A PEOPLE'S VICTORY

ON MAY 15TH

ALSO, SEE SUPPLEMENT OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION XLIII
Editorial
ON TO GREATER VICTORIES

Oakland's Black, poor and oppressed people flexed their political muscle on May 15th, and this port city's establishment "bosses" trembled. Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown's year-long, grass roots campaign for city office has radically altered the political face of this city. There will be no turning back. Oakland can only go forward. Herein lies the victory.

Bobby and Elaine's candidacies and campaign brought national attention to the Oakland municipal elections like never in this city's history. It focused attention on the real issues facing the city's large, depressed population: unemployment, under-utilization, dilapidated housing, deteriorating public education, inadequate services, and ethnic polarization.

Mayor Rading, the Oakland City Council and the still entrenched, but badly shaken establishment "bosses" can no longer ignore this city's failure to decisively act to meet the needs of all its citizens. They can no longer simply court and facilitate the interests of big business and the well-to-do.

The campaign of Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown has given political voice and body to the formerly voiceless and bodiless Black, Brown and laboring White masses of Oakland. Bobby has promised that in the days, weeks and months ahead this voice will be heard; that the efforts of the electoral machine created will be felt.

It will be political suicide for those in the seats of government in Oakland to ignore this voice; to pretend this machine does not exist. This is why the establishment "bosses" of Oakland tremble--both in anger and fear. Their power is no longer absolute in Oakland.

This is the lesson to be learned from the Bobby Seale/Elaine Brown electoral campaign in Oakland. What we have begun here in Oakland must be duplicated in towns and cities across this land. We have proved that a new political force, a people's political force under revolutionary and dedicated Black leadership, can be organized and mobilized to work for and win power for the people.

On to greater victories in 1974 and beyond.

COMMENTS FROM THE COMMUNITY ON WATERGATE

During daily canvassing to get out the vote, May 11th in Oakland, members of the staff of THE BLACK PANTHER asked Oakland residents what they thought about the Watergate scandal. Here is a sampling of reactions:

"That's the biggest mess I've ever seen in my life." - An old lady from East Oakland.

"People never should've elected Nixon, they should've known what they were getting". - A middle-aged construction worker living in West Oakland.

"They deserve to go to jail for sneaking around like that." - An old man, retired in East Oakland.

"Like, man, people ought to see how Nixon really is now, you know!" - A young brother on the street.

"It's the dirtiest thing I've heard yet. Nixon thinks he's smart. He's the dumbest person I've ever seen." - An elderly, retired Black man of East Oakland.

"He (Nixon) should be impeached. He knew about Watergate," - Middle-aged Black foreman for Stafford Chemicals in Richmond, California.

"Nixon knew all about it, He should be hung." - Middle-aged East Oakland housewife.

"It's typical of the American government -- crooked. It's just that this time someone decided to expose this crooked affair." - Student at University of California, Berkeley.

"I think that everyone knew about the Watergate scandal before it was exposed. It was pushed aside, hidden. It shows that the government knew that letting it be known would hurt Nixon's election. What Nixon says about knowing nothing of it is nonsense -- he knew." - Young photographer, East Oakland.

"Sure Nixon's involved, sure he is. All his top aids knew about it. He had to know." - Short order cook in East Oakland.

"I want them all out; Nixon, Reagan, all of them. Looks at Watergate. See how crooked they are! I read about that every day." - Middle-aged, East Oakland housewife.

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FOR SALE AT ALL BLACK STORES.
A PEOPLE'S VICTORY ON MAY 15TH IN OAKLAND

This past Tuesday, May 15th, Bobby Seale, the People's Candidate for Mayor of Oakland, California, faced the incumbent John Reading in this city's municipal run-off elections. Totals of all ballots tabulated showed that Bobby received 43,719 votes while Reading received 77,446.

Bobby and hundreds of volunteer workers campaigned right down to the wire. On election night at Jack London Square in Oakland, where a Bobby Seale victory celebration was in progress, everyone was tuned into incoming election results.

When it was clear that John Reading would reign in City Hall for another term, Bobby Seale's workers understood that regardless of Reading's numerical victory, a true People's Victory had blossomed in Oakland politics. Indeed, this is the posture of Oakland's Black and poor voting population, most of whom would never have bothered to vote if Bobby Seale had not been a candidate.

Those who can only see victory in an election in terms of who actually wins a contested office, will certainly not understand the people's winning stance. But the truth is we, the disenfranchised in Oakland, achieved a victory long before May 15th.

From the very beginning, when Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown first announced their candidacy for Oakland city office, the poor of the city, of all ethnic backgrounds, rallied behind their campaign. They were the jobless, welfare mothers, the employed, professionals and students. Most had never worked in a political campaign before.

Throughout the campaign, when Bobby and Elaine took issues of concern to the community to Oakland's City Council -- such as the Anti-Secrecy in Government ordinance, Pay While Voting ordinance and a Residency Requirement for Police and Firemen -- the people were there also, cheering Bobby and Elaine on, speaking out in their own interest.

When Elaine Brown failed to capture the council seat she sought, the People's Campaign suffered no desertions. Instead, the number of volunteer workers increased, channeling energies toward the election of Bobby Seale to the Mayor's seat. A people's political machine was in motion.

To the surprise of most political observers, Bobby soundly defeated the two "unofficially" endorsed candidates of the Democratic Party who were running for Mayor, John Sutter and Otho Green. This means that we proved how shaky the support for the Democratic Party is among Oakland's Black and poor community. The People's Campaign organized the Democratic Party in Oakland, an accomplishment that cannot easily be lived down by establishment Democrats.

Those who cannot see the victory in all of this are obviously blinded by a reactionary status quo that seems to be dominant but, as surely as Bobby Seale received a 43,719 vote endorsement, it is beginning to wither away.

The Community Committee to Elect Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown to Oakland City Offices fought for much more than political seats. We fought for the cause of human dignity. This battle is far from over. With the creation of the people's political machine, our most cherished victory, we can advance the struggle for people's power in Oakland. It is clear that Bobby Seale will continue to lead this struggle.

"WE'RE GOING TO KEEP RIGHT ON MOVING FORWARD" - BOBBY SEALE

"At this moment in the city of Oakland something has happened in the world that involves you, the people. What we have done as a people in this community is organizing the people--you, yourselves, all the precinct workers--all the work you have done has blown their minds.

"I proposed a program to educate the people of this community. In six months we are going back to the ballot. In six months we are going to initiate those same programs I proposed, because what you worked for was not a personality; you worked for a program for the people.

"You, the people, worked for the necessary money to be allocated for the creation of an International Cultural and Trade Center. You worked for the implementation of a Senior Citizens S.A.P.E. program. You worked for preventative medical health care. You worked throughout the duration of this campaign for a people's plan. We haven't stopped yet. The victory is manifested in your hearts. You have won a people's victory.

"In the city of Oakland the power structure expects me to make a concession speech. I don't make concessions because I will not concede the human rights of any human being.

"We're going to work. The Republican administration, that Watergate system, is going to know that from now on we are not backing up. We're going to keep right on moving forward.

"The people in this community, the press of the world, are down here tonight. Watch what's happening. We did work toward this day that would blow most people's minds. We're going to have a victory celebration in a few days and everybody in here is going to receive a Political Participation Certificate for your participation in an historic event that has shocked the world.

"Do you know what somebody told me? They said, 'We don't care how the election goes, Bobby.' As far as we're concerned you're still our Mayor and we're going to keep moving'.

"I want you all to remember: we're going to stay together. We have a community organization that has blown their minds. You, the people, are the most politically potential force that has ever hit the minds of not only this town and this country, but the world.

"We're moving on up. We're going to go after all the programs I spoke about during my campaign. Let's stay together. All Power To The People!"
ATLANTA CALLS FOR CHANGE IN CITY GOVT.

(Atlanta, Georgia) - Controversy continues to surround the scandal ridden Atlanta Police Department’s administration, despite efforts by Mayor Sam Massell and Police Chief John Inman to patch up holes revealing the corruption of both. Following a power struggle in which drug-trafficking, gambling, prostitution, and more were revealed in the control of both, the two appeared on a live television show to support each other.

Massell faces a mayoral race against several other candidates, including a progressive Black, Inman is under judicial attack from the Black community and particularly from Black policemen because of his murderous and racist practices both in the department and in the community. Inman is now facing a $20 million suit charging discrimination and negligence. He has made amends with Massell, as well as recruited the Fulton County (Atlanta) Grand Jury as his ally for the upcoming struggle between minded old-line White racists and poor progressive Blacks now forming a majority of the city’s population together with their White allies. The grand jury whitewashed the recent shooting murder of a Black citizen by a White policeman. It now chooses to ignore Inman and Massell’s corruption lying bare through their bickering as well as the discrimination and unfair practices now being lodged against the department.

The murder was uncovered only through the hard work of Homicide Detective Brother Louis Graham, who Chief Inman demoted and transferred to jail duty soon after the truth became public. The president of the Afro-American Patrolman’s League, W.P. Cameron, has also been demoted from detective to patrolman following the introduction of the $20 million suit against Inman by the League. Brother Cameron was suspended when he refused to sign a statement saying he would not criticize the department any further.

A White patrolman J.S. Aycock, has been suspended from the force for a third time for making remarks critical of Chief Inman. Aycock is quoted as having called Inman a “bully” in a printed interview appearing in an Atlanta newspaper.

Mrs. Mary Sanford, president of Perry Homes Tenant’s Association, told the Aldermanic Police Committee (another defendant in the Black policemen’s suit) that the residents of the Perry Homes public housing project are not receiving police protection. “We’re not trying to be vio-

BOB RUSH, co-ordinator of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, as he issues the call for community control of police in Chicago.

THOUSANDS ORGANIZE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

(Chicago, Ill.) - A powerful, organized demand for community control of police, formulated and led by the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, involving hundreds of organizations and thousands of people, is beginning to take shape in Chicago. The City-Wide Campaign for Community Control of Police, as the movement is called, is planning a June conference on this important issue.

The conference will take place on the weekend of June 1st and 2nd, at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus. Throughout the 2-day conference various workshops will be conducted. Along with community control of police there will be workshops on voter registration, cooperative economics and ward redistricting.

The purpose of the conference is to formulate strategy and channel productive energies into the objective of community control of the police. It is an impressive list of speakers, including Huey P. Newton, is on the conference’s agenda and thousands are expected to attend. (See Advertisement, this page).

THAT SUCH A CAUSE WOULD FIND SUCH WIDE SPREAD ACCEPTANCE IN CHICAGO SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE TO THOSE FAMILIAR WITH THE SORDID HISTORY OF POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK AND POOR PEOPLE IN THIS CITY. PROPORTIONATELY, CHICAGO HAS THE HIGHEST RATE OF CIVILIANS KILLED BY POLICE OF ANY MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITY IN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY.

A COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE CONFERENCE

JUNE 1st & 2nd, IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SCHEDULE OF SPEAKERS: BOBBY RUSH - MODERATOR

HUEY P. NEWTON - THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RALPH ABERNATHY - PRESIDENT, S.C.L.C.
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HUEY P. NEWTON:

"WE CAN MOVE MOUNTAINS AND TURN THE TIDE OF REACTION"

The thousands of people, Black people, other people of color, working and poor people, who voted for Bobby Seale for Mayor of Oakland, have set the victorious wheels into motion for the realization of true freedom for all Americans and people all over the world. For what happened here in Oakland was no ordinary event. Certainly people everywhere know this; just as people everywhere understand the victory that we have won.

Black people, enslaved and powerless for these many centuries, along with working and progressive people, organized ourselves into a mighty political thrust, a thrust for more than an elective office. We organized to make our power known and felt. That knowledge, for us and those who oppose our right to the expression of our humanity, can no longer be kept from us. For, this election has made an historic decision, here in the midst of this most powerful country: Black people, especially, as well as the majority of people have decided that together we can move mountains and turn the tide of reaction, so that we all may live and be free from exploitation, slavery and the many ills we have faced.

It is a new day in Oakland, a new day in the world, a day history shall declare was a day of reckoning for humankind, an ending and a beginning. Upon this victory, we shall move to implement, in concrete ways, a people's program for the people of this city, and then in other cities and counties and states. We shall build upon this firm foundation, and go from victory to victory across this entire nation, until the principles of freedom and justice for all shall be delivered to all by the power of all, the power of the people.

Huey P. Newton

MADISON'S "WATERGATE"

(Madison, Wisc.) - Following the election of a 28-year-old radical mayor in Madison, Wisconsin, on April 3rd, confidential files were secretly removed from the city's police department offices by a police official obeying the orders of the losing incumbent mayor.

The files were removed two days after progressive Paul Soglin, was elected. The removal was an attempt to keep his new administration from exposing the underhanded methods police "mod-squad" agents used to spy on student activists at the University of Wisconsin.

The "Madison Watergate" broke following a heated election for mayor which pit the radical young challenger against the conservative incumbent, former Mayor Bill Dyke, who employed political smear tactics in a vain effort for re-election. Although Dyke ordered Police Inspector Herman Thomas to remove the files, no criminal charges were filed against either. The absence of the files were discovered by Chief of Police David Cooper's office several days after they were removed. Later the same day, Inspector Thomas returned the files and immediately submitted his resignation.

A PEOPLE'S VICTORY FOR DAVID HILLIARD ON HIS BIRTHDAY

On May 15th, David Hilliard, incarcerated member of the Black Panther Party, celebrated his 31st birthday. On that same day Bobby Seale, the People's Candidate, won a resounding victory for the people in Oakland politics. As we celebrate Bobby's victory at the polls, we of the Black Panther Party celebrate David Hilliard's birthday.

California Adult Authority officials, who have repeatedly refused to grant David Hilliard parole, despite his chronic ulcer condition, the injustice of his conviction and sentencing and his exemplary conduct as a prison inmate at Vacaville (Medical Facility) Prison, should take note.

The People's Victory in Oakland is a warning to the California Adult Authority. It is a dramatic expression of the will of the people of Oakland. Bobby Seale has consistently associated himself with the community-wide, world-wide demand for the release of David Hilliard. His victory at the polls provides concrete evidence of Oakland's demand that David Hilliard be returned to his family and to his community.

The People's Victory in Oakland is a warning to the authorities at Vacaville Prison. The continuing harassment, intimidation and dehumanizing actions inflicted upon David Hilliard, his associates and fellow prisoners at Vacaville must stop. The people of Oakland have expressed their solid alignment with those of us who have consistently exposed and condemned these practices.

The tasks ahead for the people of Oakland are many. Among them is intensification of our efforts to obtain the release of David Hilliard, his return to this family and to the community that needs and wants him so very much.

Despite his incarceration, David Hilliard continues to provide inspirational, organizational and theoretical leadership to the Black Panther Party. In recognition of this fact, the Party shares the People's Victory of May 15th, as a most cherished gift, with David Hilliard.

David Hilliard
POSTAL ALLIANCE LETTER EXPOSES ANTI-BLACK P.O. PLOT

In response to the article that appeared in THE BLACK PANTHER, April 28, 1973, "Charles Patterson Denied Employment!", and the decision of the Black Panther Party to forward a letter to the U.S. Postal Services in support of Brother Patterson's application, we have received the following letter from the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. We share it with our readers because it raises the pressing issues facing postal workers, a disproportionate number of whom are Black throughout the country.

The letter was sent to Ericka Huggins, editor of THE BLACK PANTHER.

Dear Ericka,

I want to express our appreciation for your support in the Charles Patterson case. He is but one of many brothers and sisters who find themselves the victims of racism in the Postal Service.

Racism is the wall we are confronted with when we choose not to except the role given us by this white society.

I would like to tell you about our organization. It was organized in 1913. Up to that point the majority of postal clerk positions were held by Blacks because the mail was delivered in wooden box cars which were hazardous fire traps (often death traps). When the railroad became more mechanized and modernized, they started using steel boxcars which were more safe, the whites wanted back the jobs heretofore held by Blacks.

At that point in time black people couldn't join any of the illy-white racist unions so the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees was born. It is the only federal labor organization never to discriminate in excepting membership and representation. However our leadership is nationally Black and our objective and priorities are Black-oriented.

It is sad however, that even with all the political awareness, 75% of the Black people in the Postal Service either don't belong to any organization or belong to the racist white oriented AFL-CIO unions. They do not realize that these white unions utilize their dues to promote programs which are at best, not to our Best interest and are in fact racist.

History is repeating itself. Under the new Postal Reorganization there is a conspiracy between these white unions and the U.S. Postal Service to rid the Postal Service of Black people because the pay and fringe benefits are getting more and more in line with private industry and the Whites now want these jobs heretofore left to Blacks.

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TEXAS PRISON ORGANIZER PERSECUTED

(Huntsville, Texas)-Brother Ernie McMillan, a Black community and prison organizer, will soon be tried in a Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) court on a charge of "insurrection" for "refusing to obey a guard's order".

These charges stem from a recent incident following a visit with Ernie by his sister, Jackie McMillan, and Charley Young, a representative of the New Bois d'Arc Patriots, a White community organization. Throughout the visit, prison guards nervously eyed the trio and walked as closely to them as they could trying to hear their conversation. After the visiting hour was over, a Huntsville prison guard told Ernie that he needed a hair cut, Ernie tried to ignore this, but minutes later several guards came to his cell and told Ernie he had disobeyed an order.

Because Ernie McMillan already had closely shaved hair, he and the visitors who had seen him only a few minutes prior to the guards' order realized that he was charged not for his "insurrection", but for his general failure to be dehumanized and demeaned by his oppressors.

An organizer for a store boycott in the Dallas Black community, Ernie was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in December of 1972 because of his effective role in mobilizing community action against economic exploitation. Now that he is in prison, he has continued to organize the people.

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PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

REPARATION FOR TUSKEGEE SURVIVORS

(Atlanta, Ga.)-The Center for Disease Control has announced an offer to provide free medical care for the rest of their lives to survivors of the government's genocidal "Tuskegee Syphilis Study", has met with 77 acceptances from the 114 survivors. Most of the racial 600 Black men involved in the study are dead.

RAP BROWN GETS 5 - 15

(Atlanta, Ga.)-Rap Brown was sentenced last week to five to 15 years for alleged robbery of a Harlem bar and assault against a policeman. Three co-defendants were also sentenced. Supreme Court Justice Arnold G. Friesman denied a series of defense motions to set aside Brown's conviction.

LIBERIAN NOTABLES ATTACKED

(Atlanta, Ga.)-Winston Richards, a Liberian diplomat and Emmett Dennis, a Liberian-born Rutgers University professor, were attacked and badly beaten by a group of white youths, in North Bronx recently. The youths, who police said belonged to a gang calling itself "The Heathens", called the pair "niggers", and jumped on them as they left a party.

INMATE WON'T 'LEARN PLACE'

(Sacramento, Calif.)-Black Folsom prison inmate Donal McMillan filed suit in federal court recently charging that he was beaten to the floor and a bucket of water was thrown on him by sheriffs deputies when he complimented a white woman on her appearance, "You got to learn your place", one deputy said to him before the attack.

LATINOS CONDEMN U.S.

(Quito, Ecuador) - At a recent meeting of the Economic Council for Latin America (CELA) the most important document to emerge was the "Quito Appraisal". The Appraisal received a single abstention - the United States. Reason: It states that Latin American attainments in the field of international cooperation "must be described as disappointing"; that the present situation of the world economy provides a "negative picture so far as relations between Latin America and the developed countries and the developed world are concerned"; and "in trade relations with the United States disappointing trends and prospects are to be noted". The report adds that these relations have been characterized over the past 10 years by a "chronic imbalance" to the detriment of Latin America.
COMMUNITY AROUSED AT MURDER OF 10-YEAR-OLD BY N.Y. COP

(New York, N.Y.)—Clifford Glover, a ten-year-old New York Black youth, never had a chance to live. His dreams and expectations were cut short by a policeman's bullet. It happened in Jamaica, Queens, but it could have happened in any metropolitan ghetto across the United States.

The facts are clear. Clifford and his stepfather, Mr. Add Armstead, were walking to work on a Sunday morning, April 28th, in Jamaica, Queens. Seemingly from nowhere came two policemen. It was later learned that they were hunting two "taxi-cab robbery suspects". One white policeman, officer Thomas Shea, spotting little Clifford and his stepfather, unholstered his weapon and fired a bullet into the back of Clifford Glover. The proper name for such an act is first degree murder.

The alleged hold-ups, according to police radio dispatch description, were both about 24 years old and about six feet tall. Both were adults, in no way resembling a ten year old child. Shea was charged with the crime of murder. However, as soon as this was announced, the Police Benevolent Association (P.B.A) began a pressure-move to have the murder that Shea was charged with reduced to a lesser offense.

In response, over 2,000 Black and White demonstrators marched through the Jamaica community, massing in front of the 103rd precinct police station, where Thomas Shea is assigned. The disciplined, sign carrying protestors shouted, "We want justice" and "Shea must go". The shouts soon turned to "We want Shea", but the demonstration remained peaceful.

Out of the anger and frustration of the Black community however, violence erupted on May 1st. A police van was bombed and three policemen were struck with bricks. Store windows were smashed and small scale lootings took place. The action occurred in the vicinity of New York Boulevard in South Jamaica.

New York Mayor John Lindsay, prompted by community protest, said about the shooting-death of Clifford Glover: "This shooting raises the most serious questions that can only be answered by a full, careful and rigorous investigation." He added that the police commissioner, Donald Cawley, would review the department's policies and procedures in regards to its use of firearms.

This move would render little justice to the community. The police department investigating itself will only lead to official cover-ups and is always the case where the police murder of a Black person is concerned, "justifiable homicide".

As proof of this, police commissioner Cawley vigorously sided with Shea and his partner without ever having received any evidence to warrant his support. He also has joined with the P.B.A, in calling for reducing the charge of murder against Shea.

At a recent press conference, CORP (Congress of Racial Equality) officials announced that a witness had been found who is willing to testify that, after shooting the ten-year-old Clifford Glover in the back, officer Thomas Shea "kicked and cursed the dying or dead body..."

The racist slaying of Clifford Glover has produced an atmosphere in New York that, hopefully, will lead to an organized people's movement for community control of the police.
BLACK CAPITALISM REANALYZED

The Black Panther Party integrates theory with practice. Action by the Party is the result of intense investigation, study and concrete scientific analyses, Huey P. Newton, leading the organization back to its original vision of service to the Black community during a period of dramatic development in 1977, wrote this brilliant analysis of Black capitalism and its relationship to the Black community. He explains why the Black Panther Party united with Black businessmen in order to aid the community. The theory was put into practice later that year when the Party led a five-month boycott of Bill Boyette's liquor store until he agreed to unite with the people of Oakland by contributing to their survival.

"Black Capitalism Reanalyzed" appears in Huey's book, To Die For The People, a collection of his articles and essays. This is the third segment of a five-part series.

Point 3 of the original 10-point program of the Black Panther Party is, “We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black community.” That was our position in October 1966 and it is still our position. We recognize that capitalism is no solution to the problems we face in our communities. Capitalist exploitation is one of the basic causes of our problem. It is the goal of the Black Panther Party to negate capitalism in our communities and in the oppressed communities throughout the world.

However, many people have offered the community Black capitalism as a solution to our problem. We recognize that people in the Black community have no general dislike for the concept of Black capitalism, but this is not because they are in love with capitalism. Not at all. The idea of Black capitalism has come to mean to many people Black control of another one of the institutions in the community. We see within this characteristic the seeds of the negation of Black capitalism and all capitalism in general. What we must do then is increase the positive qualities until they dominate the negative and therefore transform the situation.

In the past the Black Panther Party took a counter-revolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism. Our strategy should have been to analyze the positive and negative qualities of this phenomenon before making any condemnation. Even though we recognized, and correctly so, that capitalism is no solution or answer, we did not make a truly dialectical analysis of the situation.

We recognize that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time we have had such programs not only for survival, but for organizational purposes.

Now we not only have a breakfast program for school children, we have clothing programs, we have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, we have programs for prisoners and their families, and we are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently we have begun a testing and research program on Stickle Cell Anemia and we know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are Black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community, but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding in raised to a high level then the community will have the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors.

All our survival programs are free. We have never charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs and we will not do so. We will not get caught up in a lot of embarrassing questions or paperwork which alienate the people. If they have a need, we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land. Survival programs will always be operated without charge to those who need them and benefit by them.

In order to carry out such programs we have always needed money. In the past we received money from wealthy white philanthropists, humanitarians and helps to the corporate monopolies. At the same time we were engaged in a blanket condemnation of the small, victimized Black capitalists found in our communities. This tactic was wrong, when we received the money for our survival programs from big white capitalists and we freely admit to that.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

RHODESIAN ANTI-GUERRILLA HELICOP TER DOWNED

A recent official Rhodesian government announcement reported a Rhodesian air force helicopter had crashed killing its crew of two. The report left the impression that the crash had been accidental. In fact, that helicopter was shot down by Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) guerrillas.

The helicopter was on an anti-guerrilla mission in the Madonhamwara cliffs of the Ruya River in the Centenary District in north-eastern Rhodesia, when it was shot down. The source providing THE BLACK PANTHER with this information is the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) Information Services in Lusaka, Zambia.

Shortly after the Rhodesian officials released the news that Rhodesian police had arrested and detained two leading African National Congress (ANC) officials, including the ANC Secretary-General, Charles Ngezhezhe, and the ANC National Congress is a recently formed coalition of Zimbabwean groups organizing in opposition to the proposed "constitutional" legitimizing white settler rule in Zimbabwe.

The truth is, ZANU Information Services informed us, fifty-two (52) ANC officials and members were arrested and detained at the same time as Mr. Ngezhezhe. The arrests and detentions are continuous and intensifying, ZANU reports, with imprisonment without trial the rule rather than the exception.

"The purpose of the arrests and detentions," writes ZANU, "is to clear from the political scene all African opponents to the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals so as to prepare the way for Britain to legalize UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) this year."

ZANU concludes, "As far as ZANU is concerned, these continuing arrests and detentions are further proof that there is no room at all in Zimbabwe today or in the future, for a negotiated settlement of the Rhodesian question. They confirm once more that for the Zimbabwean people to place faith in the negotiation of a settlement is a wild goose chase. Only a thorough-going revolutionary will liberate the Zimbabwean people from fascist minority rule in Zimbabwe."

Since the first of the year the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe has intensified, led by the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA). The evidence, deliberately kept out of the establishment press, is contained in War Communiques issued by ZANU and recently received by THE BLACK PANTHER. War Communique No. 2 covers the period from December 30, 1971 to February 5, 1972. The following items are excerpted from this communique:

"1. On December 30 at a Msengzeli enemy camp in northeastern Zimbabwe a lorry (truck) carrying 15 enemy soldiers was destroyed by landmines (laid by guerrillas) and all were killed. At about the same time a prison in a neighboring area was attacked, broken into and thirty (30) prisoners were released."

"2. On January 6, 1973, at Mount Darwin, ZANLA forces fought a major and brilliant battle. They disrupted communication in the area and:

(a) Attacked a police station and destroyed an armory,

(b) Attacked a packed officer's mess, killing 25 soldiers and wounding several others,

(c) Attacked and caused heavy damage to the office of the District
NATIVE AMERICAN VICTORY AT WOUNDED KNEE

(Wounded Knee, S.D.) - On Tuesday, May 8, 1973, a few minutes past 7:00 a.m. on an already warm, bright, sunshine-filled morning, U.S. government armed personnel withdrew from sight for the first time in over two months and the Native American defenders/occupiers of Wounded Knee appeared from behind their bunkers. A victory for the Native American people of this country, a victory for all poor and oppressed people throughout the world, had been won. That fateful morning formed sharp contrast to the cold, winter night 70 days before, when less than 200 Native Americans came to the aid of the oppressed Oglala Sioux people living on Pine Ridge Reservation 15 miles away, Wounded Knee, the location of the 1890 U.S. calvary massacre of over 300 Oglala Sioux men, women and children, has now become the site where the U.S. government prestige of power suffered a tremendous setback.

After the armored carrier withdrawal, the 120 remaining defenders of Wounded Knee turned themselves in to the federal officials. Following the letter the agreement signed a few days before, 15 weapons, all of them old and battered, were turned in also. Aside from the government officials and their faithful BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) "scouts", few people were surprised, The Wounded Knee National Communications Center in Rapid City freely admits that between 150-200 Native Americans slipped through the supposedly "airtight" U.S. marshal encirclement of their camp during the past three or four days, carrying with them their weapons.

However, contrary to both the signed agreement and the lying claims of Richard Helmstern, deputy assistant attorney general, that only 13 people were to be detained on secret indictments, over half of the remaining Native Americans who turned themselves in were arrested on a series of fictitious charges. Typical charges included: conspiracy, violation and criminal acts, criminal obstruction of justice, and, in some cases, crossing interstate lines to incite to riot. These charges carry a minimum of five years in jail and a $5,000 fine.

Yet, despite the expenditure of $5 million, the U.S. government failed...
"DO AWAY WITH JAILS"
BY BRUCE MCMARION WRIGHT

In a recent issue of the new Black monthly magazine ENCORE, under the heading Point/Counterpoint and Opinion, four articles dealing with the prison system appeared. Offering their views were Bruce McMarion Wright, Judge of the Criminal Court in New York; William Vanden Heuvel, former chairman of the Board of Correction in New York; Mel Rivers, President of Fortune Society, and Benjamin J. Malcom, Commissioner, New York City Department of Correction.

But the most powerful indictment of the prison system came from Bruce M. Wright, who pulled no punches in his article, Do Away With Jail. We are printing Mr. Wright's progressive views in THE BLACK PANTHER for the benefit of our readers:

Racism is the principal problem of our criminal justice system.

There are others, of course: delays; ignoring Constitutional presumption of innocence and entitle ment to bail (we judges use bail for preventive detention every day); the weakness of a judiciary which yields to public outcry; the iron-bound control of the district attorney's offices over the courts; the reluctance of judges to experiment by going out to the prisons; the transporting of prisoners in huge vans as if they were cattle; the lack of respect for the Constitution in terms of raids and seizures of alleged pornographic material.

Then we come to racism.

Most of the people who come to the courts are either Black or Puerto Rican, Black people, with their afros, and Puerto Ricans, with their afros. Black whatever-it-is, are easy marks for anybody to arrest. The police are not as pure as they would like to have the world think. That's why they have such busy public relations people to divert attention from their own criminality. Bill Cosby said it: he was 21 before he realized that cops were also paid by the city.

Despite this, judges are reluctant to believe that they are conditioned by racism in making their decisions. At a conference recently, I brought up the subject of racism. An older judge, whom I dearly love, said: "Bruce, you have got to get that out of your mind. I have never seen the color of the defendant when he is standing before me. Like the other day, I had a little colored kid before me." He wouldn't believe that was racism.

Mayor Lindsay, who recently sought to improve the courts, is guilty of racism. Most of his appointments to the courts are excellent. He has

POSTAL ALLIANCE
Continued from page 6

This is being systematically accomplished by several means:

1. Because White people moved to the suburbs to get away from us, and commuting is very expensive, the Postal Service is building all the new postal installations in the suburbs. They know that there is no low cost housing or transportation in suburban areas and because Blacks basically hold the lesser paying jobs in the Post Office, they won't be able to afford to commute as Whites were. Keep in mind that these major post offices that are being de-centralized and moved to the suburbs are post offices that are in urban areas. Percentage wise, our jobs will be most effected because we live in the urban areas. Consider this, the loss of 5,000 jobs held by Black people at $10,000 per annum. That is $50,000,000 stolen from the Black community.

2. Unless an area tends to be predominately Black, most of the new people now being hired are White. This is true because the discriminatory test, like many others, is designed to eliminate rather than quality. Whites are passing with higher scores because of their college backgrounds. When they find a heavy young brother like Charles

TEXAS PRISON
Continued from page 6

around him and has turned his imprisonment from a defeat into a victory by bringing to wide attention the deaths of four men which resulted from their lack of medical attention while held at Huntsville Prison.

The exposure of these deaths, and the organizing potential that Ernie brought to the men on the inside is feared by Huntsville Prison authorities and the Imperial Sugar Company that profits from the exploitation of convict slave labor used to tend and harvest Imperial's sugar crops. (The Sugarland unit of the Texas State Prison is owned by Imperial Sugar Company.)

The Texas Department of Corrections court is not a true court. No one has ever in its history been found "not guilty". The TDC court is a rubber stamp body, convicting anyone who threatens the Texas prison-profit system.

We can not allow Ernie McMillan to be murdered. We must work to see that he is given a fair trial. We must struggle to free Ernie, and all political prisoners.

Write to: Warden L.D. Harvey
P.O. Box 32
Huntsville, Texas 77340
or call: (713) 295-6371 Ext. 275

Paterson, who has potential in terms of a career in the Postal Service, they have to find some other means to stifle and suppress his progress.

3. Under the new technological and mechanization changes, the maintenance of these new computer type machines require certain capabilities not often possessed by Blacks in the Postal Service because of the limited educational opportunities. This enables the Postal Service to bring in Whites from private industry to service these machines under the pretense that present employees are not trainable or qualified. The Oakland Post Office on 7th Street is a classic example of a racist institution with over 70% Black complement, located in the Black community; we have a White Postmaster!

Enclosed you will find copies of our monthly paper. As you will see we are supporting Bobby for Mayor of Oakland just as we supported you and Bobby when you were incarcerated in New Haven. I will keep you posted as to the developments in the Charles Patterson case.

Thanks again,

All Power to the People,
George O. Banks
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
SUPPORT THE SAMUEL L. NAPIER INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

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 ever-changing ideas to cope with the ever-changing 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 638-0195. The children, our youth, are our future. Without their growth, we, as a people, cannot survive.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

JAILS

Continued from last page

put a different type of judge on the bench, both Black and White, though not enough Black. Of course, he sees the court - I assume from his appointments - as a White institution to keep the jails filled with minority groups. It's almost like a feeder to make jails bigger and hispanic zoos.

The law itself is racist, Pot for example. When it was thought only Negroes and Puerto Ricans smoked it, penalties were tough. Then it got fashionable, so we've taken a lenient revised view.

Of course, drug abuse doesn't belong in the law at all. Addiction is a compulsive, mysterious illness that the government actually refuses to invest money in research to solve. Something will be done about it when Pat Nixon or somebody gets strung out.

Other things don't belong in the law. I'm always agitating for the legalization of prostitution, Make it taxable, Make the City become the pimp. At least the city won't beat the women.

And gambling. I'm not so sure restricting parnammal betting to race tracks is constitutional anyway. It's stupid to try to control homosexuality by law. To me homosexuality is like ice cream, either you like it or you don't like it, You don't blow it up because you don't like it.

Jails are, if anything, more racist than the courts.

The jails are staffed, largely, by White, rural people. They pass a standard middle-class civil service test to become guards. They're not taught sensitivity. No college degree is required. They know nothing about psychology or the ghetto predicament. They have no sympathy, no empathy, for the Blacks and Puerto Ricans they guard, Cruelties result.

The only way to get rid of racism in the jail is to abolish the jail.

We spend $6500 a year to keep a man in prison. It's stupid for people not to see that this is an extension of the welfare program and that they should let a man support his family with a job of some sort.

And to ease our way toward the abolition of jails, let's put the fellows with long terms in Wallkill or Greenhaven. Those prison are within striking distance of the city and family and friends can visit without impossible travel, money and energy. Let's give weekend passes, passes for family celebrations-not just passes for family funerals.

Let's get schools in the jails, Don't teach a guy how to make license plates. The only place in the world you make those things is in prison. Teach him something he can use to escape the system, to get off the treadmill, to support himself and his family.

BPINS VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service (BPINS) would like your help. What we need are people who know any of the following areas of newspaper related skills:

- **Typing**
- **Typesetting**
- **Proof-reading**
- **Layout**
- **Editing**
- **Photography**
- **Filing**

If you are interested in placing your talents in service to the people, please contact the BPINS office at 8501-E 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621 or call (415) 638-0195.
VIETNAM VETS MARCH - MAY 19th

On May 19th, a national veterans march on Washington, D.C., will be held to demand of the government the following: Decent jobs at decent wages, special preference for Black, Latin and other national minority veterans and their dependents, no prosecution of draft resisters and AWOL G.I.’s, and $2500 compensation to be paid to all Vietnam war veterans. While military officials receive $25 - $40,000 dollars yearly salary, and create 22 million dollar programs for themselves (which is at the expense of the taxpayers) in which enlisted men serve as their household servants, many servicemen face the high tide of unemployment.

The Nixon administration has announced that it will cut veteran disability compensation. The proposed cuts range from 30% to 50%. These cuts are to go into effect this July.

The American Servicemen’s Union (ASU) reported that amputation of a leg from the hip is now rated a 90% disability, and the veterans receives $275 per month. Under Nixon’s plan it will be cut to a 40% disability and the veteran will receive $106 a month. The loss of an arm from the shoulder is now rated a 90% disabil-
WOUNDED KNEE

Continued from page 10

by achieving the crushing surrender they sought. White House negotiators now, according to the signed agreement, must meet with Fool Crow head of the entire Sioux nation, and other Native American leaders at Kyle, S.D., Fool Crow’s home, on May 17th. AIM leaders, meanwhile, are eagerly discussing their upcoming national convention in Pawnee, Oklahoma, beginning June 1. It is understood that they will be planning another occupation similar to Wounded Knee, somewhere in Oklahoma, to be led by the Creek and Cheyenne Indian nations.

Wounded Knee is far from “all over”; the village is hardly “clear.” For although a significant victory was won at Wounded Knee, behind the prestige of power lies power itself; murderous and vengeful in its effects. Wounded Knee will exist wherever there are those who profit from domination and control and whenever the people decide that they have had enough. Our “village” will only be truly ‘cleared’ when armored personnel carriers are withdrawn from the face of the earth itself.

RHODESIA

Continued from page 9

Commissioner, symbol of racist oppression.

“3. On January 8, 1973, killed two armed police reservists who work under the cover of land inspectors in the Mount Darwin area. A third man, Mr. Gerald Douglas Hawksworth, was captured. In the attack a land-rover and car were destroyed.

“4. On January 25, 1973, police reservists Mrs. Isla Kleyshana was killed and her husband was seriously wounded in the Centenary District. The attack took place hardly two miles from a police post.

“5. On February 2, 1973, an operational and supply depot of the Rhodesian forces in the Spilloole District was attacked and destroyed. The enemy sustained heavy casualties.

‘Owing to the intensity of the war in northeastern Zimbabwe, the settler farmers are deserting their farms in the countryside and going to live in towns or military barracks’’, the ZANU War Communique states.

SOUTHERN U.

Continued from last page:

the Louisiana Courier that would cut off all funds to Black institutions in the state. While the NAACP correctly argues that Black schools suffer from an unequal allocation of funds and facilities, many disagree with merger being the solution.

Among steps taken to counter the merger efforts was a March 17th meeting of all the Black colleges in Louisiana. Here it was decided to file a counter suit against the one filed by the NAACP in which four Black public institutions will serve as co-defendants.

Fourteen predominantly Black colleges and the Youth Organization for Black Unity formed the “National Save Black Schools Project.” The project hopes to pressure and redirect public and private Black schools. The fourteen schools comprising the national steering committee are responsible for organizing the colleges in their respective states. Their aim is a national strategy to save Black schools.

The project has organized a National Save Black Schools Conference at which nearly all Black colleges participated in developing a strategy to save Black schools. The project also made plans to unify all the anti-merger forces in the Black community to form a mass based, anti-merger campaign. The success of the project is based almost entirely upon the support of the Black community.

THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

Free Breakfast Program
Provides children a free, hot breakfast every school morning.

People’s Free Food Program
Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

Liberation Schools
Provides free educational facilities and materials to Black and other oppressed children to promote a correct view of their role in the society.

Intercommunal Youth Institute
Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking and analyzing things, basic skills for living in the society and a concrete alternative to established learning institutions.

Legal Aid Educational Program
Provides full legal assistance to those involved in legal problems, as well as legal aid classes.

Free Busing to Prisons Program
Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of incarcerated men and women.

Free Commissary for Prisoners Program
Provides imprisoned men and women with the funds to purchase necessary commissary items inside the prison.

David Hilliard People’s Free Shoe Program
Provides free shoes to the people made at the David Hilliard Free Shoe Factory and elsewhere.

Seniors Against A Fearful Environment (SAFE) Program
Provides transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks the first of each month.

People’s Free Community Employment Program
(Being Implemented)
Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people who cannot find work.

People’s Free Medical Research Health Clinics
Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

People’s Free Plumbing and Maintenance Program
Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people’s housing conditions.

Community Cooperative Housing Program
(Being Implemented)
Provides decent housing, cooperatively owned and managed by the resident families.

People’s Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation
Instituted to test and establish a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia, to create better educational programs around Sickle Cell Anemia and maintain an advisory committee of doctors already researching Sickle Cell Anemia.

People’s Free Clothing Program
Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

Intercommunal News Service
Provides news and information about the Black and other oppressed communities throughout the U.S. and the world.

Free Pest Control Program
Free household extermination of rats, roaches, ants and other disease carrying pests and rodents.

People’s Free Ambulance Service
(Being Implemented)
Provides free, 24-hour speedy transportation to people in need of emergency medical care.

People’s Free Dental Program
(Being Implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups and treatment for the people, as well as an educational program for dental hygiene and preventative dental care.

People’s Free Optometry Program
(Being Implemented)
Provides free-eye examinations, treatment and eye correctional equipment (glasses, etc.) for the people.
"...IT'S TIME NOW FOR YOU AND ME TO BECOME MORE POLITICALLY MATURE AND REALIZE WHAT THE BALLOT IS FOR..."

-MALCOLM X