers.

FARMWORKERS PLANT THE SEEDS OF FREEDOM

Mexican-American farmworkers are one of the most oppressed groups in this country. They have long been denied basic rights by the large growers whose farms they must work for slave-labor wages (See Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, September 23, 1972). The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), led by Cesar Chavez, was organized to combat this exploitation, and has organized many successful strikes and boycotts against the growers.

In California (the state which has the largest number of Mexican-American farmworkers), the racist and wealthy growers used huge sums of money to sponsor Proposition 22, which was defeated by the people in the November 7th elections in California, due to the hard work of UFWOC. Proposition 22 would have made it illegal for the farmworkers to strike, protest, or even use the phrase "Boycott Lettuce". Even though huge sums of money were spent by the growers on hundreds of billboards, television advertisements, and literature in an ef-

fort to get people to vote for Proposition 22, the farmworkers helped to defeat it by going into the community, talking to people personally in order to educate residents of California about the repressive nature of the bill. With the help of other organizations, the mass effort to inform the community was successful: the proposition was defeated by a 33% margin.

Realizing the necessity of uniting against the common enemy, the UFWOC and the Black Panther Party worked closely in the fight to defeat Proposition 22. During the last few days before November 7th, farmworkers all over the state went into the various communities daily, informing people about Proposition 22. The door to door work in the precincts was very effective; they covered as many as 85 precincts in a day; they talked to almost 35,000 residents. In Oakland, as in other cities, many workers came from the surrounding counties to do precinct work. They stayed overnight at various locations,

where they ate and held their meetings. On Saturday, November 5th, Sister Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party, who is a candidate for the City Council of Oakland, spoke to our Mexican-American brothers and sisters at one of their meetings. We are reprinting excerpts from her speech:

"This is a good night to be here, because today we were privileged to have Cesar Chavez come into our Central Headquarters in East Oakland, and visit the brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party. Now this evening we have the privilege of coming and visiting our brothers and sisters of the United Farm Workers. There isn't very much we have to say to each other, because the common bonds that we already have, will be shown in the work that we will do together, and in the progress that we will bring about together, as human beings, in determining the destinies of our own lives.

"The disgraceful things that are happening in the state of California, in particular to Black people, Brown people, Red people -- I can mention Richard Oakes, if you know that name--to Yellow people, to poor white people, and to poor people all over this state, and all over this country, cannot be tolerated any longer. So, it is up to us to begin to struggle in every way that we can, in a united way. This is not an uncommon thing, and we must begin to work more with each other, because without each other, there will be no overcoming, there will be no power to the people, there will be no winning our own cause. This is our cause, together. Proposition 22 is a part of our struggle. We can say to each other here, tonight, that we can begin a new phase of working together...We can start by defeating Proposition 22 on Tuesday, and we can continue to gain victory after victory, until a time when we can talk about the real establishment of people's power throughout this country.

"But, as long as this land can yield grapes, lettuce, and as long as it can yield the beautiful and wonderful foods it can yield, then we have the right to grow them, we have a right to eat them, we have a right to benefit from everything that there is in this country. We all have to recognize that there is nothing wrong with taking our rights. We have to continue to organize together and to fight together so that we can have these things, because justice is on our side; we are correct...So between now and Tuesday (November 7th), we're going to all be out in the community, as our Party members already have been, and we're all going to be trying to get as many people down to the polls

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.

We the people, residents of the world community, in the spirit of revolutionary intercommunalism, do hereby redress our grievance and petition the courts of America and the California State Government and Parole Board: That David Hilliard be released from his prison incarceration in the California Penal System to the people of our communities on parole or an appeal bail bond.

Brother David Hilliard, political prisoner and Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, was in fact wrongfully convicted on false charges by a predominately white racist jury, as all members of the Oakland Black community were systematically eliminated from the jury selection process in his trial.

In light of these facts, we the undersigned, therefore petition that David Hilliard be granted his human and constitutional rights, that is, parole from prison or an appeal bail bond by the American courts pending appeal of his case before higher courts, and that his retrial jury be of his peers, a true representation of a cross section of the community.

FREEDOM NEWS INTERVIEWS DAVID HILLIARD

PART II

Q: Have there been any strings on Black people who benefit from these programs? In general, what expectations do the donors and recipients have from the survival program? Where do the funds to operate the programs originate?

DAVID: We take the position that if a man is born he has a right to live. All of our programs is to aid the health and welfare of the people where it has been denied by the government. We take it on ourselves to do the work the government is supposed to do. The programs can only exist because of contributions from the community and

because local businesses contribute food stuffs and make monetary contributions to the people's survival programs.

Q: You have been in State prisons since 1971, a period of time which already exceeds that recommended in the probation report given to the judge before sentencing. How come you are still here?

DAVID: Because the powers that be deem it necessary to prolong the unjust suffering that was imposed on me by the state. But I rest assured that I will return to the community very shortly because the people understand that this is a continuation of a conspiracy, a government conspiracy, to destroy the Black Panther Party by arresting and imprisoning its leadership. I'm still here because the Black Panther Party is the direct antithesis to the present system and as long as we serve the needs of the people, we will be meted out criminal repression because we show the government up for what it really is.

Q: Does the Black Panther Party have any immediate relief programs

to help prisoners other than the free busing to prison program for friends and relatives living in the Oakland area?

DAVID: As I mentioned we're involved in trying to provide legal assistance and our prison commissary aid program which is an extension of our community survival programs. In each edition of our Black Panther Party paper there is a 20 point program for survival which explains our service programs within and without prison.

Q: Many people have said that the most repressive aspects of electing arch-conservatives like Reagan and Nixon to office is that the type of judge that is then appointed is often racist and anti civil-liberties. Would you care to comment on this either from a personal standpoint or in relation to the upcoming elections?

DAVID: What election? Nixon is a cinch! Nixon's Supreme Court appointees are a clear indication of incipient fascistization of the system.

END OF INTERVIEW



	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY/STATE/ZIP	COUNTRY	IF IN THE U.S.A., REG. VOTER?
1					
2					
3					

PLEASE RETURN PETITIONS TO: BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621

ELECTIONS '72-- POWER, POLITICS AND THE POOR



Nixon's re-election means four more years of insanity, slaughter and suffering.

In this year, 1972, the American people had the option either to elect new ideas and representatives or to continue blindly with the same warmongering, racist power bloc. If we think of the American people as all of us, then the manner in which 'we' voted would make it seem that we are digging our own graves. However, not all of us voted. Poor people, oppressed people, Black people, have never voted in great numbers for a president. It is an election which seats a man we have no control over; this election has always voiced the ideas we have not and will not benefit from until the entire government is changed.

We expected, most of us, that Richard Nixon would be re-elected; that we would face four more years of the insanity, slaughter and suffering this man has forced upon the people of this country and the world. With each one of the coming four years it will become clearer and clearer that the only way out of our dismal situation will be to completely remove the power of the president or any small group of rich and power-hungry individuals; power must be replaced in the hands of the people. Therefore, we could not be defeated by the 'victory' of a dying empire. This election will serve as an awakening, a new awareness of the task at hand, which is to achieve our freedom from the corrupt power and uncurtailed violence, in its many forms, which is the cornerstone of development of America.

In preceding issues of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service

we urged people to vote-- for our own survival. In California there were 22 propositions on the November 7th ballot, 6 of them were immediately important to the Black and oppressed. From the results of the elections, we know that Black and poor people voted for our own survival, and only lost on issues where the racist element was stacked against us.

The tallied results in California were as follows:

- Proposition 1 People's Victory*
- Proposition 2 Defeated*
- Proposition 3 People's Victory*
- Proposition 4 People's Victory*
- Proposition 5 People's Victory*
- Proposition 6 People's Victory*
- Proposition 7 People's Victory*
- Proposition 8 People's Victory*
- Proposition 9 People's Victory*
- Proposition 10 People's Victory*
- Proposition 11 People's Victory*
- Proposition 12 People's Victory*
- Proposition 13 People's Victory*
- Proposition 14 People's Victory*
- Proposition 15 Defeated*
- Proposition 16 People's Victory*
- Proposition 17 Defeated*
- Proposition 18 People's Victory*
- Proposition 19 Defeated*
- Proposition 20 People's Victory*
- Proposition 21 Defeated*
- Proposition 22 People's Victory*

The six propositions that we emphasized were propositions 1, 11, 14, 17, 19 and 22. The passage of Proposition 1 means that public community colleges will receive money to buy land, construct new facilities and purchase new equipment. The passage of Proposition 11 means that the government supposedly will not be able to snoop, pry or wiretap the community without authorization. We know that this is already being done, but their 'freedom' to add extra misery to people's lives will be curbed for another 4 years.

The defeat of Proposition 14 would mean that taxes on items such as cigarettes and liquor would not be raised. This proposition called the "Watson Initiative" has been placed on the ballot (in different wording) at least 2 times. Since it has been defeated each time, we believe it should be forgotten.

The passage of Proposition 17 (which was the proposition most directly affecting oppressed people) means that the death penalty would be reinstated. For persons facing "capital crimes", which carry mandatory death sentences, some form of state execution can be carried out or the

person can sit for the rest of his or her life on death row. Supporters of this proposition claim that the Death Penalty is not 'cruel and unusual punishment.'

The defeat of Proposition 19 means that though marijuana has never been determined a dangerous drug, possession or use of it will continue to be a 'crime', punishable for up to 5 years in prison. The defeat of Proposition 22 means that farmworkers will be able to retain their right to strike or boycott against repressive and inhumane growers. This proposition if passed would have directly affected the survival of Mexican-American farmworkers in California.

If we had been able to vote as a strong force possibly the results of the entire 22 propositions would have been defeated or passed to benefit ourselves. We have always had the power to create changes, we must learn to utilize that power.

On this same ballot in California, measure M, which affected the Black community in Berkeley, was defeated. Measure M's passage would have meant that Black people's votes would not count (due to run-off elections). Country wide, a record-breaking number of people turned out to vote this year. As it was expected (despite his desperate efforts), Nixon won a very small percent of the Black vote.

Along with the re-election of Rep. Ron Dellums, of Oakland, California Black people voted and re-elected the entire Congressional Black Caucus (thirteen men and women) and three new congresspeople: Barbara Jordan is the representative from Texas, Yvonne Braithwaite Burke is a representative from California and Andy Young is the representative from Georgia. In Milwaukee, Lloyd Barbee, progressive Wisconsin Assemblyman was endorsed by the Milwaukee community for another term of office.

All of this means that potential lies in our ability to utilize our voting to serve our own needs rather than those of the people already in power. We do not believe that electoral politics is 'the way' for Black and poor people, but if at any time we can slow down or bring to a halt some aspect of the vast forms of oppression we face, we should do that... whether it be voting out repressive candidates or voting in progressive candidates, people's candidates, like Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

The Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute is a school designed to help our children think. It is located in the Oakland Bay Area and it points out through example that other schools have provided only the most basic courses. Courses that have little relevance to the survival of poor people. We are trying to expand the concept that the whole world is the children's classroom.

The youth at Samuel Napier receive instruction in language arts, mathematics, science, health, physical education, political education and People's art. All of these courses are geared to the development of a well-rounded human being.

We need the help of all interested people in making our school run smoothly. Since its inception in 1970, its enrollment has rapidly increased. We need more instructors. Instructors with everchanging ideas to cope with the everchanging ideas of the children.

If you have teaching skills and can donate some of your time, please contact the Black Panther Party at 8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California; or phone 562-2086. The children, our youth, are our future. Without their growth we, as a people, can not survive.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"YOU CAN'T BE BLACK AND NAVY, TOO"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

men to return to the Constellation. Knowing what Ward's practice had been in the past, the men refused to board the ship. The grievances which the sailors demanded action on were: (1) Unfair discharges. In the previous two weeks 19 Black sailors were given general discharges. A general discharge is less desirable than an honorable discharge and usually hinders one from getting a job after leaving the service. (2) Discrimination in job classifications. Black sailors are usually assigned to the worst types of jobs. (3) Racist methods of issuing discipline. Black seamen are always the first charged and court martialed while white seamen receive milder forms of discipline--if any at all.

Since Captain Ward refused to discuss their grievances, the 130 sailors sat down on the pier and remained there throughout the day. While the

brothers sat on the pier, U.S. Marines, armed with riot equipment, patrolled the area. Later Captain Ward returned and demanded that all of the community people who had gathered near the pier to support the sailors, leave the area. He told the brothers to go into a nearby barracks and he would sit down and discuss their grievances. Once inside the barracks, Ward did not hesitate to tell the brothers that he was going to divide and conquer them. He said he would either separate them into three groups or one by one. Shortly after this meeting the brothers were in fact separated into three groups and transferred to so-called shore duty at North Island, Imperial Beach and Miramar Air Bases. At each of these installations the brothers will face charges for refusing to board the Constellation.

While subjecting our Brothers who are in the Navy to inhuman treatment, the Naval hierarchy is still clinging to the facade of "improved race rela-

tions." Secretary of the Navy, John Warner, now says he will tell his admirals to carry out equal opportunity orders "at every level." Admiral Zumwalt has decided that his racial harmony programs don't penetrate deep enough. In a meeting which the government press describes as "emotional", Zumwalt was tearfully told by his minorities panel that the recruiting slogan, "You Can Be Black and Navy Too" is false advertising. Later, Zumwalt lectured the Navy's senior commanders and ordered them to "check" racism in the ranks.

We are not deceived by liberal statements from Navy or government officials. These statements remind us of politicians' empty promises which Black people have heard for too many years. Racism cannot be eradicated by issuing a directive; it is woven into the fabric of American society and to change it we must make fundamental changes in this society. We must organize and mobilize to work in defense of our brothers in the Navy and the other branches of the military. The events aboard the Hassayampa, the Kitty Hawk, and the Constellation must serve to create a new level of unity in the struggle to transform society and establish conditions under which we can effectively put an end to racism.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES

NATIVE AMERICANS SEIZE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BUILDING IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The building of the BIA remained under the control of the Indian people from that time until the evening of November 8th. The courts issued an order of eviction on Monday, November 6th; however, later in the day they granted a delay until 9:00 p.m. Wednesday, a day after the elections. The leaders of the Trail of Broken Treaties felt that police would have forcibly removed them from the building earlier had it not been so close to election day (Nov. 7th). They believe that Nixon's friends felt that the act would affect the people's votes at the polls.

Before the Indians left the BIA building they had taken over 2,000 pounds of records and files. The documents consisted of real estate records, FBI investigative reports, personnel files and other evidence, which severely expose senators, congressmen, BIA officials and corporate interests. The Indian leaders have said that the contents of the documents and files are proof of the "scandalous and criminal deeds performed against the Indian people." These documents demonstrate how the U.S. government and private enterprise have deprived Indians of mineral, water and property rights promised to them through treaties, broken by the U.S. government, over the years. The Indians have said that they plan to return the records after sufficient copies have been made.

The Indian people expressed their dissatisfaction and anger over the insensitivity and neglect of the government's destruction of their land and lives, by destroying the interior of the BIA building before leaving. One of the leaders said, "For all practical purposes we have destroyed the Bureau of Indian Affairs." The Indians also reclaimed the Native American

artifacts there that were rightfully their own.

Two principle accomplishments of the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan's stay in Washington was the uncovering and seizure of the scandalous and incriminating documents. These can be used to insure that Indian people control a new Indian Affairs agency. Also, the creation of a federal interagency task force to review Indian people's needs as 'promised'. Primarily, however, as Vernon Bellecourt, one of the leaders of the American Indian Movement expressed, ---"was to have brought to the world the conditions of our people, Indian people are now standing straight and tall. This is our country; this is our land. We have the right to live and thrive."

Above the auditorium of the BIA building these written words were left, "Gentlemen, we do not apologize for the ruin or so-called destruction of this mausoleum. For in building anew, one must first destroy the old. This is the beginning of a new era for the North American Native People. When history recalls our efforts here, our descendants will stand with pride knowing their people were the only ones responsible for the stand taken against tyranny, injustice, and the gross inef-

ficiency of this branch of a corrupt and decadent government."

The Indian people who seized the Bureau of Indian Affairs building must still believe and appear to be demonstrating what an Indian Chief of the Nez Perce tribe named Heinnot Tvoyalaket (Chief Joseph) said in the late 1800's, "The earth was created by the assistance of the sun, and it should be left as it was...The country was made without lines of demarcations, and it's no man's business to divide it...I see the whites all over the country gaining wealth, and see their desire to give us lands which are worthless... The earth and myself are of one mind. The measure of the land and the measure of our bodies are the same... Do not misunderstand me, but understand me fully with reference to my affection for the land. I never said the land was mine to do with it as I choose. The one who has the right to dispose of it is the one who has created it. I claim a right to live on my land, and accord you the privilege to live on yours." This land belongs to the Native Americans, the North American Indians. It was built to its present strength by Black and poor people. Where is the land of the oppressor?

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

WEST OAKLAND PLANNING COMMITTEE WILL GIVE YOU \$10 TO ATTEND COMMUNITY STUDY MEETINGS

The West Oakland Planning Committee (W.O.P.C.) has started Community Development Agency funded community study meetings. Any West Oakland Model Cities resident will be able to receive \$10 for attending a meeting, although each person will be paid for attendance at only 2 meetings (or \$20) a month. As the meetings are scheduled in the future, we will print them in our paper. The next two meetings will be held on Wednesday night, November 15, 1972, and Saturday morning, November 18th.

The Black Panther Party believes

NEXT MEETINGS: WEDNESDAY NIGHT, NOVEMBER 15TH & SATURDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 18TH.

that because W.O.P.C. is a community based program, that every West Oakland resident should receive the benefits of the community study meetings. However, at this time, the exact locations of these two meetings are not known...at least not by the West Oakland Black community. We are hoping that the West Oakland Planning Committee will make these locations known as soon as possible, in order to guarantee maximum community attendance at the study meetings.

For further information contact: 532-6566.

"WE'RE TALKING ABOUT WINNING IN OAKLAND"

CONCLUSION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

just from the Black Panther Party, as compared to the millions of Black people that have died over the 400 years.

The Black Panther Party was initiated in the city of Oakland, as you can probably remember, in 1966, when Bobby and Huey were walking through the streets in armed patrol of the police. And since that time, a lot of things have changed; conditions have changed, and we're talking about fighting in every way possible, and getting everyone involved in that fight. Because, obviously Bobby and Huey, and the Black Panther Party, and the few of us who may have some awareness of the situation are not going to really bring about the transformation - change - the power, the implementation of power to the hands of the people.

We're talking about a large move to implement people's power, have liberated territory in the city of Oakland, then maybe the State of California, and on and on. And we intend to implement it, and we can do it, and the only way we can do it is together. You saw what happened when Chief Gain heard about this whole issue. I think he applied for a job somewhere outside of Ottawa, Canada, and then didn't even get the job. The guy who was the city manager suddenly quit his job. He was running the city. He left his job. They are leaving for the big storm in April. These people are not going to sit down very lightly on this election, so those of you who plan on supporting Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, I hope you know that this is not going to be an easy struggle, just to get the votes to the polls. They're going to argue about votes, computers are going to break down. And what is going to happen if Bobby Seale becomes the mayor? Is Chief Gain, or whoever it is, really going to be submissive to the understanding and to the things Bobby Seale, the mayor of Oakland, has to say to him about how he runs the police department? I mean, he does have the guns. And we're talking about implementing people's power.

I want to go back to one point, and that is talking about the revolutionary struggles around the world. When you think about the Chinese--you know when Mao was just beginning, I believe it was Stalin or someone like that, although we're not opposed to Stalin--I believe Stalin told Mao how to fight. Mao said, "You can't tell me anything about



"These people are not going to sit down very lightly on this election, so . . . this is not going to be an easy struggle."

a proletarian struggle, I'm telling you we've got peasants here. Ninety percent of the people here are growing rice. How are you going to tell me, 'Lift up the workers?' We don't have workers; we don't have industry. How are you going to tell me how to fight in China by what you did in Russia? So, we talk about Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-Tung thought, because 800 million people do live on liberated territory right now. It's still liberated right now, they still have basic control over it. If the United States doesn't cause trouble they'll maintain that control. So, how is anyone going to tell Black people, Chicanos, and Asians, poor people in this country, how to obtain power in a country where everybody has a TV. Mao didn't have to deal with that, did he? Fidel Castro didn't have to deal with that, did he? Where everybody is watching thousands and thousands of hours of propaganda,

they are bombarded everyday, and you put out a leaflet thinking that's going to do something? Ten thousand leaflets in China meant something. Ten thousand leaflets here means nothing. They're looking at TV everyday, the news is a show. The news is selected, turned around, fixed up; only certain things get on the news. This is all the information that we have. And that's what the whole struggle's about: who knows what, therefore who can get what? And they don't want us to have any information. Fidel Castro, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh--nobody has had to deal with the ridiculousness of the situation in this country. We are living in the center of the true empire of the world. The Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire--they were not empires. This is an empire. And we have a big task before us, because the world is relying upon us. We have a crucial job in this country. We have a crucial job, and time, in the short run, is against us. In the long run, I believe we're going to win. History is on our side. But in the short run, it's going to be very ugly.

So we're at a point where the government is a bit confused, they don't know what to do with people not running around any more, shooting at police. Yet, they know somebody's doing something to them. They know something's happening here, but they can't deal with it, they can't shoot back at it, they can't put their finger on it. While we have this lull, while we have this time--we can seize the time. And that doesn't mean we're going to, tomorrow, have everything that we want. It's going to be a long and a very hard struggle. But we can win. Let's start here in the city of Oakland, implementing people's power--and we can have people's power in the United States and people's power all over the world.

I appreciate coming here and talking to everyone. We have an office (Campaign Headquarters) at 8501 East 14th Street, in Oakland, and anyone who wants to contribute any amount of time to the campaign, please come by or call 532-6566--There's something that you can do to help ELECT BOBBY SEALE AS MAYOR OF OAKLAND AND ELAINE BROWN TO THE OAKLAND CITY COUNCIL.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

SUBSCRIBE TO SURVIVE

In order to enable members of the Black community to read our newspaper regularly and support the people's survival programs, in October the Black Panther Party will begin a door-to-door subscription drive for the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service in the Oakland area. Our newspaper will keep you informed of events that happen throughout the Black community and the world.

By subscribing to the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, you will be helping the Free Food Program, Free Health Clinic, Free Shoe Program, Free Breakfast Program, and other survival programs implemented by the Black Panther Party to serve the Black community.

To subscribe for three (3) months is \$2.50; \$5.00 for six (6) months; \$8.75 for 1 year; and \$100.00 for a lifetime subscription.

When a Black Panther Party member comes to your door, he or she will present an identification card and ask you to fill out a subscription blank. If you are not able to pay immediately, payment can be made later.

Every subscriber will receive a free bumper sticker and a campaign poster of Bobby Seale (who is running for Mayor of Oakland and Elaine Brown (who is running for Oakland City Councilwoman).

To be informed and to participate in the survival of our people, buy the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service. Read about your community and the world.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

TO SUBSCRIBE MEANS THAT EVERY WEEK YOU CAN READ THE NEWS ABOUT THE SURVIVAL PROGRAMS FOR THE PEOPLE AND BECOME A PARTICIPANT IN WORKING OUT THE BEST MEANS AND WAYS OF SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF OUR PEOPLE, OF BLACK PEOPLE AND POOR PEOPLE.

ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION FOR (CHECK BOX)

Domestic Subscriptions

Foreign Subscriptions

3 MONTHS (13 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$2.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$9.00
6 MONTHS (26 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5.00	<input type="checkbox"/> \$12.00
ONE YEAR (52 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$8.75	<input type="checkbox"/> \$15.00

(PLEASE PRINT)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE/ZIP # _____ COUNTRY _____

NEW SUBSCRIPTION
RENEWAL

PLEASE MAIL CHECK OR
MONEY ORDER TO :



MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY
8501 East 14th Street Oakland, California 94621

QUALITY EDUCATION, NOT "INTEGRATION"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

On Veteran's Day, the residents of the Tilden House Black community were phoned and told that their children were to report to P.S. 68, instead of P.S. 211 (Scribner had reversed his decision at the request of the white racist parents). The Black parents vowed that they were not going to be pushed around any longer. They decided to enroll their children in P.S. 211. The Black parents and children appeared at P.S. 211 every morning to enter the school; but they were met with police barricades and racist shouts from the white parents of Canarsie. The Black parents went to the state Board of Education and demanded a representative to come to P.S. 211 to witness the illegal acts as they were carried out (they went also to see the Mayor, in an effort to enter their children into school). Finally, an order came down from the state, due to pressure from the Black community, reversing Scribner's decision. The 31 children were sent to P.S. 211. Friday, October 27, 1972, was the children's first day

in school since June. Although the Black children are attending classes at P.S. 211, they enter and leave the school under the protection of their parents and the scrutiny of the police. (The children arrive at the school on a bus which is backed up to the door to allow the children out to enter school; the same procedure is repeated when they are picked up). On Monday, October 30th, the white Canarsie residents, along with racist City Councilman Monroe Cohen, managed to get a court order issued to Scribner that stated he delay the entrance of the Black children pending a hearing in the Supreme Court. Scribner had no authority to adhere to this order, so the children were not kept from attending school. The white community of Canarsie is now staging a boycott of all schools in District 18. Although these racists are going to the extreme by keeping their own children home from school, they claim it is not a "racial issue", they say the issue is that the schools are being "overcrowded". The white parents are being backed by white

civic groups, "religious" leaders and racist politicians in New York.

Reverend Miller, head spokesman for the Black Tilden House residents said, "It is not a thing of integration, integration is a hoax; it is a matter of principle, we are tired of being pushed around. If we lose this fight we will be thrown back into the 50's or 60's. This struggle in Canarsie will affect every Black child in this country."

The white community of Canarsie, which would deny Black children the right to a decent education, has been blinded by its racism; and cannot see how it is being used. The Black community, however, does not suffer from such a handicap. We will do all that is necessary to insure a decent education for our children, regardless of the obstacles that racism places in our way.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BOOK PARTY

THE BLACK STUDENT UNION OF
MILLS COLLEGE INVITES YOU TO
MEET

HUEY P. NEWTON
author of

To Die for the People

SUNDAY,
NOVEMBER 19, 1972
4PM to 9PM

THE RAINBOW SIGN
2640 GROVE STREET
BERKELEY

BISHOP NORMAN
WILL BE PLAYING
WILLIAMS QUINTET

Donation \$5.00
Proceeds to benefit study in
Africa for Mills Students



FARMWORKERS PLANT THE SEEDS OF FREEDOM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

as possible to defeat Proposition 22, so that we can make one step further to total victory."

Because of the large number of workers that came to Oakland, there was a shortage of sleeping quarters, and most of the workers slept in the church where they met and ate together. Seeing the need for a better place to stay, Sister Elaine, who is a student at Mills College in Oakland, tried to get the college to accommodate the workers in an empty dormitory or the gymnasium. The white administration refused. However, the farmworkers were able to be housed as guests of many of the students on campus the night before and the night of the election. At their meeting that night Sister Ericka Huggins spoke to the group of dedicated workers. We are printing excerpts of her

talk:

"...The work that we tried to do through our newspaper, the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, was geared to have everybody vote NO on Proposition 22. We've worked very hard to do that, along with five other propositions we felt were very important, one of them is the death penalty initiative, Proposition 17. Both Propositions, 17 and 22 could kill us; that's the way we looked at it.

"I think that having everybody here, at a time like this, is very, very beautiful. It says a lot about the progress that oppressed people can continue to make. There was once a time when we couldn't come together and do anything constructive as this. I'm sure that now, our people feel that we are moving in the correct

direction; that soon power will be placed in the hands of the people.

"We know that it will take a very long time for people to be able to feel the benefits of the hard work that we're doing now. But our children will benefit from it, and their children. That's what we hope for because our children, all of the children are our future. We will win because we struggle out of love, not from hate."

Now that Proposition 22 was defeated, the UFWOC will continue with the lettuce boycott and will continue to fight for the rights of the farmworkers. The racist growers, after the election, predicted that there would be "bloody" labor warfare because Proposition 22 failed. They stated that they would also sponsor another repressive farm labor proposition in June of 1974. It is certain that the growers will not stop trying to further enslave the Mexican-American farmworkers. However, it is certain that the farmworkers will fight back. The failure of Proposition 22 clearly shows that we, farmworkers and all of us, have planted the seeds that can begin to yield the most beautiful harvest of all--freedom and liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

AN IMPORTANT AND COMPELLING CRITIQUE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY BY ITS CHIEF THEORETICIAN

With an honesty as rare as it is persuasive, Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, records the internal struggles, rivalries, and contradictions within the Party—certain that only by recognizing these contradictions and building from them can the Party "clarify and advance the struggle"

TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

The Writings of
Huey P. Newton

Clothbound \$7.95; Vintage paperbound \$1.95.
Now at your bookstore RANDOM HOUSE



BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and 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 AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

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 were 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 American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the 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 you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people

WHAT WE BELIEVE

inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces, and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

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.

