

THE BLACK PANTHER

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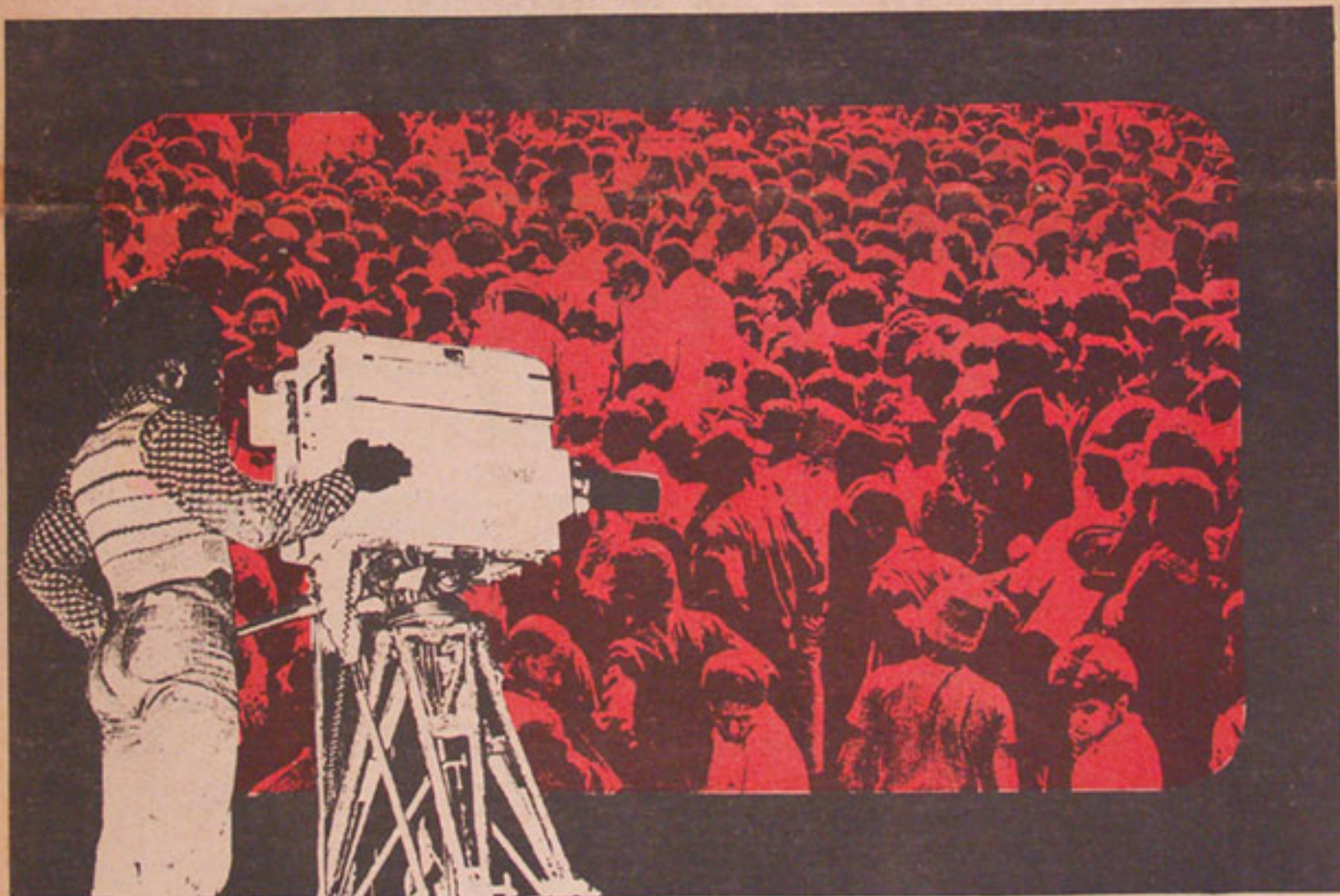
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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CABLE TELEVISION

A SIGNAL FOR CHANGE



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

SURVIVAL TICKET
VOTE FOR
SURVIVAL

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND
ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN



CABLE TELEVISION

A SIGNAL FOR CHANGE

In America, television and radio have always been used to miseducate the people. Not a day goes by when we do not find ourselves humming the tune from a commercial or repeating the lines from a familiar television show. The TV screen, backed by the radio and the larger newspapers, have made a country of followers of the American people.

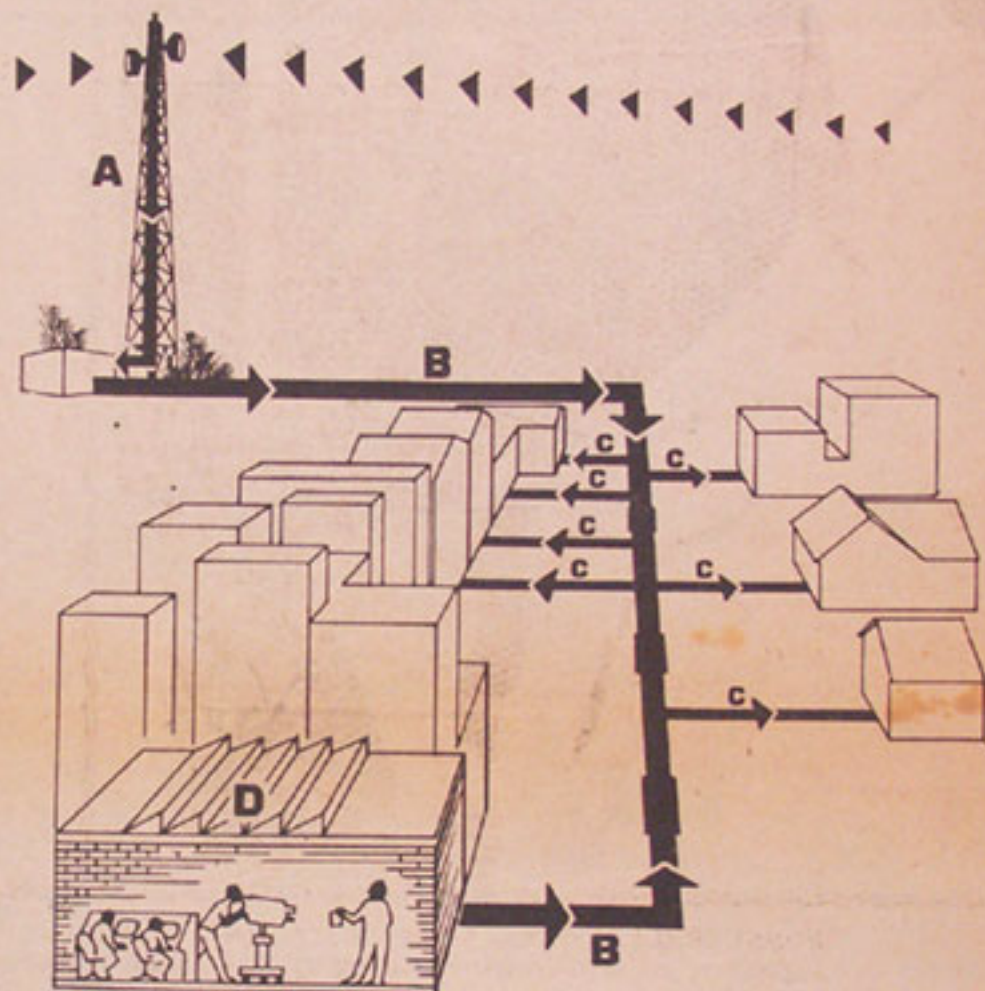
If we controlled the media (even if it were only one station that we controlled), we would be able to counteract the backwards and often racist ideas passed onto us in commercials, love scenes and the evening news. We need people's media.

Recently, with the development of cable TV, the Black community has been implored, almost begged, to respond to this new means of communications. Cable TV works in a manner similar to closed circuit TV, one difference being that people can buy into it. In a very real way, we can begin to subscribe (through cable TV) in raising the consciousness in our communities.

A Third World coalition will, with the backing of larger cable TV companies, be able to bring cable TV into the poor communities. The companies are American Television and Communications of Denver, Colorado and Cox Cable Communications, Inc. of Atlanta, Georgia. They intend to merge and become the second largest company in the country. They hope to lease at \$1.00 a year up to 3 cable TV channels to "minority" organizations and provide free of cost the video equipment (a process of tele-viewing which can be privately produced and filmed by anyone who has the equipment) to operate the channels.

Two of the bargaining representatives (organizations which negotiated with the cable companies) are the Black Panther Party and La Raza Unida (a Mexican-American community organization). The coalition consists of eight statewide organizations and eight local ones. Our belief is that with this form of communication we can inform the people of developments within our communities; ways we can improve our conditions and work to alleviate the detrimental ones.

In a recent press statement, Brother Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther



In a cable TV system, as outlined in the diagram, signals are received from regular TV stations (A), and sent into the homes by cables attached to utility poles or underground (B¹ and C). In addition, programs from a local station (D) are cabled directly into the homes (B² and C).

Party spoke about Third World involvement in Cable TV:

"We're interested in Cable TV and the media in general. This particular agreement has to do with Cable TV, which is a growing industry that will probably put the large companies in the media establishment out of business. However, it won't be able to grow unless they give something to the community... so, this is only a start. We won't stop the pressure on the big establishment companies at this time. We still demand equal employment; we want the companies to go by what's already the law, which they haven't done since the foundation of this country.

"We see this as a growing industry and we want to get in, in time, to get what we can for the community. As far as we're concerned, even this agree-

ment is not enough, but they're not prepared to give us what we should have, and we're not strong enough yet to take it. So, we come to a compromise at this time to get what we can; we've gotten some very important things for the people."

Possibly the government would like to thwart our efforts in this. We are not expecting them to take lightly the control of any of the institutions that for so long they have had complete monopoly over. This would mean that we will be able to think for ourselves. Education and communication such as this would be another logical way of organizing our communities for the work we must all do to obtain freedom.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



WE MUST ORGANIZE AND UNIFY THE PEOPLE

BOBBY SEALE SPEAKS
AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

BOBBY SEALE, candidate for Mayor of Oakland: "The plan now is to move on Oakland as an example of the revolutionary camp taking over a whole city government, channeling as much of the city budget as possible back into the community."

This speech, recorded in November at Columbia University, in New York, was given by the next Mayor of Oakland, Bobby Seale:

What I'm going to speak about is the new trend in the revolutionary struggle in America, and the organizing tactics that have to be used by the Movement as a whole.

We have to find out how we're going to organize and unify the people in a more concrete manner. It's absurd to say we have unity when, in fact, we have no real organization that is affecting the power structure, the exploitation and racism that exists in this country. How to organize is one thing, but what to organize the people around is another.

Many people probably have a lot of questions about the Black Panther Party's current thrust. They tend to become confused, due to the lies they read in the press. Some people may think the Party is evolutionary not revolutionary. What we are really involved in is a scientific revolutionary

struggle. The Black Panther Party has been organized for six years. We started with a Ten-Point Platform and Program. Some people still have misconceptions about the Party and how our Ten-Point Platform and Program outlines the basic desires and needs of Black people. From that general outline, those basic ten points, we moved to try to implement survival programs. In our attempts to do this over the years a lot of things have happened. The police tried to murder Huey P. Newton in October of 1967. They attempted later to murder Ericka Huggins and I in 1970. In fact, from 1968 to 1970, they did murder a number of brothers in the Party. We then had to go through a long phase of trying to free political prisoners; trying to rally and mobilize the people around the issue of political prisoners. We were, at the same time trying to educate the masses of the people on a large scale to directly oppose the oppression that exists in America and in communities all over the world.

There are other distortions, of course, like the rumors about the "East

Coast" and "West Coast" factions of the Black Panther Party, the so-called split. In fact, the press played up the word s-p-l-i-t when a handful of people left the Party; one of them happened to be Eldridge Cleaver, who, without the goal of scientific revolutionary struggle in mind, took the position that immediate armed struggle was necessary. He announced in the establishment newspapers that "guerrilla warfare" was the thing. He had ideas similar to those of an organization I once belonged to called RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement), some years before the Black Panther Party was formed. I had to get out of RAM because they considered themselves to be "underground". The people didn't know who they were; they were isolated.

Shortly after that I met Brother Huey P. Newton, and we began to make correct analyses of many revolutionary struggles in the world. We found out that in the revolutionary struggles in China, Cuba and many other places

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WHITE APARTHEID ON BLACK SOIL

SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM GOES ON

This week, the Black Panther Inter-communal News Service looks at the country of Azania, more notoriously known as the Union of South Africa. Condemned by progressive people throughout the world for the cruel and unjust system of apartheid (rigid racial segregation), the racist regime of South Africa has become an "example". It has become a society where twisted ideas of white race superiority form the framework for all social contact. Suffering the effects of this cruel and backwards system are the "Natives" and the "Colored", Black and non-white African people whose demands for human justice and dignity have been callously ignored and denied. The history of their struggle, similar in many ways to the struggle of Black people in the U.S., can provide us with a lesson in human survival and a clue for our own future.

There are close to 20 million Black and non-white people in the Union of South Africa. There are less than 4 million whites. Yet, under the Land Act of 1913, 87% of the land was distributed to the white settlers and only 13% of the remaining wasteland was for the use of Africans. The Group Areas Act assigns land to specific races. Only members of that race can live, own property or operate a business on that land. These are just two features of the all-encompassing system of apartheid. In South Africa, the controllers of the wealth are the white minority.

Beginning at the time the first white Dutch settlers invaded South Africa in 1652 (to establish a half-way house and resting place for profiteering Dutch traders going to East India and China), racial, economic and political barriers have been erected between the native Africans and the settlers. When it seemed, in the late 1700's, that the Africans were finally succeeding in ridding themselves of the Afrikaners (as the Dutch, French and German settlers called themselves), British troops were sent to aid the whites. Despite the weakness of limited arms and divided numbers, resistance lasted until 1906, when they were finally overwhelmed by the falling British Empire.

Less than 4 years later, the British government granted "independence" to the white minority and the Union of South Africa was established. Black Africans and non-whites were systematically excluded from the new order.

Following "independence", protests and indignation within the African communities mounted. In January 1912, the African National Congress (ANC) was formed. It was the result of a unity conference held in the town of Bloemfontein. The ANC was composed of many diverse tribal groups, uniting together under their common oppression. Through the use of persuasion and non-violent demonstrations, the ANC sought to secure rights for Black Africans.

From its illegitimate and unjust birth, the government of South Africa slowly began to squeeze the Africans into abject poverty and complete servitude.

The Land Act of 1913 pushed the people off their land; working restrictions and the brutal suppression and murder of striking African workers in the '20's and '30's and the removal of African men from the voting rolls in 1935, completed the process of Black people's removal from their own land. In 1946, the South African Indian Congress together with the African Mine Workers Union struck against the racist practices and general unsafe conditions in the white-owned South African mines. Over 100,000 miners throughout South Africa refused to go to work. The importance of mining to the South African economy (in South Africa, mining is second to manufacturing as a source of income), was never so clearly demonstrated as in the severity of the police and army repression which followed. The striking miners were crushed under a wave of savage brutality, beatings and arrests.

The South African election of 1948 marked a new and distinct stage in the history of human relations. Campaigning under a "white South Africa" platform, Dr. Daniel F. Malan, leader of the Neo-Nazi National Party coined a new word for the future South African society -- apartheid. For Malan and the National Party only apartheid could answer the fundamental question facing white Afrikaners:

"Will the European race in the future be able to maintain its rule, its purity and its civilization, or will it float along until it vanishes forever, without honor, in the black sea of South Africa?"

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Black South African protest has moved from non-violent demonstrations to open armed struggle.



The Pan-Africanist Congress adopted the slogan, S.S.S.-- Service, Suffering, Sacrifice.

Africa's non-European population."

With a "white South Africa" platform and apartheid as their slogan, the National Party swept the 1948 elections. (The "honor" and "purity" of the white Afrikaaner can be measured by the fact that from the rise of the National Party in 1948 to 1969, South Africa has carried out 47% of all recorded state executions in nonsocialist countries).

The National Party began to fulfill their decadent promises to the white population as soon as Malan took office. In quick succession, the Group Areas Act, covering land usage, the Immorality Amendment Act, covering sexual conduct, and the fiercely hated Population Registration Act, calling for the issuance of Identification (I.D.) cards, were all passed in 1950. In 1953, the Natives Act (Abolition of Passes and Coordinating of Documents) was passed by the National Party dominated legislature. Far from abolishing the passes, it decreed that they be put into a single I.D. book which includes a photograph, personal history and fingerprints. These books are still carried at all times and failure to do so results in detention and imprisonment. It is noteworthy that the U.S. based company, Polaroid, is the producer of the degrading I.D. cards.

The African's people's response to

these overt racist indignities, was swift: In 1950, a Programme of Action was adopted. This program included mass civil disobedience, strikes, boycotts and the general policy of non-cooperation. In December 1951, the mass campaign of Defiance of Apartheid Laws was initiated. By June 1952, the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign was begun; in 1954, the campaign against the newly legislated Bantu Education System grew and strengthened (The Bantu Educational System was described by one Black South African leader as designed to make the Black community, "hewers of wood and drawers of water for whites").



In 1950 a Programme of Action was adopted. This program included mass civil disobedience, strikes, boycotts and the general policy of non-cooperation.

In 1955, the historic Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter. Thousands of Africans travelled from all points of the country, many in strict secrecy, to participate in the Congress. The Freedom Charter that was adopted upheld the basic human rights of all oppressed humankind; it outlined what can be called an African People's Platform for Survival.

In the late 1950's, a split developed within the ANC. A new group, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) emerged (in April, 1959) with a platform which demanded "the overthrow of white domination and the maintenance of the right of self-determination for the African people". Led by Robert Sobukwe, the PAC criticized the seemingly stagnant methods of the ANC and immediately began preparations for an Anti-Pass Campaign for early in 1960. They took as their slogan, S.S.S. -- Service, Suffering, Sacrifice.

On March 21, 1960, the Pan-Africanist Congress' Anti-Pass Campaign began peacefully in most cities. Arrests were made of Black participants in Johannesburg. However, in the Langa, Phillippi

and Wynberg "Native" locations, thousands of Black African people lined up in front of police stations, and no arrests were made. At Sharpeville, a crowd of Black Africans estimated at close to 20,000 strong gathered. The police, in a crazed state, ordered 100-150 men to encircle the unarmed group. They opened fire; 66 Black people were ruthlessly murdered and 168 were wounded at the Massacre at Sharpeville. The slaughter heralded in a new era for the Black African population. Both the PAC and the ANC were immediately outlawed, and the murdering police were absolved of all guilt. Shortly

thereafter the PAC organized its military arm, POQO, (Ourselves Alone) underground. Umkhonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) became the military wing of ANC; it was also underground.

On December 16, 1961, home-made bombs shattered a series of government installations in Johannesburg. The armed struggle for freedom had begun.

Now, close to 11 years later, the fighting continues. At the time of the Sharpeville Massacre, the racist South African regime spent only \$20 million dollars on defense. In 1971, that figure had risen to over \$200 million. Despite their sugar-coated words "deploring" apartheid, the U.S. has increased its direct investments, blood-money for the maintenance of white race superiority, to over 1 billion dollars. In these years, the Black African population has endured costly set-backs, infiltration and sabotage; the Black South African people have endured much suffering. But with struggle, many victories have been achieved; a broader base has been built among the people. Conscious of their history, continued struggle can only produce a final people's triumph. As one freedom fighter described his people, "Independent, in all things, but neutral in none that affects the destiny of Africa." South Africa, renamed by the people, Azania, will be free.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE BLACK PANTHER

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APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES
PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

CHICAGO MODEL CITIES ELECTION - DEC. 19TH

PEOPLE'S CANDIDATES CAMPAIGN FOR PUBLIC OFFICES



JOE WATERS *Lawndale Area*



MORRIS BROWN *Grand Blvd. Area*



ANN JUSTINE *Grand Blvd. Area*



YVONNE KING *Lawndale Area*



GREGORY GARRETT *Grand Blvd. Area*



LONNIE HALL *Grand Blvd. Area*



RONALD SACHEL *Lawndale Area*

Elections will be held in the city of Chicago, Illinois on December 19, 1972. People living in the Lawndale area, the Grand Boulevard area and the Montrose area will be eligible to vote in this election.

Model Cities, a federally-funded poverty program which received \$38 million every year from HUD (Housing and Urban Development) spends \$12 million yearly to fund community service programs in the Black and poor communities.

Each of the Model Cities Community Council's 40-member boards makes recommendations and approves or rejects programs submitted to Model Cities for funding. The mayor, R.J. Daley, unfortunately has the last say determining which programs the Chicago Model Cities \$12 million budget will fund. However, following the pattern set in Berkeley and Oakland (California), the Black Panther Party is running candidates - and is supporting progressive members of the community for positions on the Model Cities Community Board in Chicago. On each 40-member board, the peo-

ple select 20 new members and the mayor appoints 20.

Candidates running for the Model Cities Board in the Lawndale area are: Joe Waters, Anthony Walker, Sam Gambrell and Shirley Gambrell, candidates from the Black Panther Party are: Ernestine Crossley, Ronald Satchel, Yvonne King and Ralph Bostick.

Candidates running in the Grand Boulevard area are: Anne Justine and Cheryl Peterson; candidates from the Black Panther Party are: William Campbell, Lynn French, Pamela Jones, Morris Brown, Beverlina Powell, Lonnie Hall and Gregory Garrett.

Candidates in the predominately white Montrose area are: Peggy Terry, Walter Coleman and Jack Hart of the Intercommunal Survival Committee.

A vote for each of these candidates will help to bring about needed changes in three of the underserved areas of Chicago. Vote for Survival -- December 19th.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



LYNN FRENCH *Grand Blvd. Area*

"WE CANNOT GO BACK TO DOING BUSINESS AS USUAL"



Sister ELAINE BROWN, who addressed the National Council of Negro Women conference, described the resolutions the women adopted as a "tremendous development".

In order to achieve human rights and win total liberation, unity among Black people is a necessity. The oppressor has always realized this fact and has used many tactics to divide and control us. When we were brought to this country as slaves, families were separated in the cruelest manner known to humankind. The enslaved tribes were divided so that we could not communicate with each other. The oppressive slaveholder caused disunity among slaves by separating the house servants from the field workers. The oppressor now uses the same principle of "divide and conquer" in an effort to suppress our present struggle toward freedom.

One segment of the Black community the oppressor has tried to separate from the majority of Black people is the "Black middle class", those Black people who have achieved a financial status slightly above the level of poverty. Many members of this segment of our people seem to be satisfied with the oppressive conditions as long as those conditions don't affect them directly. This group of Black people have been the object of a propaganda campaign by the power structure which tries to make Black people think "you can make it if you try".

Due to the rise in the political and social awareness of Black people in the past few years, all segments of the Black community are uniting in order to change our collective oppressive conditions. Organizations that were at one time relatively inactive politically are now becoming involved in the struggle of Black people to determine our own destinies.

This increase in unity was exemplified at a conference held by the Northern California Chapter of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) held November 25 - 26 in Berkeley, California. Women from various segments of the Black community, of all ages, attended the conference. They decided to work harder in an effort to achieve more political control for Black people, to improve the conditions in our communities. NCNW is an organization of Black women with chapters all across the country. The organization has been active in the area of civil rights, particularly during the height of the struggle against discrimination in the 1960's. From the results of this conference, NCNW will begin to become involved in broader areas of our common struggle for freedom. The resolutions, declarations and plans of action decided upon clearly showed that this or-

ganization of women will be moving to become a positive force in the Black community.

At the conference, work sessions on the problem of hunger and drug victimization, housing, prisons, welfare and child care were held. The resolutions that resulted from these four sessions are a clear indication of the current direction of the women's organization away from minor reforms, toward progressive change.

In the session on drug victimization some of the suggestions made on how to curb the use of deadly drugs in the community were: to educate parents and youth about addictive drugs; to help establish more community action against drugs in the community; to work with and organize programs in which the youth will have the opportunity to lead in the fight against drug victimization. It was stressed that the community drug problem should not be looked upon in abstraction from the social problems which cause victimization.

In the session on housing, it was resolved that government officials eliminate the problems that Black people face when trying to obtain funds for new homes and home improvements. It was decided that a housing committee be formed to make sure that housing code laws are enforced; to fight the government trend of building new low-income housing in the "pockets of the cities, promoting further ghettos and slums", ghettos by design.

One of the most outstanding decisions that resulted from the conference was the planned action that NCNW resolved to take to improve conditions inside prisons and to aid Black prisoners in their fight for justice. It was stated at the beginning of the session on the changes that should be made in prison, that, as Malcolm X once said, "If you're Black, we're all in prison." The Council resolved to: hire a lobbyist to work for progressive legislation on prison reform in the California State Senate and State Assembly; to organize a fact-finding committee to investigate prison conditions; to provide legal counsel for Black prisoners going before the parole board; to form a prison reform unit in each chapter of NCNW, immediately, to work for change in the jails and prisons on a local level. The Coun-

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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 grievances 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 a member 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.

DAVID HILLIARD THROWN IN THE "HOLE"

The deplorable conditions inside America's many prisons and jails are well known to all of us. Prisoners who attempt to maintain their self-respect and human dignity become the victims of racist insults, brutal attacks and even murder by prison guards. Prison administrators encourage the guards inhuman behavior and justify it under the smokescreen of maintaining "discipline inside the institution". Any prisoner who is identified with a political party or political belief is usually singled out to be the object of the guards special treatment.

David Hilliard of the Black Panther Party, who is incarcerated at Vacaville Medical Facility, recently became the victim of this type of treatment. David asked a "corrections officer", whose name is Vaughn, if he could wax the floor of his cell. This request was refused; as the conversation continued Vaughn made the statement that Vaca-

ville is a better institution than most. David asked the guard how he concluded this (there are no "good" prisons or jails). Realizing that he could not agitate David with his insulting remarks, he became angry and walked away.

Vaughn returned to David's cell, with another guard to assist him to provoke David into a fight. David, aware of their real intentions, refused to be placed in a position in which they could carry out their insane desire to kill him. Vaughn and his accomplice finally gave up their efforts, however, 30 minutes later David was placed in punitive isolation (the hole). At the time no reason was given for David's punishment. He was kept there until the following day.

David Hilliard has an ulcerated stomach. He requires special medication and a special diet. During his time in isolation, David was given no food or medicine. When his personal physician, Dr. Phillip Shapiro, called Vacaville to explain the importance of David being given his medicine, they still did nothing. In the past uncaring Vacaville officials have frequently denied David his medication, their excuse: his ulcerated condition had healed.

Prison officials held a disciplinary hearing while David was in isolation and

sentenced him to 2 days in isolation, with one day suspended. They admitted that the guard had over-reacted; that anyone else would have been given a warning but, since he was David Hilliard, he was given a felony write-up and put into the hole.

Previous to this harassment Vaughn had been reprimanded by another "corrections officer" when he harassed a prisoner about a Playboy pin up in his cell. The other officer told Vaughn that he was being petty. He told him to leave the prisoner alone. Evidently he could not tolerate this criticism in front of the men he considered lowlier than he. He walked away, pouting, to find David Hilliard. He then put him into the hole.

David was due to go before two representatives of the California Adult Authority for a parole hearing on December 12th. Soon after he was removed from the hole, this date was changed to December 6th. What they have planned for David Hilliard, we can not allow to happen. He needs your support. We want him released; we want him home with his people.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE DAVID HILLIARD**



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

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

WHY THE VIETNAMESE ARE WINNING

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IS BANKRUPT

PART XII

The perspective into which the offensive and the escalation fit is the perspective of a total collapse of U.S. strategy in Vietnam at all levels. We now know that the Nixon administration had entered its term in office with no serious hopes that Vietnamization by itself could work. Instead, the secret Nixon strategy consisted of other plans. Vietnamization was directed as much at dissipating protests in America as at shoring up the Saigon government. Aerial bombardment by the U.S. Air Force has to be the real means of staving off the collapse in Saigon. In the meantime, secret talks would be engaged in by Kissinger to sound out the North Vietnamese on the possibilities of arranging a settlement at any point when American military pressure had become too severe. Furthermore, the mining of Haiphong Harbor reminds us that the ultimate hopes of the United States government is to force a settlement on North Vietnam through pressure directed against its "great power" allies. That this entire strategy, from Vietnamization to the mining of Haiphong, has not only failed to bring the desired results but has failed to stop the offensive in South Vietnam, should illustrate the complete bankruptcy of U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia. One further point about the mining of Haiphong emphasizes the bankruptcy. Certain unimpeachable



Failure, from Vietnamization to bombs, has shaken the assumed superiority of the American military.

sources can be expected to soon reveal that the Nixon administration in 1969 advised the Soviet Union that Haiphong would be mined in 1972, thus facing the Soviets with a supposed threat of an unacceptable military confrontation or an embarrassing backdown. Faced with this problem, it was supposed the Soviet Union would urge upon its allies a settlement short of their objectives. Whether the Soviet Union urged such a settlement or not is irrelevant to the main point, which is that the Nixon administration and all American governments since 1941 have always viewed the people of South Vietnam as pawns in a larger game.

But there is a fundamental level on which the U.S. officials believe their own propaganda, a level that goes to the depths of imperialism's soul, imperialism's fantasy, imperialism's fear. What would it take for an American official to really believe that all his guns, bombs and shells, all his billions with which to buy and sell other nations, were ineffective against the revolutionary spirit of a small, yellow peasant nation. Every assumption of superiority made by Imperialist Man would be shaken to its foundation, and every assumption about how to maintain a global empire as well.

TO BE CONTINUED

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

KITTY HAWK INCIDENT

Crewmen on board the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk say that the ship's Captain, Marland Townsend, who is white, had an open disagreement with the executive officer, Benjamin Cloud, who is Black. Cloud gave orders attempting to prevent violence between Black and white sailors but his orders were immediately overlooked by Captain Townsend. A fight broke out soon after this incident.

FARMWORKERS NEW BOYCOTT

The United Farm Workers Union has announced a boycott of Guild Wineries and Distilleries products. This

boycott is the continuation of a labor dispute which arose last August at the White River Farms in Delano, California. White River Farms and the Guild company are owned by the same exploitative corporation, Buttes Can and Oil Company. Officials of this company have at times resorted to violence in attempting to force the progressive farmworkers, led by Cesar Chavez, back to work.

DEATH PENALTY IN FLORIDA

Florida became the second state in recent months to reimpose the death penalty. The Florida legislature approved a bill giving juries the power to hand out death sentences. California voters on November 7 adopted a constitutional amendment reinstating a mandatory death penalty in limited cases. Limited cases usually mean Black and

poor people. The validity of the Florida law is questionable because of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that the death penalty is "cruel and unusual punishment", when the decision is a choice between death or life imprisonment. They seem to feel that, somehow, a mandatory death sentence is less "cruel and unusual."

STUDENT SEAT ON BERKELEY CITY COUNCIL

Students at the University of California-Berkeley campus are putting together an organization which has the goal of electing a student to the Berkeley City Council in the April, 1973 elections. Many of these same students helped elect councilwoman Ilona Hancock, Black councilmen D'Army Bailey, Ira Simmons and Mayor Warren Widener. Many of the students are disenchanted with the existing Council.

WE MUST ORGANIZE AND UNIFY THE PEOPLE

BOBBY SEALE SPEAKS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

the revolution began "on top of the ground", as opposed to "underground". You cannot organize people without coming into contact with concrete programs that relate specifically, directly, to their basic needs.

The Black Panther Party was organized as a political party, a political party with a revolutionary content, which made it a revolutionary organization. We took the Ten-Point Platform and Program into the community for a month and - a - half and asked the people what they thought about having full employment for our people, decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings and a true education that teaches us our true history and role in the present-day society. We asked them what they thought about having an organization which was concerned with bringing about an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people. We offered them the idea of

having community patrol groups to patrol police with law books, guns and tape recorders. We asked the people what they thought about an organization that stated "We want freedom. We want the power to determine the destiny of our Black community." We asked them what they thought about organizing people to a level which would help them to get juries of their peers in courts to stop the railroading of Black people to prison.

At one point, in Oakland, when we were patrolling the police, for 2 1/2 months there was not on case of police brutality. Of course, the power structure moved against us. In May 1967 they made a law that stated that we couldn't carry guns, that were loaded, within 150 feet of public property. We didn't want to endanger people's lives so we put the guns up, but not away. Most people misunderstood. They misunderstood what the gun was really all about. Some people thought the gun was the power. The gun is not the

power; the gun is only a tool that is used at a particular time and in a particular situation. The real power is manifested in the people. When the people really wrest power and begin to transform this system, they will in fact begin to control the very institutions which oppress them. They can phase out institutions existing here that do not serve them at all and create new institutions. That's where power really starts. You cannot talk about self-determination and not organize the people to take control of the institutions that determine their lives, especially when there is the feasibility of doing so.

Some people may be wondering why I'm running for Mayor of Oakland, California. Oakland's population is 55% Black. It has a 12% Chicano population. We can take control of Oakland. We can build a base. We can build the first base ever established in a city

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**FIND OUT WHAT YOU CAN DO TO ELECT
BOBBY SEALE MAYOR OF OAKLAND
AND ELAINE BROWN COUNCILWOMAN,
IN THE APRIL 17, 1973 ELECTION**

**BOBBY AND ELAINE WILL BE SPEAKING
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In order to enable members of the Black community to read our newspaper regularly and support the people's survival programs, the Black Panther Party has begun 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 happened 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



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WE MUST ORGANIZE AND UNIFY THE PEOPLE

BOBBY SEALE SPEAKS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

in this country, controlled by the revolutionary camp. We must control the city on all levels. There are a lot of funds and tax money that have to go back to the community. Oakland is typical of many cities with Model Cities funds, poverty program funds and other millions of dollars in budgets. We need to remove agencies and their programs that do nothing more than serve the capitalist businessmen in the community. Those millions of dollars can be channeled back into the community within the framework of the survival programs which have been organized by the Black Panther Party. Malcolm X told us that it was necessary to organize a political party. He said we would have to have mass revolutionary struggle in which the people will eventually overthrow and transform this system into a people's government. He said that while we are working towards that, we have to have clothing, housing and food, the immediate needs of people

in the poor communities. I remember that and I'll never forget it. It seems that many of our people forgot that. An older brother told me one day, "Bobby, if you run for Mayor in order to take control of Oakland, you wouldn't be the usual type of candidate. Everybody here knows you. You wouldn't have to plaster your name on walls and billboards and put it on the radio and TV to try to get it known two months before the election. You're already known." He said, "You didn't ask the government to do what they did to you. All you did was remain a dedicated person. I think you would be failing Black people in this community if the Black Panther Party does not move with the people, to take over the city government, transform it and really serve the people like you say you're going to do it, to organize us for that future liberation you talk about." What the brother said was right; it is all part and parcel of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

To lay a base for the overall movement is the problem in this country. The plan now is to move on Oakland as an example of the revolutionary camp taking over a whole city government, channeling as much of the city budget as possible back into the community. The whole city operation at present is designed for the businessman to make profit. After Oakland, we can then move to take control of five other cities and counties where Black people are in the majority. We're going to try to encourage the Chicano people in the Southwest, where they are in the majority in whole cities and counties to get high voter registration, establish survival programs and move to take over those areas. We have to establish many bases in the next 4 years, wherever we are. We must ally with Indian-American, Japanese-speaking and Asian people. We've got to unify this movement or it will fall apart.

TO BE CONTINUED



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 532-6566. The children, our youth, are our future. Without their growth, we, as a people, cannot survive.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"WE CANNOT GO BACK TO DOING BUSINESS AS USUAL"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

cil also resolved to voice the demand to Governor Reagan that Robert Wesley Wells, a Black political prisoner who has been unjustly imprisoned for 44 years, be released. The re-establishment of the death penalty and its affect on Black prisoners and the Black community were discussed. Sister Elaine Brown, who is running for city councilwoman of Oakland, spoke to the assembly of Black women present concerning the Council's progressive resolution on prisons:

"I think that the actions planned are wonderful. Never before have Black people from the groups represented here talked about communicating with the brothers behind bars. Many of us have been convinced that this had nothing to do with us, when, in fact, it has everything to do with us. The fact that the National Council of Negro Women is going on record to say to Ronald

Reagan that we are no longer going to be quiet about the things that affect our lives is a tremendous development."

The results of the fourth and last work session clearly showed the sincerity of NCNW's plans to implement these resolutions. This work session was concerned with the problems of education, welfare and child care in the Black community. The Council went on record to oppose the freezing of funds to child care centers in the state due to the implementation of recent restrictive legislation (See Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, Volume IX, No. 2 Saturday, October 28, 1972). Perhaps the most positive resolution of the conference was in opposition to the implementation of a repressive welfare provision that will force welfare recipients to work at menial labor jobs for their grants (See supplement, Oakland- A Base of Operation!, this issue). In opposing the implementation of this

program in Alameda County (Oakland and Berkeley are in Alameda County), NCNW and 20 other affiliated women's organizations went to a meeting of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors and presented their letter stating strong opposition to the measure. Members of NCNW attended the meeting along with members of the Black Panther Party and the local Welfare Rights Organization. Many positive developments came out of the conference, however, the real outcome of the assembly will be shown by the future practice of the Council. As Mrs. Charlotte Lewis, the coordinator of the general session said after the resolutions had been unanimously approved, "The follow-up begins when we go back to our sections and deal with these issues. First of all, we must realize we cannot go back to doing business as usual."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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

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