

THE BLACK PANTHER

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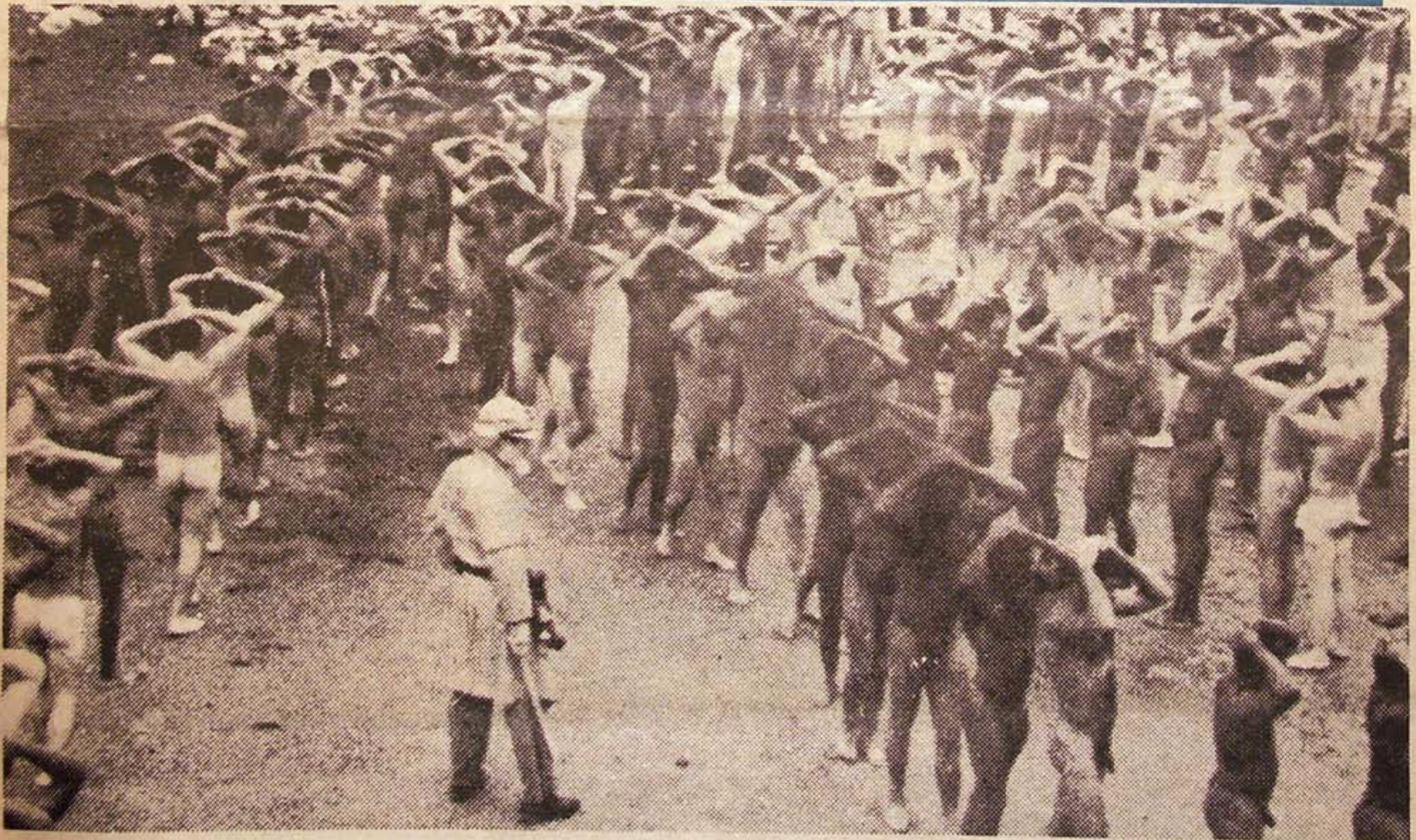
PUBLISHED WEEKLY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
8501 EAST 14th STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621



ATTICA

TO MUNICH



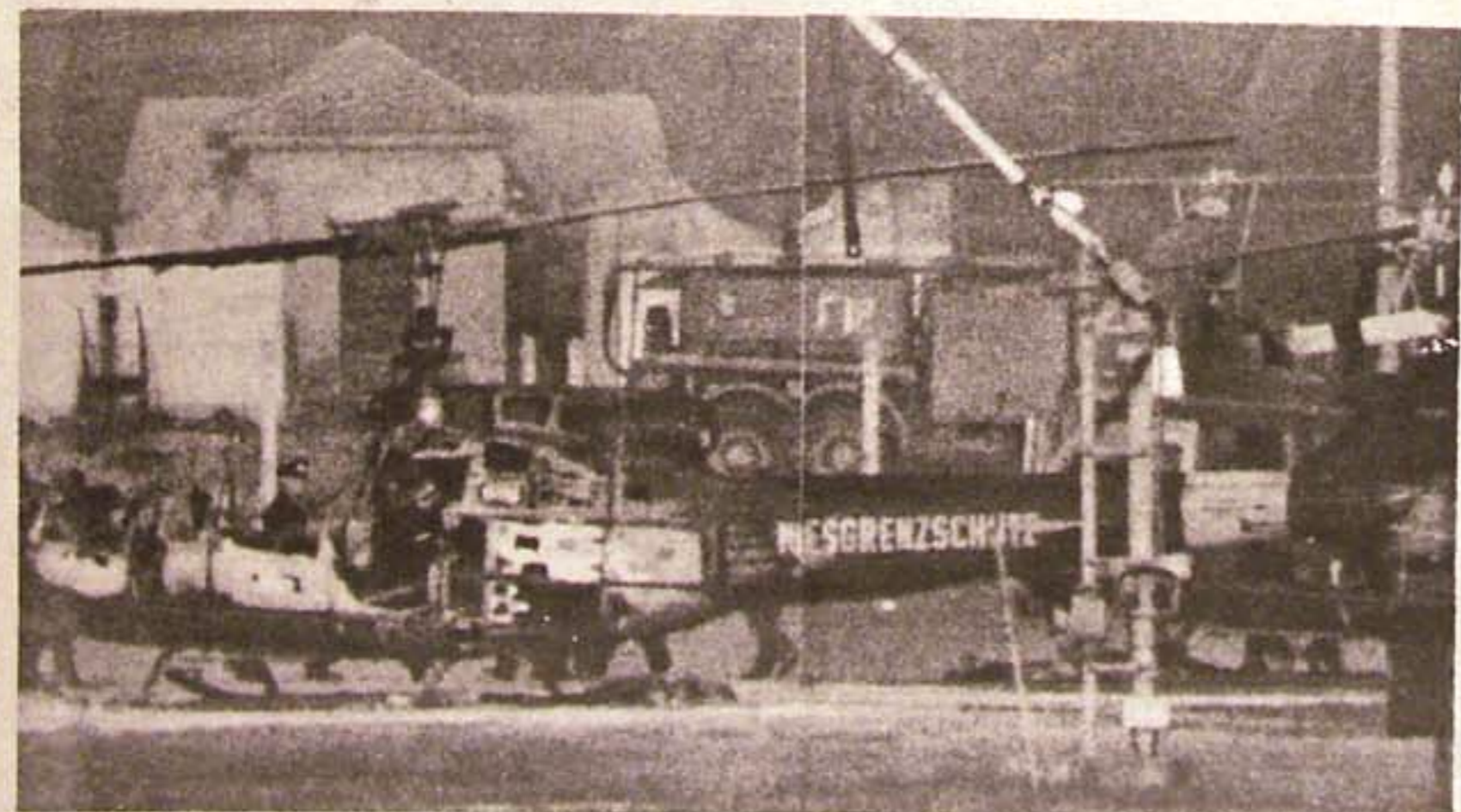
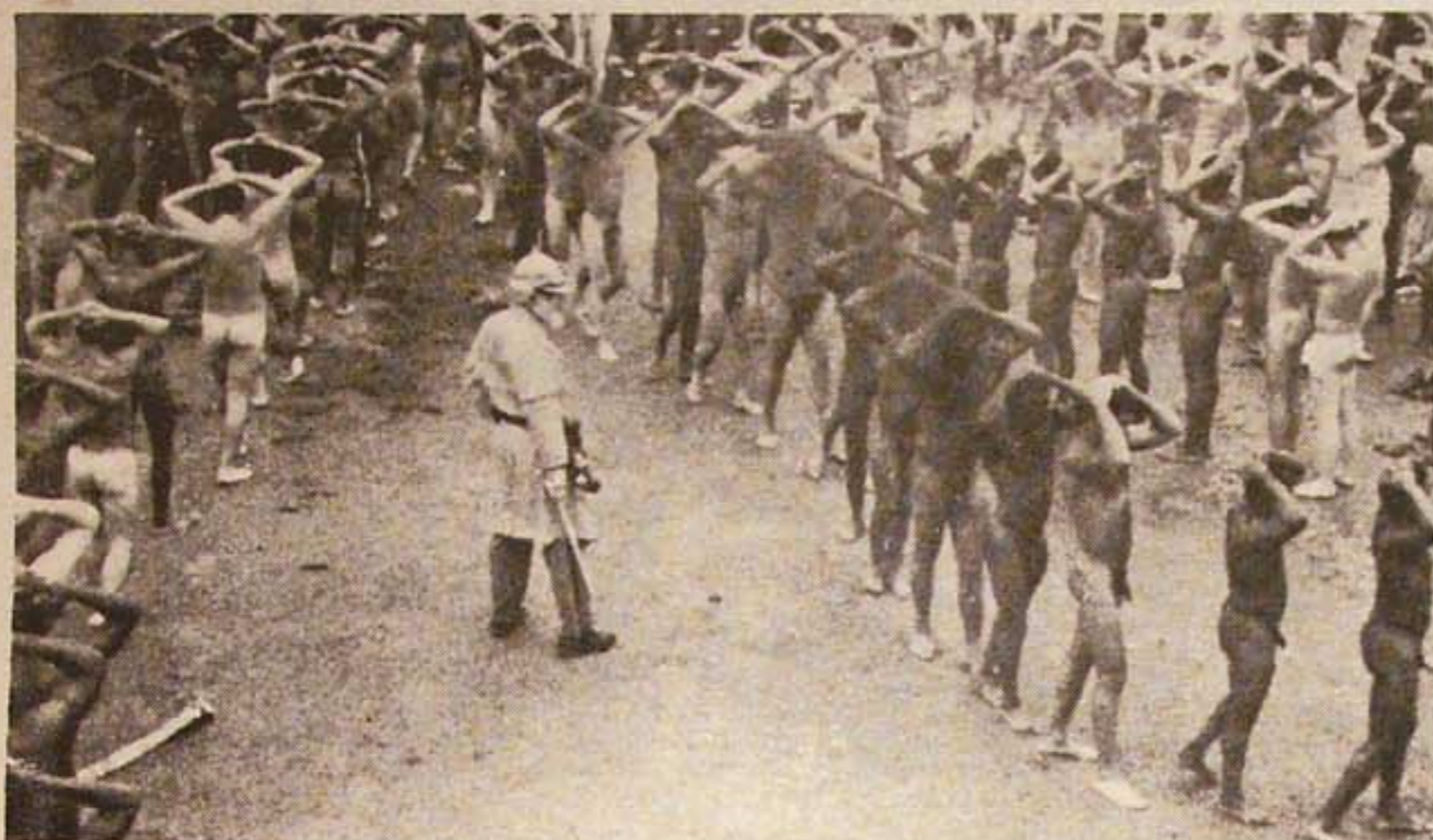
SEE ARTICLE INSIDE PAGE 2 ALSO, SEE SUPPLEMENT
OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION PART X PAGES A, B, & C

SURVIVAL TICKET
VOTE FOR
SURVIVAL

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND
ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN



ATTICA TO MUNICH



While heads of State push and shove to take center stage to lament the slain Israeli athletes and villify the slain Arab guerrillas, the people of the world could see, behind the propaganda, another ghostly and predictable scenario.

At Attica, San Rafael, Munich the same events unfolded: desperate, disenfranchised men take other men as hostages in order to command the attention of the world to their plight. Then, State power, exposed in its evil by the fatal spectacle, conspires to kill all the guerrillas and all the hostages to the last man. Power--represented by the State of California or New York or Israel or West Germany or the U.S.A.--shamelessly tells the public that the rebels have murdered the hostages. Soon follows, pompous denunciations of violence and self-righteous congratulations issued by Power, until one of the victims, accidentally left alive, announces that the State Troopers, San Quentin guards or German "sharp shooters" opened fire first and slaughtered without mercy--guards, judges, rebels and hostages alike.

Rockefeller, Reagan, Golda Meier, Willie Brandt have only one message for the free teams: "Lie, trick, and kill---kill---kill. Kill them all, kill all the athletes or judges or guards in the world if that is what it takes to prop of our threatened Power. Terminate them all with "extreme prejudice."

In Munich, as in Attica and San Rafael, heads of State did not hesitate to condemn the athletes to death in order to hide from the world the unbearable suffering of the Palestinians. At Munich, they were Arab, at Attica and Marin County, Black and Puerto Rican--all of them victims, and the poor white guards and poor Israeli athletes too.

All the crocodile tears of the "rulers" cannot blot out the total expendability of any of us when we become involved in any event that threatens to expose the State in its infamous corruption and tyranny.

For the dead Israelis and Arabs: We, the ordinary people, claim them and mourn them; like the Vietnamese and all Black and poor people, all the victims at Munich belong to us.

For those monsters of Power who pit the poor of the world against each other in a fratricidal blood bath --poor Black, and white, Arab and Jew--let them prepare for their own funeral.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

We will not forget what they have done.

RICHARD OAKES, A NATIVE AMERICAN

NATIVE AMERICAN LEADER KILLED BY RACIST CARETAKER

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

Unlike Black people, who were brought to this country as slaves and to make white men rich, the Indian people were at home--this is their homeland--no attempt at enslavement was made by the intruding white man, his only desire was to destroy the Indian people and rob them of their land. The land they had preserved so well. The North American Indian has always been a master of survival.

We are all familiar (however distorted, through T.V. and early radio), with the aggression and violence the greedy white man has subjected the Indian people to. In defense of their lives, their land, their natural lifestyle the Indian became a warrior, they fought to protect what was rightfully their own. All the while being called 'savage' yet, knowing who the savage really was.

Because of the Indian spirit, their collective determination to survive, their sense of family, of tribe--the intruder, the over-powering, over-reacting, murdering cowboy/soldier did everything imaginable to destroy the Indian people, to take their land.

After many, many years of struggle they did 'lose' their land to a cruel and power-hungry enemy. They were over-powered by the white man's life-taking devices, weapons. They were out-numbered by an ever increasing enemy. However, the Indian people, as we all know, did not lose life or spirit, even though they are the ignored forgotten Americans.

The American Indians are forced to live in prisons called 'reservations'. In school their children are taught that an explorer (or exploiter) named Columbus 'discovered' their native land. A land on which they are daily exploited at white-owned 'trading' posts. They are poor, yet they have no choice but to pay more for food than the rich or 'comfortable', they can not go to another store. Creating jewelry, rugs, pottery, and art, they are given a few handouts for them and then they are resold in Scottsdale's (an 'exclusive' white suburb of Phoenix, Arizona) 'finest' shops.



RICHARD OAKES, a revolutionary, refused to remain a 'forgotten Indian'. PHOTO CREDIT: STEVE SHAMES

Most of the Indians in this country live in the southwest, Arizona and New Mexico, where they are victims of the abuse of their own land; their lives are controlled totally by the State Department of the Interior, as if they are non-human tourist attractions. In the south-west a great deal of profit made is the result of the Indian people's hard work and beauti-

fully simple culture. As is the case with any oppressed people America drains of their labor power; they themselves are despised.

In November of 1969, a group of more than 100 people--brave, Indian people--threw the U.S. government

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Revolutionary Indians declared Alcatraz Island "free land by right of discovery." PHOTO CREDIT: STEVE SHAMES

FROM THE MOUTH OF REAGAN

19 PAGE APPLICATION FORM WILL ELIMINATE THOUSANDS OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS



Welfare department's administrative costs unnecessarily rise, while welfare recipients allotments decrease.

Millions of poor and oppressed people in this society are forced to struggle to survive off of the meager crumbs received from this country's welfare system. Those that are on the welfare rolls are of little use to the capitalists who control this country, because welfare recipients are not able to work in the factories and stores, to make more money for them. The Welfare Commission was created to quiet the people's hunger during the Depression of World War II; aid was given to those families who had no money to survive. Later, various types of aid were created. Aid to the disabled or the handicapped, aid to families with dependant children, aid to senior citizens, aid to almost all so-called 'unemployables'. However, this 'aid' is always just barely enough for a family or even a single person to survive on. It is humiliating, degrading and inhuman for a single mother to be forced to survive on less than \$100.00 a month, even if she only has one child. Yet the Welfare Departments are now trying to pressure people to work or have their checks cut.

The greedy officials who control this government would not give people who receive welfare aid anything if they felt that it wouldn't cause an uproar. Therefore, it is the goal of the welfare system to keep welfare recipients as poor as possible, and to give the public false ideas that those on welfare are almost all Black, receive too much money, and

are lazy.

In its continuing effort to harass, and repress poor and oppressed welfare recipients, the California welfare department, and racist Governor Ronald Reagan, are implementing a new, costly, time-consuming, and intimidating 19-page welfare application. Reagan has led the way in reactionary welfare legislation, by sponsoring bills that will remove many people, particularly Black people, from the welfare rolls and for countless people to take 'slave labor' jobs.

On October 1st, California will stop using the 7-page form for people applying for assistance, and begin using a new 19-page form called WR-2. The additions to the already degrading form will cause even more applicants to be rejected. Many of the questions are intended to pry into the personal lives of the applicants, questions such as these are totally irrelevant to a person's need for assistance. The WR-2 form even asks for such unnecessary information as how much silverware a person owns.

Not only is WR-2 degrading, it is costing a huge sum of money just to begin using the new form. It will slow down the processing of applications and cause unnecessary paper work. Therefore, it will bring about higher administrative costs. The California welfare department uses 6 1/2 million dollars more per month than last year for administrative costs

alone. Many more work hours will be spent in processing the WR-2 applications, therefore applicants will have to wait weeks or months to receive aid. This particularly affects people with immediate medical needs, women who are pregnant, and poor people with problems of an emergency nature. This does not bother the officials. Their concern stems from the jingling pockets of the State. They would prefer to put money into manpower additions to the police department or new government buildings.

If an applicant is unable to complete WR-2, then he or she will be denied aid (it has been estimated that it would take a college graduate over four hours to complete this form). The department realizes that poor people are often not able to answer complex and confusing 'agency' questions, so they narrow the possibilities of receiving aid (for many people) with the trickiness of the English language.

For instance, a person must tell if there is a cooking stove in the home, the cost of the stove, and the date it was purchased. The applicant must also list all other appliances in the home such as refrigerators, washers, freezers, portable heaters, radios, tape recorders, silverware, and the purchase price and the date of the purchase of each

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12



The prisoner's rebellion was to preserve life, not take it.

ATTICA: A MASSACRE DENIED

On September 13, 1972, a year to the day of the Massacre at Attica, the 514-page "official" report from the Commission To Investigate the Attica Prison Riot was released. It has been one year since, "Bloody Monday", when state troopers were ordered to "re-take" Attica State Prison and end the 5-day seizure of the prison by over 2,000 prisoners. One year since the State of New York, in a vain attempt to regain their forever shattered prestige of power, slaughtered 43 human beings; prisoners and guards alike.

The Attica report is highly critical of many aspects of the conditions at Attica prior to the uprising and of the police action which followed. It stops short, however, in condemning those responsible for the Massacre; rationalizing and justifying while never pinpointing those vicious administrators whose decisions led to cold-blooded murder.

"In the end, the promise of rehabilitation was a cruel joke. If anyone was rehabilitated it was in spite of Attica, not because of it." With

these words, the Attica report accurately sums up the conditions which led to the Uprising. The men who played a major role in the initial seizure are described as, "...part of a new breed of younger, more aware inmates, mostly Black" who were unwilling "to accept the petty humiliations and racism that characterizes prison life." However, conditions of unappetizing meals, old, ill-fitting clothing, and grossly inadequate health care all carefully documented by the report, form only a part of the underlying reasons for the Attica uprising. A more fundamental factor however, was the constant never-ending harassment to which the prisoners were subjected. We remember the words of Brother L.D. Barkely, "We

are men. We are not beasts and do not intend to be beaten or driven as such." The Attica report can deal with a sociological and psychological analysis, but the prisoners themselves, their lives and hopes, somehow, despite over 3,000 interviews, remain hidden.

The actual uprising by the prisoners, the capture of the guards as hostages, and the establishment of D-Block yard as a base of operations is treated very lightly. While the report contains all the facts and logistics of the seizure, again, the human factor, the emotions, the sense of sacrifice and cause, falls outside its realm. The report speaks in terms of the "spontaneous burst of violent anger" vs. "pre-arrangement", it fails to grasp how the two have become intertwined with each other through the years.

The essential feature of the capture of the guards as hostages and the proposal for exchange (exchange of the guards for free, safe transport to a "non-imperialist country") was that it was an attempt to save life not take it. The prisoner Uprising at Attica was a statement of life, of human concern for survival with dignity, addressing all-too-clearly the backwards and armed forces of racism, exploitation and death. The Attica report would attempt to translate the meaning of an event which gripped the consciousness of oppressed communities throughout the world in the ludicrous terms of "alienation" and "hostility against established institutions of government and law..."

It is in discussion of the Observers Committee and particularly their analysis of the murderous assault, that the Attica report's vagueness comes to full light. The report, "believes, that direct negotiations between inmates and the State are preferable to the use of outsiders". This can only be interpreted as suggesting the further isolation of the prisoner population from the Black and poor communities on the outside. If adopted it would effectively sever those ties of solidarity and deny the prisoner population any expression of support. The State, would then be able to secretly kill and justify it. The report continues with the comment that if "outsiders" CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

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GUILTY UNTIL PROVEN INNOCENT

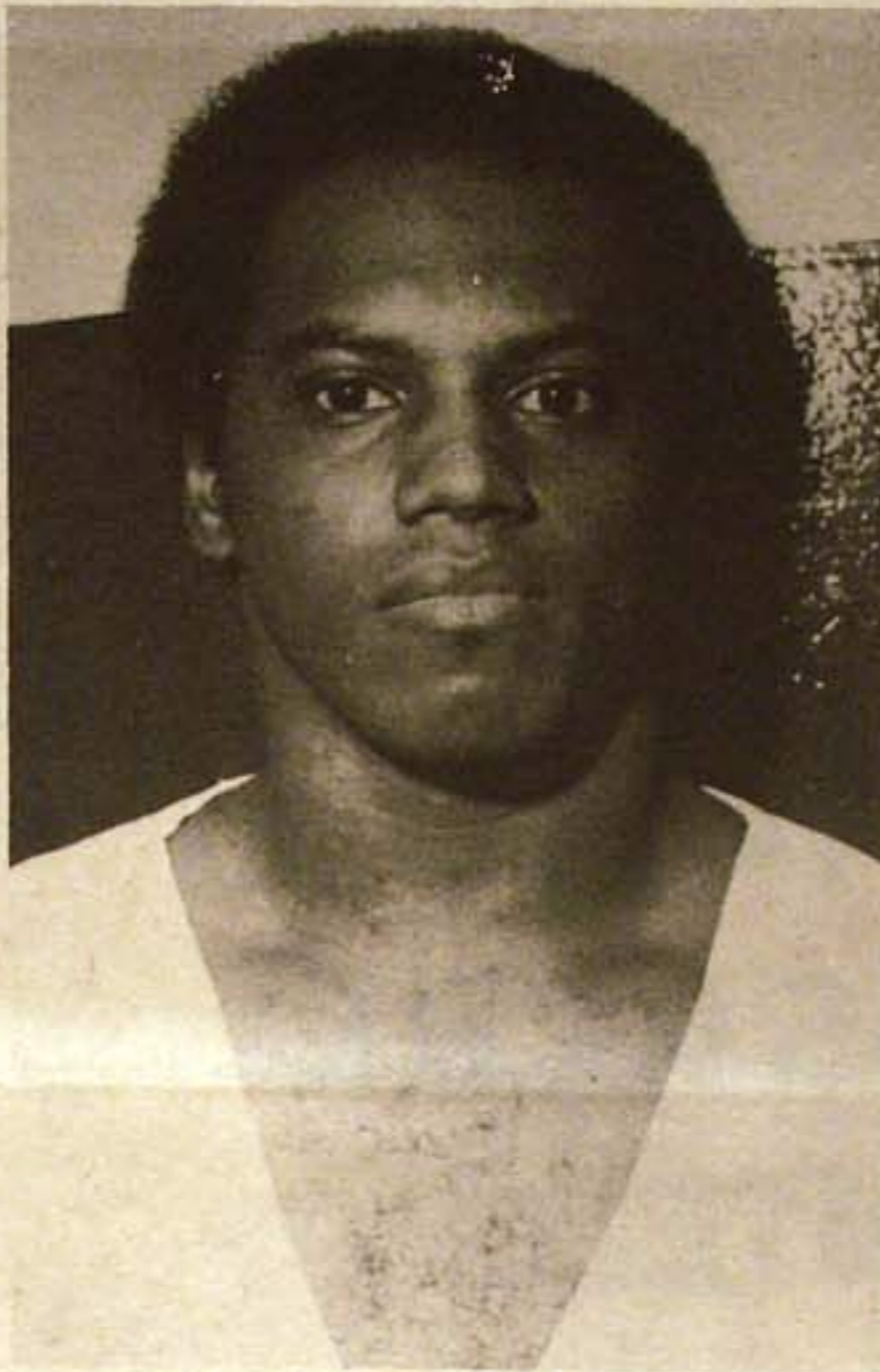
SAN QUENTIN INFORMERS 'TESTIFY' AGAINST LARRY JUSTICE AND EARL GIBSON

In many penal institutions across the country prisoners have begun to achieve a unity never imagined by prison officials or the U.S. government. Since 1970, prison movements (an uprisings) have disproved the official theory that punishment in prison will weed out the 'violence', the 'arrogance' (the normal desire to retain human dignity) that is supposedly peculiar to prisoners.

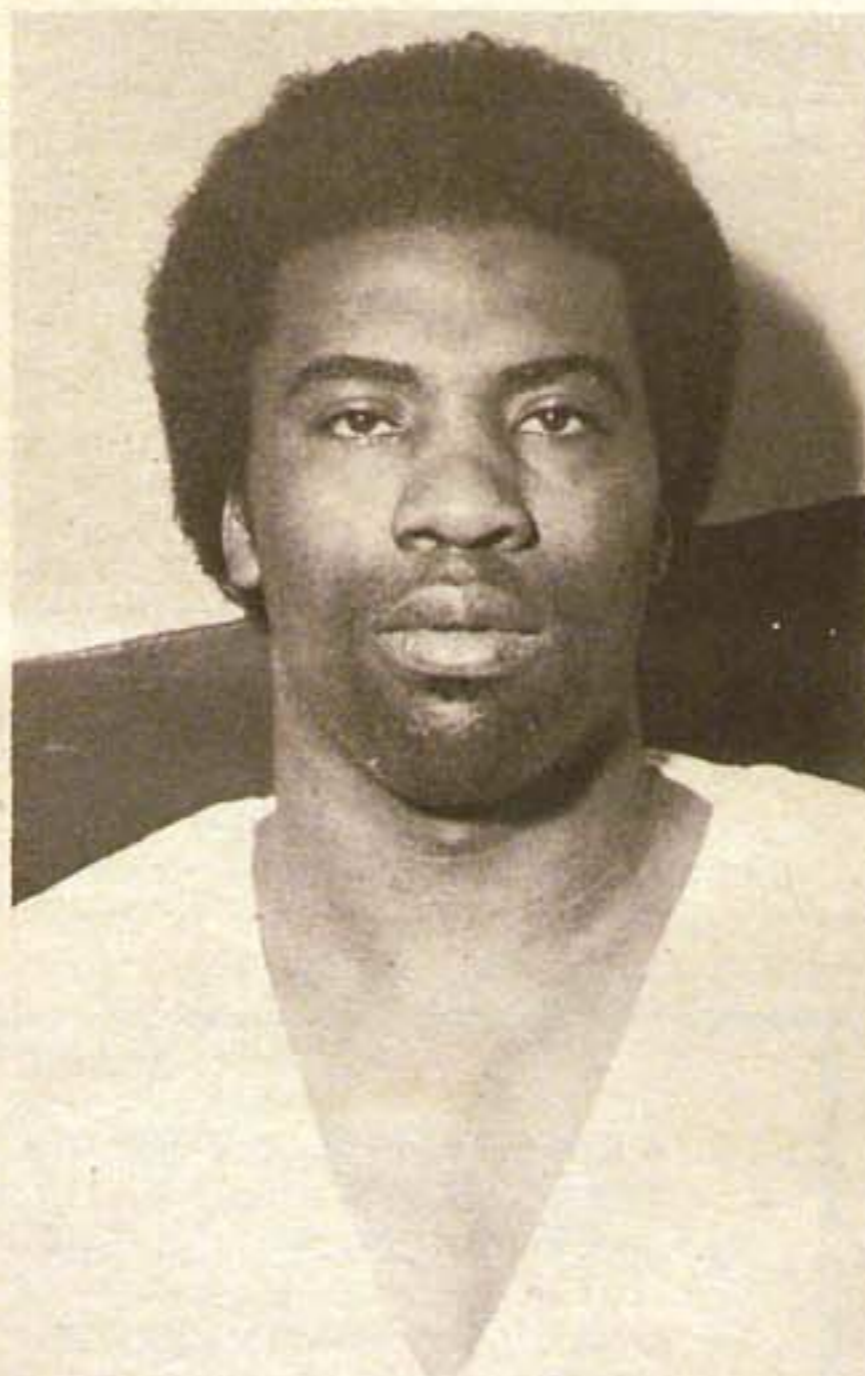
These developments are largely due to a leap in the consciousness of prisoners. The truth is evident--most clashes within prison populations are caused and perpetuated by prison administrators. It goes without saying that people who are divided, are people conquered and controlled. Fascist prison officials determined to maintain control and cover up for their barbarism, have employed new tricks and increased their use of the old ones.

The case of Lawrence (Larry) Justice and Earl Gibson clearly illustrates this. These brothers have been falsely accused of killing O. Davis, a San Quentin guard. They are currently undergoing the ordeal of pre-trial hearings. The hearings themselves are lessons in the ability of the prisons to control. This is made evident by the continuing lineup of informers being used to send these two brothers to the gas chamber.

This list of informers includes: Herman Johnson, James Sweeney, Evan Kranzlick, Jack Pierce, and Charles Johnson. Herman Johnson is the informant that the guard was allegedly protecting when he was killed. (The protection the State of California gave to Johnson was due to his reputation as a notorious 'snitch', a term used by prisoners to denote a police informer. Only two days before the guard, Davis, was killed, Johnson received multiple stab wounds. He was then put into the prison hospital). Johnson, while incarcerated as a youth, became well-known for provoking race 'riots' and has a background of continuously informing to receive his few 'favors' - an extra sweet roll, an extra cup of coffee, or remaining out of his cell for an extra hour. Before this he told lie after lie to the police officials in the "Soledad Seven" case. And for his testimony against



LARRY JUSTICE



EARL GIBSON

Larry and Earl he was rewarded with a parole and was to be released from Los Angeles County Jail on September 25th.

James Sweeney, another prosecution witness was alleged to have been in a cell along the corridor where the guard was killed. Evan Kranzlick was supposed to have been in the hospital with Earl Gibson and says he heard the two Black men plotting to kill the guard, Davis. Jack Pierce, the third informer, made so-called identifications of brothers Gibson and Justice. He demanded and was granted parole before he gave the prosecution a statement.

All pretenses of fairness have been dropped in this case. In a recent hearing, the State's attorney admitted that evidence had been obtained without a search warrant; the evidence was blood drawn from the brothers by force. The District Attorney asserted that the guards didn't need a search warrant to take Larry and Earl's blood because they (the prisoners) didn't have a search warrant to take the deceased guard's blood. The State has pronounced Larry and Earl guilty until proven innocent.

To add insult to injury, the courts are interfering with the brothers' efforts to build a defense. Correspondence between Larry and Earl and their lawyers has been illegally opened and read and the location of prosecution witnesses has been withheld so that defense lawyers are denied interviews.

Larry Justice and Earl Gibson are the real victims in this case. They are victims of the State's insane desire to control or kill those whom it has already imprisoned. Obviously these brothers need and deserve our support. Their next court appearance will be September 29, 1972. The hearings are being held at Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael, California. By filling every seat in the courtroom we will show the district attorney, the police officials and the guards that they cannot quietly railroad Larry Justice and Earl Gibson.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

OUR DIFFERENCES ARE ONES OF STRATEGY

Normally we don't air differences between revolutionaries; especially those differences propped up and propangandized through the power structure's press. However, the power structure is taking advantage of the smaller differences between us to set us all up and destroy us. A recent incident in San Francisco provided a perfect case in point, that incident involving the arrest of Kathleen Cleaver. Therefore, to deprive the power structure of the use of this weapon against us, that is the Algiers group and the Black Panther Party, the Black Panther Party would like to describe, briefly, what the real issue is, and why it is that the idea that the Black Panther Party would go out to assassinate Kathleen is absurd.

The essence of the differences between the Black Panther Party and Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver are over strategy. We all agree that those who control the United States oppress Black people, other people of color, the masses of people in this country; and liberation from this oppression can only come when the power in the hands of those few is transferred to the hands of all of us, together. We also agree that the use of revolutionary violence will probably be required to resolve this contradiction. Therefore, the differences boil down to strategic ones.

The Cleavers believed the hour of decision had come; the time was at hand to engage the tactics of guerrilla warfare to defeat our oppressors. We believe not only that the people were not presently ready for such, but that the Black Panther Party also was not ready: that is, the Black Panther Party had failed to satisfy even the first prerequisite for such a level of struggle, a base in the Black community. When these differences became uncontrollable - building a Black army as Eldridge and Kathleen had wanted and building a base in the Black community through services and survival programs - separation became inevitable.

The Algiers group denounced our Party as revisionist. They pointed to our efforts to defend our jailed brothers through the courts, through free bussing to prison and free commissary programs, through mass campaigns, as an example of our "revisionism". Kathleen specifically

said, "the phase of legal defense is over...we must now use more advanced tactics against the courts. Now, we got to break 'em all out." (National Guardian, April 17, 1971).

Our response was not to hurl back epithets, but to organize more vigorously around what we understood, which we felt would expose the incorrectness of the Cleavers' position. We believed they had lost touch with the people, had placed their own desires and ideas above those of the people. Our task was to show the importance, the necessity, of a mass involvement in our struggle, eventually demonstrating the correctness of



RUCHELL MAGEE

our theory by getting into closer touch with the people.

We have done that. We are building a real revolutionary base. We are building support. We are running for electoral offices. We have no need, no desire to eliminate Eldridge and Kathleen. They are not a threat to us, to our efforts to build a base in the Black community. We know they too understand this, for the Cleavers are now appealing (more enthusiastically and submissively than we ever did) to the very same courts they attacked us for working through, pleading the courts' permission to allow Eldridge back into America.

In view of these differences, we were surprised and astonished to find out that Brother Ruchell Magee rejects the support of the Black Panther Party and instead authorized Kathleen Cleaver to organize and direct a Ruchell Magee Defense Committee.

We thought that the principles taught by our fallen comrade, George Jackson, had been heard and internalized by Ruchell. From their first meeting until his assassination, Comrade George had attempted to show Ruchell that, rather than isolate himself, Ruchell should attempt to organize; both inside and outside the San Quentin walls. Comrade George knew that without the support of the people, gained through active practice, nothing could be accomplished.

As the only survivor of the August 7th uprising in San Rafael, Ruchell Magee faces a death sentence, or at best, life imprisonment. It is disheartening, now, when support for his case is most needed, to realize that Ruchell chooses to reject that support. In his rejection of the aid offered by the Black Panther Party, Ruchell tells us of his rejection of the concept of survival programs to meet out people's needs.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

We are reprinting this excerpt from Ruchell's letter:

September 13, 1972

State of California
County of Marin

Public Notification

Ruchell (Cinque) Magee, residing in the city of Tamal, California, San Quentin Prison, hereby authorize Kathleen Cleaver, to organize and direct Ruchell Defense Committee or Committees.

Further, I hereby give notice to the public that Kathleen Cleaver is the only person with full authority to raise and/or obtain defense funds in my behalf, as I might or could do if personally present.

Ruchell Magee

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

OUR DIFFERENCES ARE ONES OF STRATEGY



The article accuses the Black Panther Party of a very serious crime, it is libelous per se and we hereby demand an immediate retraction in the same prominent setting in the front page as the original scurrilous article appeared.

Your conduct in this disregards the commonest form of decency and the negligent and careless handling of the events leads my clients to believe that you are part and parcel of trying to create an incident. Should you decide to ignore this and not give the retraction the full and complete coverage that the initial scurrilous article had, we will have no other recourse than to prosecute this matter to the full extent of the law.

Needless to tell you that Mr. Newton and the Black Panther Party deny categorically and emphatically each and every statement contained in that article which has been carelessly and negligently and intentionally written to create the idea in the reading public that the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton would resort to the low and underhanded form of crime that you have indicated therein.

The writer of this letter believes in the right of the freedom of the press and has on many occasions fought for those rights; but your right of freedom of the press does not permit you to invade and destroy the reputation and the integrity of a group of men and women fighting and struggling for a better way of life. I hope that it will not be necessary to litigate this matter. I am enclosing a copy of the article so that you will not have any difficulty in finding it.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Garry
Charles R. Garry

September 15, 1972

Donald Scott
Chief of Police
850 Bryant Street
San Francisco, California

San Francisco Police Commission
850 Bryant Street
San Francisco, California

RE: Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party

Gentlemen:

I call your attention particularly to that portion of the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, September 10, 1972, which reads as follows:

“Authorities are convinced it marked another chapter in the all out battle between the Black Panther faction led by Huey Newton in Oakland and the offshoot led by Cleaver. It has already been blamed for several killings.”

On behalf of my clients, we hereby demand from you a denial that you or your men under you made any such statements. We demand an immediate public statement disowning such irresponsible charges against my clients. On the other hand if you believe that the paragraph herein referred to is along the lines that you believe than I would immediately demand on behalf of my clients evidence to support such a scurrilous accusation.

Very truly yours,

Charles R. Garry
Charles R. Garry

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

These are the excerpts taken from letters written to the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner, the San Francisco Police Commission and the Chief of Police in San Francisco. Attorney Charles Garry asked each of them to retract the slanderous statements they made. The following are his words:

September 15, 1972

San Francisco Examiner
5th and Mission Streets
San Francisco, California

Mr. Ed Montgomery
c/o San Francisco Examiner
5th and Mission Streets
San Francisco, California

San Francisco Chronicle
5th and Mission Streets
San Francisco, California

RE: Demand for immediate retraction by Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party

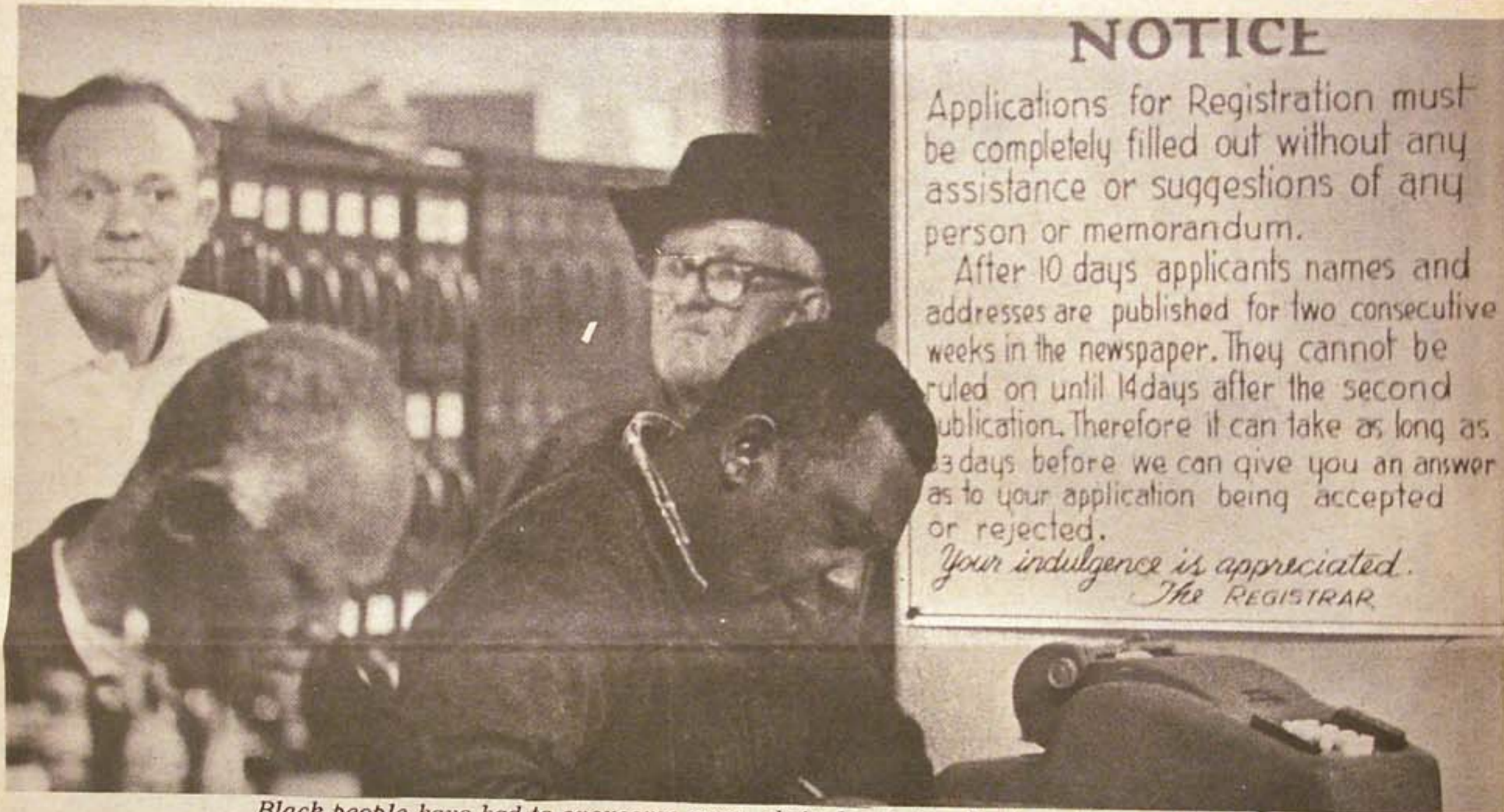
Gentlemen:

This office represents Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. In the San Francisco Examiner - Chronicle publication of Sunday, September 10, 1972, you published scurrilous and defamatory criminal accusations against Mr. Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party in a feature article by Mr. Ed Montgomery on the front page and thereafter continued it on page 28, Section A.

OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION!

PART X

REGISTER TO VOTE -- NOW



Black people have had to overcome many obstacles to be able to register and vote.

Voting has always been made an obstacle to Black people. We have never been able to determine the direction of our communities by voting. From the 1870's when the 15th Amendment was added to the Constitution, (the amendment which 'granted' Black people the right to vote), our families always knew that those were just words on paper describing a right that we could not receive the benefits of. When we went to the registrar of voters where we lived to try to register to vote we were asked questions like, how many bubbles there are in a cake of soap; how many bricks there are in the Washington monument .

Therefore, Black people distrusted the whole electoral process. How could it benefit us if we were never allowed to participate? To keep us from voting meant that we could be kept from being treated as human beings. The governments, local, state, and federal, were run by racist white people who felt that the only thing Black people were capable of was menial labor. We did not complain because we knew that complaining could mean our death, (by lynching, shooting or being beaten to death).

As the years passed and token concessions were given us, it was made unconstitutional for the deputy registrars to ask questions presumably to determine intelligence. Every United States citizen has the right to vote. They could not compare our citizenship with our intelligence. Soon after this we began to register to vote but not in large numbers. In the 1950's when Black people began to realize the background of slavery and oppression we have had to

endure; when we realized that we did not have to withstand unnecessary suffering and humiliation, we began to demand our civil rights. This included voting and putting people who would serve our interests in office.

We have been struggling for our right to self-determination ever since those times - of freedom rides, sit-ins and nonviolent demonstrations. Now with the emergence of a new Black man and woman, the unafraid and defiant, we are moving closer to really putting power back into the hands of the people. Whatever is the people's desire that is what we must obtain. We are trying now to add progressive content to a backwards structure (specifically the Oakland city government). It would fall right in line then that voter registration would always be an important factor to us, to all poor people.

Recently residency requirements for both voting and registering to vote were lessened to 30 days in the State of California. The former 90 day residency requirement and the 54 day requirements for registering to vote were declared unconstitutional. As part X in the ongoing series, Oakland: A Base of Operation!, we wish to point out just how destructive to the Black community the denial of participation in the voting process can be. Our ability to make proper changes in the communities will be based on our understanding of the fact that we have no power to determine our destinies; we have been purposefully disunified. One of the means of disunifying us has been the vote. We can only unify through the joint efforts of all members of the Black community, in Oakland and across the country.

PART X **OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION!** PART X

REGISTER TO VOTE - - NOW



Voter registrars from the Black Panther Party are in the community daily in order to make registering more convenient for our people.

On May 4, 1972, the California Supreme Court struck down certain California Election laws that prevented many citizens--mainly Black and Spanish-speaking people--from registering to vote. Various groups from both the Black and Mexican-American communities participated in the court case.

The laws that were challenged in the suit required that, in order to register to vote, a citizen had to live in a specific county for 90 days and in the area in which he or she would vote for 54 days prior to the election. In the case of people living in Alameda, Contra Costa, or San Francisco counties in Northern California they would have to actually live there for 90 days and live within their neighborhood for 54 days. These requirements were made under the assumption that in less than 90 days the state would not have enough time to turn in the copies of affidavits, the forms used to register a person to vote, to political parties (who need the information to determine who will vote for their candidates), if people were allowed to vote after having resided in the county for less than 54 days, then the officials complained that the list of registered voters could not be turned in to the precinct officials to determine where people would vote. Their last excuse was that a person living in the county less than 90 days before an election would not give that county time enough to send out sample ballots. All of these seemed to be excuses to make the process of voting convenient for the state and inconvenient for the masses of people.

Another law that was challenged in the lawsuit prohibited any voter registration during the 54 days before election day (November 7th). This law was initially imposed so that the state would have enough time to mail out information on the use of the ballot; to guarantee that every voter knew about the congressional, state and local elections; to determine the 'actual' residence of a person and to prevent electoral 'fraud' (a person voting who had never registered).

All of these laws infringed upon the people's right to vote. They were all designed to serve the interests of the county officials and their particular registrar of voters. When we think of the fact that the people who are usually slighted on election day are Black and poor, it is easy to realize the official fault is not only one of laziness, it is one of racism. The administrators use many tactics to keep us from voting. Some of the tactics used are subtle, some are obvious.

The guidelines that a deputy registrar must abide by are, in themselves, geared to people who have always been "law-abiding American citizens". An example of this is the statute that says that if a person is a convicted felon he or she may not register to vote. Only if the parole or probation officer and the State decide that the ex-prisoner deserves the "honor" of voting, will they (the ex-prisoner) be able to participate in willing the outcome of their own future and future of people like them. This shows that (since Black people are arrested and imprisoned on a consistent basis) their idea is not to allow people who have shown any signs of ungrateful rebellion to vote for a political candidate. A former prisoner, a 'convicted criminal' should not take part, according to them,

in the process of putting the people's choices into office.

As a result of their inconsistencies all of the residency and registration requirements were declared unconstitutional. The arguments that the counties of the State of California cited were not good enough--the excuses they made were not of 'compelling' government interest. It was found that it is not necessary, for instance, in the case of the 54-day residency requirement to consider whether or not enough time is allotted for the state, precinct officials or political parties to receive information from the registrar lists. The primary concern is that everyone have an equal opportunity to vote, equal protection under the law.

The new regulation states that any person will be allowed to vote if he has lived in the county 30 days and any person may register to vote up to 29 days before the November 7th election. This means that, although the registrar of voters in each county may not have publicized it, everyone will be able to register to vote up to October 9th. This election will allow every registered voter the opportunity to vote for presidential and congressional candidates.

Included on this ballot will be various propositions (or proposals to the people) to be voted on; propositions 17 and 22 are important ones. Proposition 17 would allow the state to make the ban on the death penalty unconstitutional. This means that if the ban on the death penalty were lifted, men and women (already sentenced to life imprisonment) would have to return to death row to sit and wait. Proposition 22, if passed, would mean that the Mexican-American farmworkers would not be able to form a union or organize a strike against exploitative growers. This would strip the migrant farm workers of all their hard-won rights. Both of these propositions if allowed to pass would be destructive to people in the poor communities of Oakland.

In order to vote on April 10, 1973, a person must at least sign his or her name to the ballot and hand it in. This means the county in which you live will use these ballots as a guide to keep you on the eligible voter rolls. In Alameda County, voting on November 7th (or merely signing your name), will determine whether you will be able to vote on April 10, 1973 in the city of Oakland municipal elections. If you do not sign your ballot on November 7th, then you will not be able to vote for Bobby Seale for Mayor or Elaine Brown for City Councilwoman.

All of these changes in the California election laws must go into effect this November 7th. 370,000 people will be able to vote this year who were ignored at the last general election. Mostly all of them were Black and poor. This year it can be different. Register to Vote--Now.

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND
ELAINE BROWN FOR OAKLAND CITY COUNCILWOMAN
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL



PHOTO CREDIT: HANK LEBO

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 Bussing 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.

People's Free Clothing Program

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

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.

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.

People's Free Plumbing and Maintenance Program

(Being Implemented)

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 Free Furniture

(Being Implemented)

Provides free, decent furniture to improve our living standards.

People's Free Community Employment Program

(Being Implemented)

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people, who cannot find work.





PEOPLE'S PETITION

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



WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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

Over a year ago, on June 19, 1971, Comrade David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party was blatantly railroaded on the false charge of assault with a deadly weapon upon Oakland police. The prosecution and its witnesses could not place a weapon in his hands. Yet, a jury of non-peers, totally unrepresentative of the Oakland Black community delivered the State's pre-planned conviction, a sentence of one-to-ten years.

David had been originally charged with attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon, stemming from a police attack against the Black community on April 6, 1968, in which Oakland police murdered seventeen year old Bobby Hutton, another member of the Black Panther Party. Assault with a deadly weapon usually means that a person, in fact, has a weapon - in this case, a gun - and then fires it at someone. Alameda County (California) District Attorney, Frank Vakota, who has fanatically been trying all the other Black men arrested on that night, in an effort to completely destroy the Black Panther Party, presented this case against David Hilliard without even having a gun to show the court.

Since David's conviction and incarceration on the frame-up charge of assault, the California authorities have attempted every tactic possible to isolate and eliminate him. He was confined in an obscure wing of Vacaville Prison (mildly referred to as the "California Medical Facility"). He was then transferred to California Men's Colony (CMC) at San Luis Obispo (another prison in the State complex). Although it is classified as a minimum security prison, CMC is one of the worst. CMC, like Vacaville, is one of the chief exponents of the use of drugs as a means of psychological control over the inmates. Their belief is that control of the mind is equal to control of the body.

When this institution failed to break David's spirit, other tactics were employed. A campaign of general harassment began. They began to hold back his mail and his commissary, his legal materials were withheld. His visitors were constantly harassed. Soon after this he was secretly transferred to the most notorious prison, (noted for its physical deprivation and cruelty)-- Folsom. He was immediately put into isolation. There, due to the conditions, the ulcerated condition of his stomach

began to cause him trouble and he became very ill.

Folsom officials refused to admit David into their "hospital" facilities, claiming that he was not ill. Only after the protests of an indignant and enraged Black community, a visit (to the prison) by Brother Ron Dellums, U. S. Congressman, and the presentation of a court order, was Comrade David admitted to the hospital. Soon afterwards, he was transferred to Vacaville Prison again, where he was kept in isolation until March of this year.

Comrade David has been incarcerated for almost one and one-half years. In this time he has appeared twice before the Adult Authority (the board that grants paroles). Each time he was denied, although 100,000 signatures on petitions demanding his release have been returned. We must not let this happen again. Your signatures must flow and your voices must continue to be raised to FREE DAVID HILLIARD!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

FIRST IN A SERIES

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

WHY THE VIETNAMESE ARE WINNING

PART VII

PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT SHATTERS 'AMERICANIZATION'

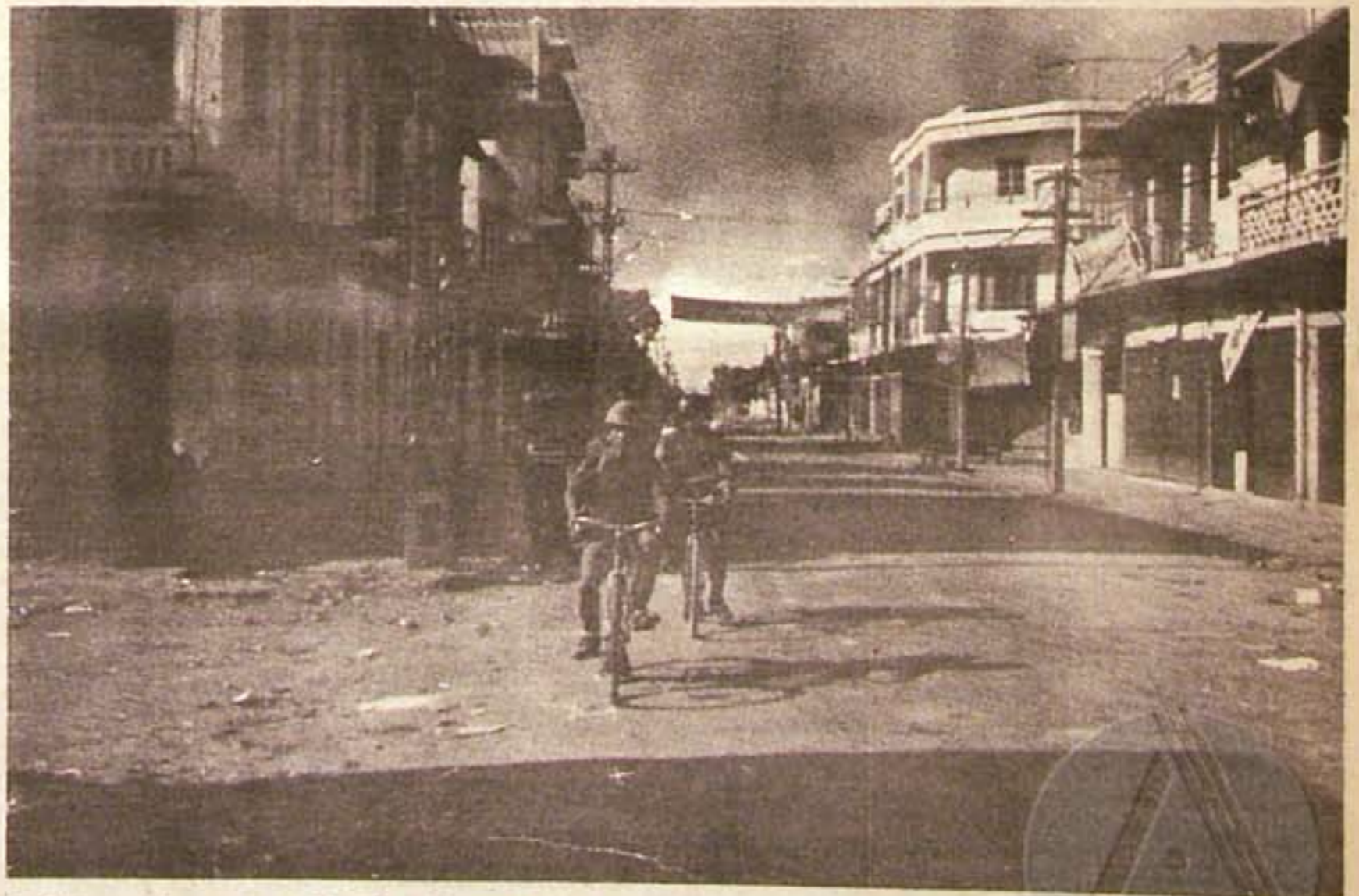
If anything demonstrates the cynicism of the American effort to define the offensive as being aimed at cities, it is not merely the U.S. bombing of cities that inevitably follows, but the fact pointed out by the PRG that important parts of the urban areas of South Vietnam evacuated by the Americans are being mined in such a way that they can be blown up at a great distance by the Americans who have retreated to safer enclaves. This is true, the PRG told me, particularly in urban areas where there has been a hasty retreat leaving behind large numbers of political prisoners in concentration camps, who would be immediate volunteers for the liberation armed forces upon breaking out of prison. But the PRG pointed out that the prison walls and perimeters are mined electronically so as to threaten the immediate wholesale destruction of the prisoners if the PRG forces enter the city. Moreover, they said groups of captured guerrillas are now being held behind concertina wire in front of police stations and military outposts in numerous district capitals and other towns as, quite literally, a bullet shield of hostages against the entering guerrillas.

The purpose of the offensive, in other words, has nothing to do with the capture of a specific town, the holding of a specific piece of real estate. It has to do with the strategic defeat of the Vietnamization program, with the creation of fixed points of battle at which the ARVN troops can be proven to be unwilling to fight against other Vietnamese, and the creation of a broader, sweeping front of uprisings that completely liberate large new areas from Saigon control. Where the offensive ends is difficult to visualize, but the possibilities are all pessimistic from an American viewpoint. Having experienced the complete destruction of the pacification program, for example, will American officials easily contemplate pouring billions of dol-

lars once again into its reconstruction when they must know that it can be torn apart year after year? Where will American officials find new replacements for the 3rd and 22nd divisions of the ARVN, and the rest of the divisions, all of which have taken serious casualties after three months of the offensive? Do American officials seriously entertain the return of tens of thousands of American troops to re-Americanize the war after the failure of Vietnamization? These are questions which even the most violent hawk must consider with fear and helplessness.

Inside Saigon the effects of the offensive are devastating as well, to those in the Thieu Administration and the various groups of businessmen--primarily importers - who still cling to the hope of American support. With American troops on their way out of South Vietnam and with the army of South Vietnam decimated on the battlefield, the pressure for accommodation with the PRG in the future becomes irreversible. The pressure lies entirely in the direction of

accommodation, rather than clinging to hopes for continued American protection. From the soldier on the battlefield to the banker in the Saigon Chamber of Commerce, one question becomes overwhelming. If the United States Vietnamization program is defeated, what will be one's future in South Vietnam? The question has really only one answer. One has a future if one breaks away from the American policy and swiftly integrates into the forces of the winning side, who will remain in South Vietnam in the future. Of crucial significance, we were told, is the fact that the urban opposition has broadened since 1968 beyond the students and Buddhists to now embrace all classes. With Thieu conscripting half the male population, running one-man elections, with inflation and unemployment incredibly high, and the prisons filling up, even the small but important national bourgeoisie has been alienated. The spring offensive adds an urgent forward impetus to these trends.



A frequent scene: South Vietnamese puppet troops fleeing the wrath of the people.

RICHARD OAKES, A NATIVE AMERICAN

NATIVE AMERICAN LEADER KILLED BY RACIST CARETAKER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

into its usual state of panic. They took over Alcatraz Island, a former U.S. federal penitentiary, in the middle of the San Francisco Bay. The tribe of people began cleaning and repairing the old prison which was built on the soil their ancestors first built their homes. They made the decayed buildings suitable for living, and remained there for over a year. The people were lead by Richard Oakes, a Mohawk Indian, who at that time was a student at San Francisco State College, where he was Chairman of the Student Council of American Natives. He also helped to formulate the Department of Native American Studies.

Richard, explaining his group's actions (the Alcatraz takeover), announced to federal authorities at that time, "This time we have come to stay." Declaring the island "free land by right of discovery."

Richard Oakes, today, is dead. He was shot in the chest by a murderer named, Michael Morgan, a "caretaker" of a Y.M.C.A. youth camp site, located in Sonoma county about 50 miles north of San Francisco. Morgan was arrested and charged with manslaughter. Richard Oakes was not armed at the time.

A week before Richard Oakes' murder, two Indian youth were riding horses that supposedly belonged to the Y.M.C.A. camp. One of the young men was "restrained" by Morgan until the sheriff's deputies arrived and arrested him.

The next week on September 20, Richard Oakes was inquiring of Morgan the reasons for the young man's arrest for 'horse-theft'. Morgan claimed that Richard "threatened his life". He fired his 9-mm automatic pistol, the bullet hit Richard in the

chest and killed him.

The California Indian Legal Services, representing his wife, Mrs. Oakes, urged the Justice Department and the California attorney general's office to raise the charges against Morgan from involuntary manslaughter to first-degree murder. Morgan has pleaded "innocent" to the manslaughter charge.

We ask this question, "Will this nation's 'caretakers' ever be able to discuss, the peoples' differences, without having to gun them down?" The 'pilgrims' and 'pioneers' of America treated the Indians as animals. Their offspring, the white Americans of today treat them as if they are invisible. The only reminder that they still exist is Alcatraz. They hated to be confronted with the historical result of their fascism.

Richard Oakes was a revolutionary. He was not an animal. He was not invisible. His life was a clear testimonial of the suffering of his people. He will live on as long as the desire for freedom lives, as long as the hope for a New America is sacred in the hearts of poor and oppressed people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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

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

TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

The Writings of
Huey P. Newton

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FROM THE MOUTH OF REAGAN

19 PAGE APPLICATION FORM
WILL ELIMINATE THOUSANDS
OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4
item. The applicant must also account for furnishings like "beds, chests, cabinets, chairs, paintings, rugs, mirrors, and many other household items." If the person applying can't remember specific information or omits something and it is later found out that there was a mistake on the form, the recipient may be dropped from the welfare

rolls and possibly prosecuted for fraud. Under the assumption that welfare applicants are racketeers, prospective recipients are asked whether they own items like "golf clubs, livestock or fowl, jewelry, or boats," and the price and purchase date of these items also must be listed. A person actually has to list trivial items like "coin or stamp collections." What relevance if any do these facts have in relationship to the financial income and need of an applicant? Applicants must tell whether they are engaged in a "common law marriage" or not. If a mother is not married, she is asked various perverse and irrelevant questions about the father. She is even asked what scars or tattoos he might have. If any one in the home works, the person who would receive aid must list the number of hours that each member of the household worked in each week of the last month. The form even asks if a person goes to a laundromat to wash the family's clothes.

The culmination of all this madness is the fact that in order to receive food stamps, all members of the household 'deemed suitable' must register for work. Members of the family would be forced to take menial jobs if they are to continue receiving

food stamps.

WR-2 is an example of the repressive legislation that has been sponsored by Ronald Reagan. He was the first to implement the work-initiative (work-or-starve) programs. This type of legislation has proved so popular among racist administrators that it has been adopted in welfare programs throughout the country. Reagan has never been subtle or silent about his hatred of the poor, the people he says are trying to exploit the 'poor' state of California.

The implementation of the WR-2 form is a deadly blow to poor and oppressed people. Coupled with the work initiative program, WR-2 would attempt to destroy the spirit and dignity of poor people in struggling to clothe, feed and shelter themselves and their families; another obstacle is placed in the way of the already arduous task of survival.

We can unite against these oppressive measures taken against us. We can organize and move to progressively change reactionary institutions like the Welfare Department, in to institutions that serve the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

*No Name
in the Street
James Baldwin*



THE DIAL
PRESS

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NO NAME IN THE STREET is James Baldwin's latest book--his most eloquent, personal, and complete statement on the political and social agonies of America. It is also a remarkably candid look into Baldwin's years of self-exile, participation in the civil rights movement, and his now transformed political beliefs.

SUBSCRIBE TO SURVIVE

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

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

To subscribe for three (3) months is \$3.50; \$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

CUT HERE

BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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

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EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

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

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

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

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

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

ATTICA : A MASSACRE DENIED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

are used, "their function and authority must be clearly defined and agreed upon..." While the members of the commission meant this to criticize the entire Observer Committee called by the prisoners, it is a subtle but direct attack upon Comrade Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party. Comrade Bobby was returning to Attica at the time of the police assault, and was denied re-entrance, despite the fact that the prisoners had held up the negotiations awaiting his return. The report would have it seem that Comrade Bobby was a political intruder, an unwanted agitator, rather than an invited and respected negotiator acting in behalf of the prisoners.

On the police assault and resulting Massacre, the Attica report becomes nonsensical. Perhaps the only assertions which come close to the

truth were that: 1) there were no plans or provisions adopted for the medical care of the injured or wounded and 2) "...the use of shotguns not only increased the risk but virtually assured the death or serious injury of innocent persons in the congested confines of D-yard."

While the report slaps Rockefeller's wrist for not participating in the negotiations, the ultimate irony, lies in the statement, "There was no commander-in-chief", no one 'in charge'. All the excesses of brutality and murder are justified this simply. In truth, however, there was a "commander-in-chief" upon whose orders the ultimate responsibility for the Massacre rests. This is the same man who, under whose reign, the world has witnessed such events as: the murders of Comrades Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago; the assassination of Comrade George Jackson at San Quentin; the

slaying of students at Jackson State in Mississippi and Kent State in Ohio; the Mylai tragedy; the courtroom killings at San Rafael; Attica and most recently the murders in Munich. Without a doubt there was a "commander-in-chief" at Attica, a man whose sense of justice and power are the most reprehensible in history-- Prison Warden Richard M. Nixon, commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States.

One year later, the memory of Attica lingers. Nothing, let alone such a poor white-wash as this report, can remove the pain or the anger that the thought of the Massacre at Attica brings to mind. Yet, while the dead have been buried and the Massacre etched into our troubled history, the spirit of Attica, of faith, dedication, and struggle remains. It is another reminder that we must achieve the victory desired by all humankind.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT

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

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

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

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

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

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

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

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

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

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

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

WHAT WE BELIEVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NO MORE BEGGING NO MORE JIVING NO MORE BEING
PUSHED AROUND

