E BLACK PANTHER

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THE SOUL OF W. E.B. DU BOIS

LEST WE FORGET THE MAN WHO FOUNDED THE N.A.A.C.P., BECAME A COMMUNIST AND FLED TO AFRICA TO DIE.

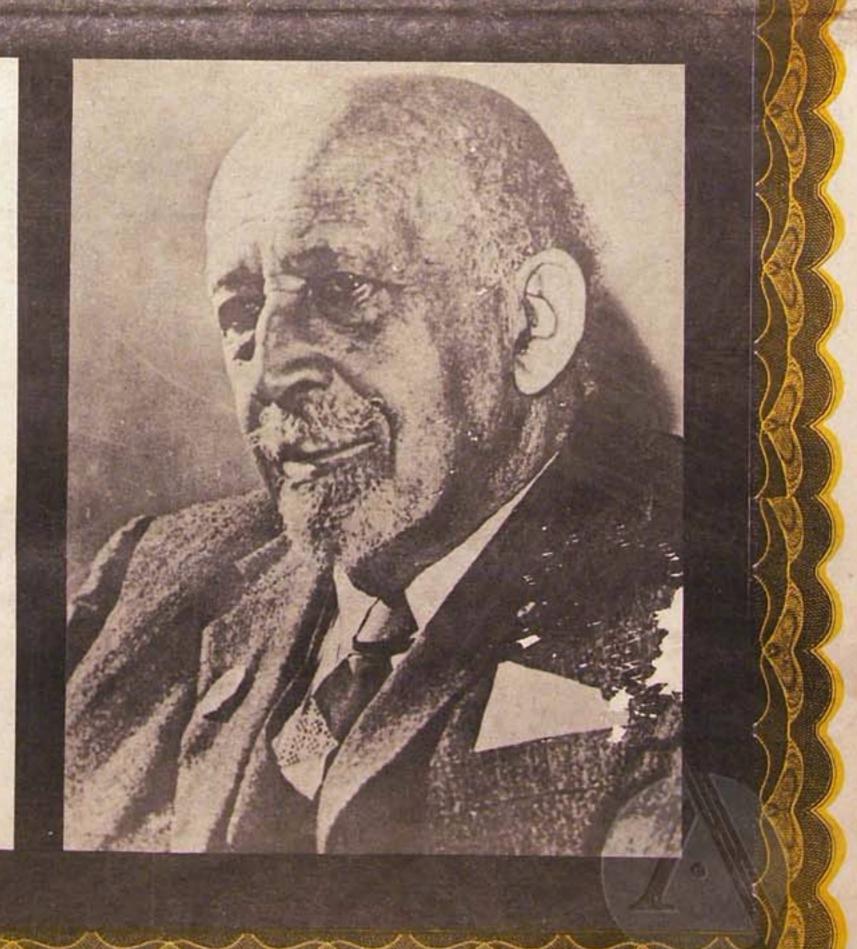
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Born:

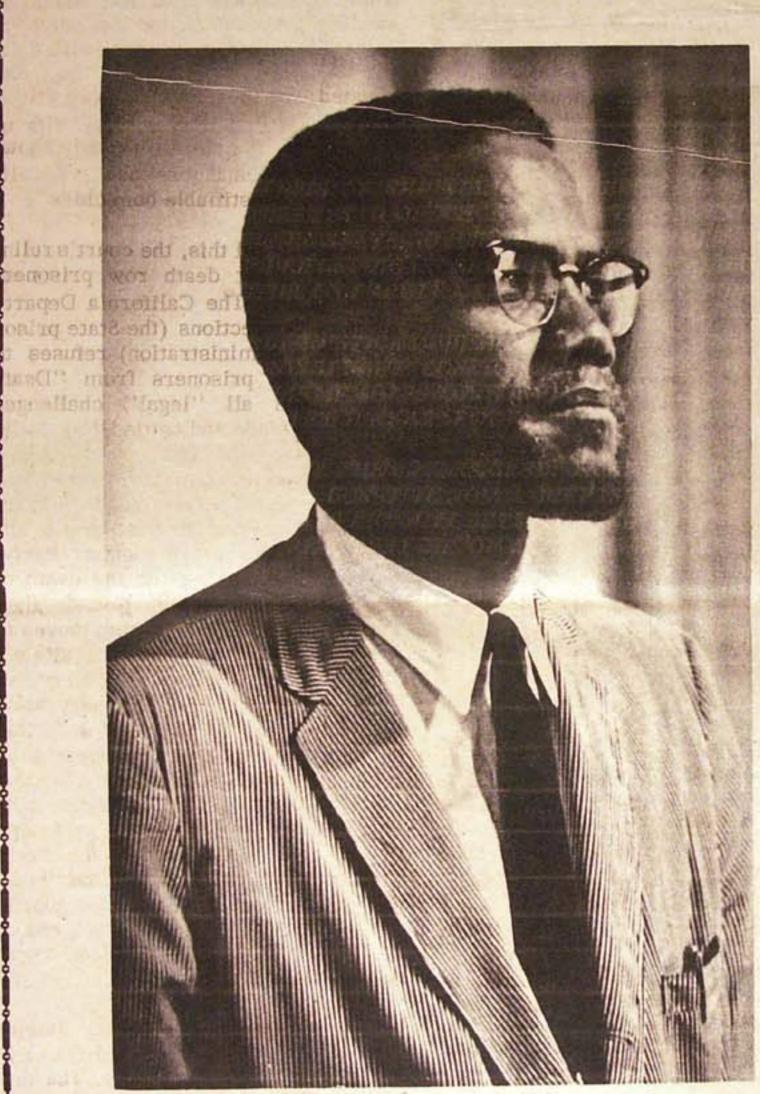
February 23,1868

Died:

August 27, 1963



MALCOLM: BLACK SHINING PRINCE, PEOPLE'S SERVANT



There is little doubt that he will be known as a hero, a "shining Prince", a great leader. We will say that he was a Supreme Servant of the People.

In our studies in future days, it will be common for people to mark the date February 21st on their calendars and learn about a man, Malcolm X, who was assassinated on that date. We shall say, in retrospect (even now), that Malcolm was a great leader among the people, who drove a path for Black people inside the United States, out of a dark past, and who got a chance just to point the way to freedom, shocking us into our manhood. We shall say that it was during

Malcolm's time that our long and difficult struggle began to shape itself and mature, so that we began to be one with the world's peoples in the human fight to end oppression.

Malcolm taught us and begged us to take hold of our lives, over which only we ourselves should have control. That was his gift, on-going, even now, as our struggle develops each year. The men of his time said he preached hatred and racism; but in our volumes of the past, we shall write, as we know, of his love for all human beings.

It's hard to talk of Malcolm, without mentioning how, when he lived, so many of his own people turned against him; how our sense of timing had been thrown so off-balance by 400 years of horror and confusion, that the great majority of us missed him when he passed this way. He had spoke of the daily struggles, such as in one of his most famous speeches, "The Ballot or the Bullet", when he simply declared that our collective vote could have meaning, must have meaning in this country, or the struggle to receive our rights under the law of the land would turn to a fight to the death to live. He said it so we could understand, in plain talk, not puffed-up and self-righteous: "I say again, I'm not anti - Democratic, I'm not anti-Republican, I'm not anti-anything. I'm just questioning their sincerity, and some of the strategy that they've been using on our people by promising them promises that they don't intend to keep ... That's why ... it's time now for you and me to become more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what we're supposed to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don't cast a ballot, it's going to end up in a situation where we're going to have to cast a bullet."

Malcolm could tell you the plain facts, and, in a few words, express the totality of our struggle: "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black and white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

There are many who have and will denounce Brother Malcolm; many who will mis-interpret his words to suit their personal designs. There is little doubt, however, that he shall be known, by all reckoning, as a hero, a "shining Prince", a great leader among our people. We will say that he lived and worked with only love for his people, for all oppressed people, making the ultimate sacrifice for the people's struggle. So, we will say, for now, simply, that he was a Supreme Servant of the People.

"AN ARMY OF MURDERERS"

CALIFORNIA DROPS THE "DEATH PENALTY",
BUT NOT THE RIGHT TO KILL.

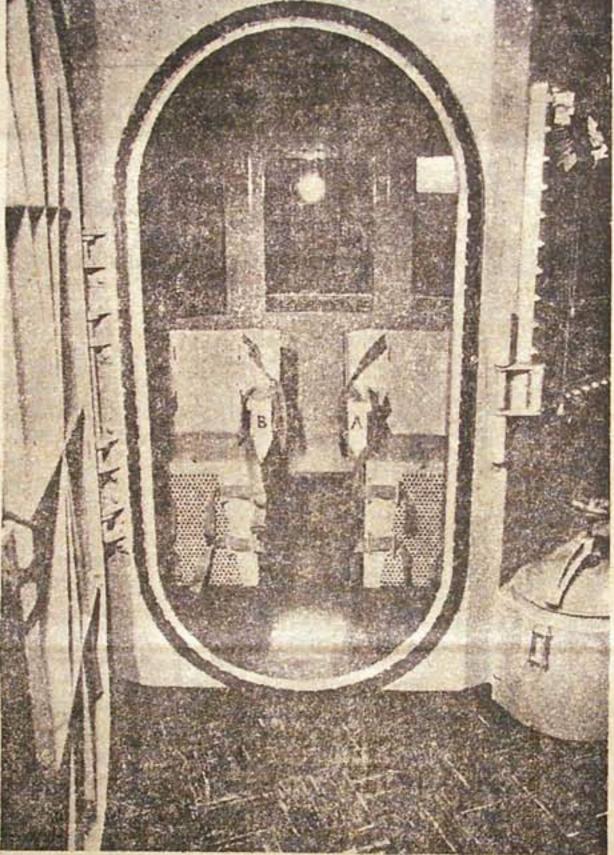


BROTHER ROBERTS
ANDERSON'S case
over-turned the
death penalty



BROTHER AARON
MITCHELL (the last to die, in 1967)

......



The State never had the right to kill, and now it pretends at humanism, when the real "army of murderers" still marches the streets, fully armed and authorized by the state to "shoot to kill".

On Friday, February 18th, the California State Supreme Court declared the death penalty unconstitutional in California, thus outlawing any further state executions as punishment for convicted persons. The ruling was based on a conviction appeal motion filed by Brother Robert Page Anderson, a prisoner of California's (former) "death row".

Brother Anderson appealed his conviction (from 1965 for murder of a San Diego, California pawnshop clerk, attempted murder and robbery) based on the facts that: 1) error was committed in jury selection; 2) the evidence utilized in the State's case against him was improperly admitted; 3) the State prosecutor was guilty of prejudicial misconduct; and 4) that the death penalty itself is cruel and unusual punishment, violating the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and Article 1, Section 6 of the Cali-

fornia Constitution. The State Supreme Court had been able, at first, to avoid the question of the death penalty as a cruel and unusual punishment, by claiming that it was a Federal court issue. The court was forced to address itself to the question, however, since cruel and unusual punishment is prohibited under State as well as the Federal Law. Not only does this ruling commute the death penalty for the 107 persons on California's death rows, but no person convicted of any crime in the state can now be issued the penalty of death.

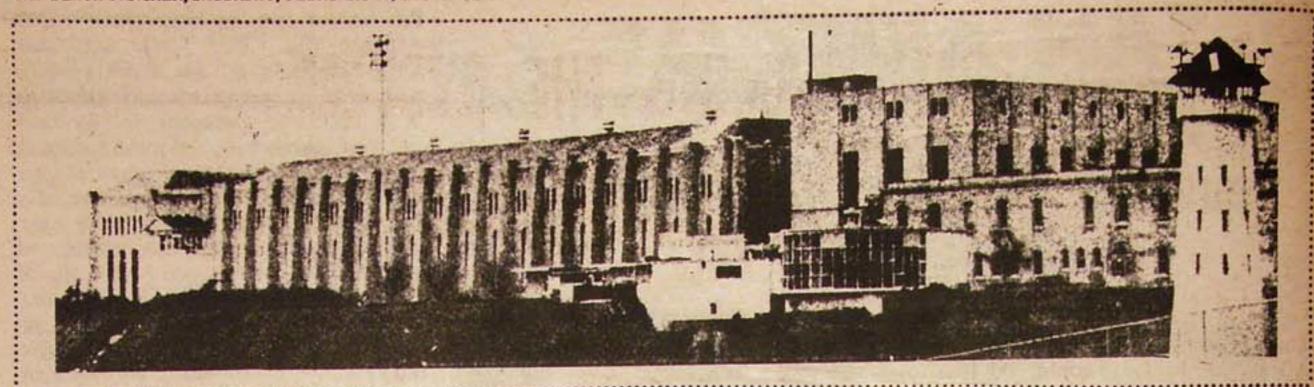
Some of U.S. fascism's most staunch guardians were naturally very upset by the decision to discontinue the death penalty. Racist, fascist State Governor Ronald Reagan was "shocked and somewhat disappointed" at the decision. Unable to control himself, he. of all people, said that it was a case of the courts setting them'selves above

the people and the legislature". Los Angeles Pig Chief Davis said that "The abolition of the death penalty will free an army of murderers to prey upon the citizenry." The real army of murderers, the state and local police, have been long preying upon the masses of people. However, the revocation of the death penalty may more likely increase the number of on-the-spot executions of Black and other oppressed people on the streets of the minimum community by local police. Since they can no longer trump-up a case with the intent of sending a person to the gas chamber to be "legally" murdered, with their blood-thirsty nature, they may feel cheated, and therefore be more willing to go ahead and get it over with on the streets. The record already shows that such murders are generally classified "justifiable homicides".

Even with all this, the court's ruling will not affect death row prisoners immediately. The California Department of Corrections (the State prison system's administration) refuses to remove the prisoners from "Death Row." until all "legal" challenges have been made and settled. Naturally, fascists like Governor Ronald Reagan, Oakland District Attorney Lowell Jensen (who tried to railroad Huey P. Newton, Servant of the People and Leader of the Black Panther Party, to the gas chamber for the death of an Oakland pig in 1967), and other reactionaries are supporting moves to have the State Attorney General's office appeal the decision. If the appeal is denied, various reactionary state legislators are already authoring bills and amendments to reinstate the death penalty. Raymond Procunier, Head of the California Department of Corrections, is, of course, also opposed to the abolition of the death penalty, stating that it will be "bad" for the "morale of the prison guards and other state police agents", since, as he put it, they'll all feel "sold out".

In spite of these frantic efforts, the attorneys who presented the case expect the ruling to stand. The decision will also affect many other cases now pending in California courts. This particularly alters plans for the state's current frame-up trials of political prisoners that are now in progress. Most of the major cases of political prisoners now pending had carried the death penalty. The legal railroad to the state's gas chamber had become the new tactic for silencing revolutionaries both within and without the prisons.

Since capital cases (cases in which conviction carries the death sentence) no longer exist, the question of bail is also raised. For instance, in



"AN ARMY OF MURDERERS"

CALIFORNIA DROPS THE "DEATH PENALTY", BUT NOT THE RIGHT TO KILL.

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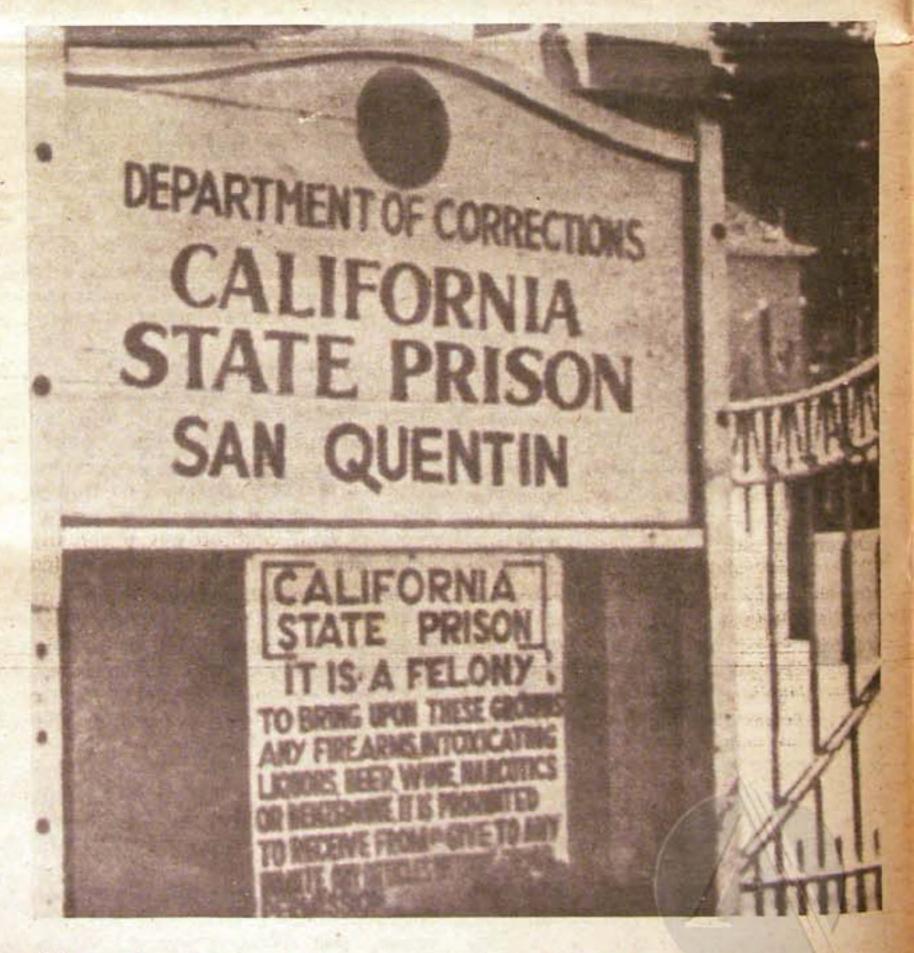
the case of Sister Angela Davis, the State's denial of bail to her was based on the fact that the California law prohibited bail for persons charged with a capital crime. Also, there is the question of Section 4500 of the California Penal Code, which stipulates that any prisoner serving a life or indeterminate life sentence who is convicted of assault on a non-inmate may be punished by death. This immediately affects cases of people like Ruchell Magee, and Brothers John Larry Spain, Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate and Luis Talamantez (the San Quentin 6), and countless others. All of these Brothers are already serving life and indeterminate life sentences. (What point is there in prosecuting men who are already serving life sentences?)

As an alternative to the reactionary plan to reinstate the death penalty entirely, Reagan, Procunier, and others are attempting to introduce a "special" death penalty, in order to at least carry out their railroad plans for revolutionaries like the San Quentin 6, Brother Ruchell Magee and Sister Angela Davis. These pigs propose that the court compromise and re-instate the death penalty for cases that involve persons charged with killing police, prison guards and public officials. The plan is to invoke enough public sentiment against the "army of murderers" as to drum up a vote for this proposed amendment.

Presently, however, there is no death penalty in the State of California. This can only be viewed as a minor victory for the people, that took too long to come, and came too late for all those who died so uselessly under

Supreme Court decision itself read, in part, capital punishment "is now, literally, an unusual punishment among civilized nations...(and) we have concluded that capital punishment is impermissibly cruel. It degrades and dehumanizes all who participate in its processes. It is unnecessary to any legitimate goal of the state and is incompatible with the dignity of man and the judicial process."

The State never had the right to take a man's life, under the law or outside of the law, whether in the gas chamber, the electric chair or on the street. Now it pretends at humanism, when the real "army of murderers" still marches the streets, fully armed and authorized by the state to "shoot to kill". The war weapons have not been put down and it wasn't a cyanide capsule that killed Comrade George Jackson. The State still claims the right to kill, to make a decision on our right to live, and no court in the country will make a decision to abolish that. The people will.



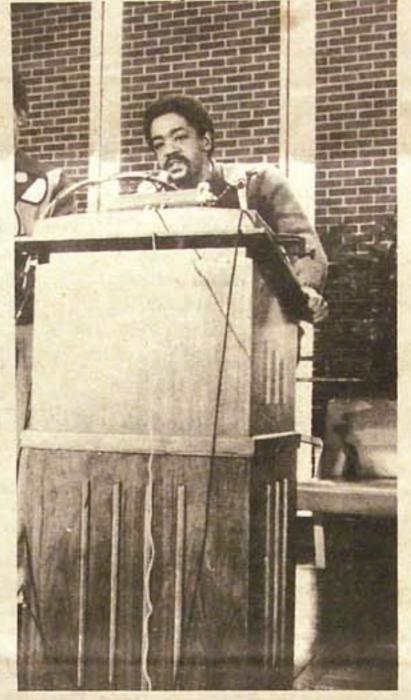
The war weapons have not been put down, and it wasn't a cyanide capsule that killed Comrade George Jackson.

TRANSFORMING THE SYSTEM

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SPEAKS AT ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY'S CIRCLE CAMPUS IN CHICAGO

afternoon, brothers Good and sisters, people and human beings alike. All power to the people, I'd like to say first that Sister Ericka Huggins and I, and the Black Panther Party want to let the people know how significant their understanding as human beings was, most significant in the fact that we were really released. You know about the press and the way the press projects things to give you the false impression that it was the judge, per se, that it was he and the court system in this country that was supposed to have released us. But, it was not ... It was really you, the most significant, the people, who actually had the kind of pressure going in an indirect, but most direct way at the same time, that caused us to be set free; the same thing for the Servant, Brother Huey P. Newton.

Now I guess a lot of people, first of all, want to know quite a few things about the Black Panther Party's existence. Some people run around saying that the Black Panther Party doesn't exist, I know I exist; and Huey knows he exists; and we know the philosophy exists; and we know that the Survival Programs, that we're implementing across the country exist, survival programs that we're implementing in the Black community to unify and organize our people. We know that these programs exist. Some people have called the Black Panther Party a fraud. All we're saying is that the 40,000 Sickle Cell Anemia tests that have been given across this country - and over 15,000 have been given right here in Chicago, so far, in the last four and a half or five months, or so - those tests are not frauds. The thousands of bags of groceries we gave away back here, on December 4th, when I spoke in the Black community here, the food that fed the people, full bags of groceries are not frauds. The thousands of brand new pairs of shoes that we've given away in different chapters and branches, that are on the peoples' feet, are not frauds. The Free Ambuthey're imlance service that plementing in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, serving the people, is not a fraud. The Free Breakfast for Children that Brother Bobby Rush and Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and others organized here, in 1969 (they kicked it off in a matter of a couple of months), where they are feeding 3,000 children free, wholesome, dieted, good food every morning, poor children, be-



"In America, our primary task is expropriation, step by step, price by price, of the wealth; and re-distribute that to the masses of people of the WORLD."

fore they go to school, that was not a fraud. All those kids will tell you, "That food in my stomach is no fraud." If you want to get down to the nitty gritty, about what ending oppression is all about, we'll have to get away from just reading phrases that "we must end oppression". We must have People's Revolutionary Struggle, or revolutionary change. We cannot do it with talk and rhetoric alone. We have to move in some concrete way, to actually implement and begin actually ending that oppression.

I want to speak to my Black brothers and sisters, most specifically, here, and I want to speak to everybody else too. There's something very significant, historically, about the development of the movement in this country from the time that Brother Martin Luther King and Brother Malcolm X began to move and began to be known, and began to put some organized practical activity together. Back in 1964, up to now, that period that we went through, we developed something, Black brothers and sisters. We developed an understanding

of ourselves, as being human beings. We educated ourselves away from the old, backward, insipient notions that we were supposed to be "negroes", or "niggers", or "colored". We educated ourselves away from that. We began to respect ourselves as human beings, by calling ourselves Black and beautiful; that's all we really meant. We wrote many pieces of poetry and we spoke a lot about being human beings, and Black and beautiful. We spoke a lot about and educated many white people, especially the white youth. We educated them to respect the fact that we're human beings. Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and many white people then began to educate themselves about their own oppression (the white youth, of course). This era that we went through was very significant and very important. In terms of a people's movement in this country, Black people divorced themselves from old, deragatory mis-meanings about their humanity, and respected themselves as human beings. In a sense, it caused the Chicano people and Puerto Rican Brothers and Sisters to begin to respect themselves, too.

We set a fine example, because the white youth began to respect themselves, or try to search out and see if they had any humanity. Many white youth began to start thinking that they didn't want to be racist like many of their mamas and daddys had been. And, we were trying to respect ourselves, to be human beings; and we didn't want to be uncle toms, like many of our mamas and daddys had been. That was a keen era, and it was very significant, and was very necessary. But the struggle does not stop there. Sure, you can look at T.V. right now, today. Black and beautiful is plastered all over T.V. A cat is running down the screen with a big natural; it says Black and beautiful; but he's a pig. The power structure is using it. The power structure is buying it off: "You're so Black and beautiful", says the capitalistic power structure, "Step right up here, niggers, and get your new Black and beautiful concepts. Now we're going to sell this to you for \$25,00 a shot," That's what they tell us. They're using it and selling it back to you. They're exploiting still. They're exploiting the poor, oppressed people constantly.

TRANSFORMING THE SYSTEM

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SPEAKS AT ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY'S CIRCLE CAMPUS IN CHICAGO



"We're saying that the wealth and the technology in this country belong to the masses of people of the world, as it belongs also to the oppressed people and other masses of people and workers in this country."

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When we talk about the Survival Programs, we are talking about free programs. Many of us fall into the traps, the same capitalistic, exploitative trap, going out into the community: "Yes, Brothers, we must have a cultural revolution", we tell our Black brothers and sisters in the community. It's an awfully funny cultural revolution when we have to start selling dashikis at \$40. a run. That's still exploiting the people. Black people don't have the money to buy a \$40, dashiki. So in the clothing factory - the free clothing program that we have going, where we are making free, good, brand new clothing - we're not going to give our people rags and hand-me-downs. We had hand-me-downs for 400 years. We're talking about some good, new, quality materials and goods, whether we are making dashikis, or long leather jackets, or long boots, or nice pants, dresses and shoes and clothes for the people. We are going to start giving it away free. We've been talking about freedom for too long. We talk about freedom in many ways, but the Party is talking about implementing freedom in a very concrete way. We do not charge a penny, or one iota of a penny for free breakfast, or free ambulance service to the people, or the free shoe program that we have. (The Chapter in Illinois is getting ready to set up a free shoe factory right here.) The Sickle Cell Anemia tests are free. The Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation, that the Party has put together, is an institution for the people, to serve the people, free. We are talking about the people's free bussing program, to

bus the loved ones, friends of prisoners to the prisons; a free commissary program, for the prisoners who do not have commissary.

Let's go back to "Black is beautiful". I do not trust Papa Doc. He's dead, but I'm going to talk about him because he killed his own oppressed people. Moishe Tsombe; Tsombe is dead now, but I'm going to talk about him, because he killed his own people. Gloves Davis, right here in Chicago: don't even know if he's still alive. He murdered Fred Hampton, and I'm going to talk about him. I don't give a damn whether he's Black, blue, green, red, yellow or polka-dotted. He's a murderer. He's a dog. That's what he is. I'm going to talk about Daley and tricky Dick Nixon, who put Gloves Davis in that position, you dig. I'm going to talk about the Agnews and the rest of the wretched capitalist pigs in this system. They need to be talked about, and they need to be moved on by the masses of the people. But, you are not going to move the masses of the people against the system, against the wretchedness that they're subjected to, unless you unify them around concrete programs, around concrete things that they can understand. What I'm trying to tell you, brothers and sisters, people and human beings alike, is that you might run around here and holler "Black, Black, Black, Black, Black is beautiful", "I love my Black and beautiful"; but let me tell you something, a hungry child (and there're 20 million hungry people), a hungry child is not Black and beautiful. A hungry child with rickets is not Black and beautiful. Is that Black and beau-

tiful? If it is, then, you got your definitions mixed up. A dead George Jackson is not Black and beautiful A person, a human being, killed murdered and unjustly and wrongfully within the framework of this existing wretched system, is not beautiful. So, how about trying to make a society where human beings can live. where Black and beautiful can flourish. where Chicano and beautiful can flourish, where humanism can flourish. because that's what you are talking about. If you are not talking about that, then what are you talking about? What do you mean by a people's revolutionary struggle? You are talking about changing the existing, wretched, oppressive conditions. You are not going to change them unless we put some energy out.

Now let's talk about what we can do. We have 300 acres to be farmed in Alabama, and 200 acres to be farmed in New Orleans. Now even my young, white brothers, who say they are tired of this wretched, oppressive system, you want to deal in revolution. Okay, why don't you come on down and harvest that food, free, for the people; and I'm not even talking about only that. You might have to get up on a big, white horse, with a pistol or a rifle in your hand, and protect it from racists who might want to destroy it. This is revolution, It's people's land, You want to do that; we got it. We're going to put some more farms up across the country and it's free. Some of our brothers have got farms that they're selling, selling it to people who don't have the means to buy it. I don't give a damn if they do sell it cheaper than the white man. Don't tell me to buy Black, unless the Black businessman is donating back. We're talking about the Black businesses in the Black community donating some kind of small, nominal amount, on a weekly basis, since the people are running in there with their pennies and nickels and dimes on a daily basis. When I say small or nominal, I don't care if you don't donate but \$2 worth of eggs to the Free Breakfast for Children Program, that sustains that program. And if he doesn't want to donate, spank the brother. Not physically; just run a legal, lawful picket in front of his place, and educate the people in the community that this particular brother won't do that. After you get the Black brothers unified, and the Black capitalists unified, with a small nominal amount, move on over to the white capitalists.

Use a little bit of strategy. Tell all of the people in the Black community to shop only at the Black businessmen's until the white businessmen, all of them, give up a nominal amount, every week, to the survival programs;

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

IF YOU'RE BLACK, GET BACK

PHILLY PIGS CONSPIRE TO KEEP SMALL,

BLACK BUSINESSMAN FROM SURVIVING.

On the campus of Temple University, at the corner of 13th Street and Montgomery Avenue, in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), there is parked a small, white, house trailer. This trailer provides the best snacks and highest quality lunches in the area of Philadelphia's Temple University. It is owned by a Black man.

In 1969, Milton Street had a little cart from which he sold pretzels. Later, he got a small orange truck, expanded his business and sold hot dogs, the best around. Now, he has the white trailer, from which he sells pastries, steak sandwiches, hot dogs, sodas and hot coffee, Milton Street's snackbar is the only means of survival for himself, his wife and three children. Through "Street's Lunch", as it is known, Brother Street also provides part-time jobs for seven youths, who help out in their spare time. Milton Street was managing to survive, until his little business ran into a problem. That was inevitable, sooner or later, in the not-so-free enterprise system of corporative America, especially for a Black man.

"Street's Lunch" was the first snack bar on the Temple Campus to sell all-beef hot dogs. All the other businesses had to start selling higher grade hot dogs, in order not to lose their patronage. "Street's" also sells their pastries at half price after 4:00 P.M., since they're not as fresh as in the morning. Most businesses don't operate this way. At 6:30, when everyone else goes home, "Street's" stays open for another four hours, to service the night school students. Since Brother Street has not sacrificed quality and service to the community for the sake of profit, he definitely represents a threat to his greedy, aspiring capitalist competitors. Naturally, too, with the inherent racism in this capitalist system, American Corporativists have no



In Milton Street's struggle to provide for himself, his wife and three children, he found that the not-so-free enterprise system of American corporativism was not meant to include Black People.

intention of letting a Black man into their system.

When Milton Street started pulling customers away from his long-established, but crooked competitors, they did not sit idly by and watch their businesses drop. They made contact with the 23rd District of the Philadelphia Police Department, Police Captain Green sent his men and a tow truck down to 13th and Montgomery with orders to tow away "Street's Lunch".

Thirteenth and Montgomery is a towaway zone. According to a city ordinance, any vehicles parked there can be removed if a complaint is filed. So the tow was 'legal'. However, only one vehicle was towed, 'Street's Lunch'. All the other vehicles, in cluding two or three of Street's competitors, were left as they were. Brother Street simply returned the crailer to 13th and Montgomery after the police left. A tow truck and crew returned again, a couple of days later, but "Street's Lunch" was wedged between two other parked vehicles, and the tow truck would have had to move them also in order to be able to get to their real target. The angry pigs left without comment, Brother Street went to the Police Station, and asked why his trailer had been towed. He was told that it was in a tow-away zone, and that a complaint had been filed. When he asked why only his vehicle was towed, he was told that the city of Philadelphia, with a population of nearly 3 million people, had only one tow truck available, and that the pigs had just happened to pick "Street's Lunch" trailer to tow away. This lie was exposed when Brother Street saw the order, signed by Captain Green, to tow, from 13th and Montgomery, a white house trailer. No other vehicle was mentioned, although every vehicle there was just as much an obstruction to traffic as the next. The next time, the pigs sent their tow truck down to tow "Street's Lunch" trailer at 6:40 P.M. They knew that everyone else left at 6:30, and that only "Street's" stayed open until 10:00 or 11:00 at night.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

WHERE DEATH IS A COMMON OCCURRENCE

"BLACK" BOSTON PIG JOINS TREND IN MURDERING BLACK YOUTH

Wanton (senseless, unjustifiable) murder and brutality by the gestapo police force are such a common occurrence in the Black community, that when, on Wednesday, February 10 (1972), 18-year old Cornell Thomas was brutally murdered by off-duty "Black" plainclothes detective Richard Armstead, it was hardly noticed. The facts surrounding Cornell's murder are very clear to those community residents who witnessed the entire incident; clear to three of Cornell's friends, who were with him at the time, Bobby Corey (17), Jerry Kelly (18) and Michael Brooks (16).

Cornell and his friends had been driving along Norwell Street, in the Dorchester section of Boston (Massachusetts), which is a one-way street on one end, and a two way street on the other. Cornell decided to take a short-cut, and enter Norwell Street going in the opposite direction of the arrows designating it a one-way street. As they approached a bend in the street, they confronted a car travelling in the opposite direction, at which time they pulled over to the side of the road.

Pig Richard Armstead, who had been driving the other car, then jumped out of his car and approached Cornell's vehicle, demanding to see Cornell's license and registration. Cornell, not knowing who Armstead was (since Armstead did not identify himself, as is required by law of all policemen) refused to show his license and registration. As the community looked on, Armstead, then, just reached for his gun and shot Cornell in the side, point-blank, and left him in the street, bleeding. Armstead grabbed the other three brothers out of the van in which they were riding and handcuffed them.

Bobby, Jerry and Michael were then held, at gunpoint, and were not allowed to give Cornell aid in any way. Cornell was left lying on that street for approximately one half hour before being taken to the hospital. The brothers were all taken into custody for approximately 3 hours. Then, they were suddenly released. During their detention, they had no idea, whatsoever, of Cornell's condition. Early the following morning, Cornell Thomas died.

There is no doubt in the community's



"We paused from our hurrying hither and thither and walking up and down, and asked in half-whisper: this Death - is this Life?" (W. E. B. Du Bois)

mind that Cornell was murdered in cold-blood: he was unarmed and standing defenseless in front of Armstead. The news media stated that Armstead had fired at Cornell in self-defense, to stop Cornell from crushing him with his van. This, according to all the community people who were questioned, including Cornell's friends, is, as usual, a blatant lie, because Brother Cornell was standing on the street outside of his van when Armstead shot him.

The circumstances surrounding the murder of Cornell are so much like circumstances surrounding the murder and brutality of thousands of Black people throughout America. The ironic, but not so strange, fact is that Cornell was murdered by a Black pig, who showed no concern, whatsoever, for a young Black life, due to one more successful brainwashing. Armstead is only one example of the decadence of American society, where murder and brutality by fascist policemen are a common occurrence. Yes, daily, in the Black, poor and oppressed communities throughout America, our people, especially our youth are being brutalized and murdered. Whether the bullets come from a white racist that doesn't live in our community or a "soul" patrolman from the neighborhood, we still, today, have no control over the police in our communities.



"The boy clothed in his splendid youth stood before us and laughed in his own jolly way - went and was gone." (W.E.B.Du Bois)

Where was it written that Cornell Thomas was supposed to die at the age of eighteen? We have a right to live, because we were born. We have a right to defend our right to live against any and all who wish to deny us.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE Massachusetts State Chapter Black Panther Party

SICKLE CELL ANEMIA + THE "PILL" = INSTANT GENOCIDE

Lift tab. Take this tablet first.

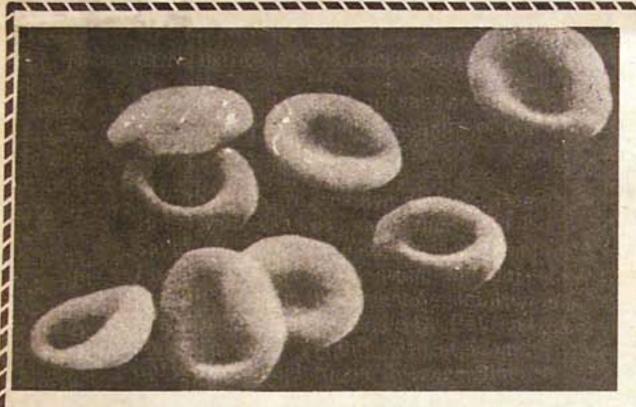
Window-Box

Dialpak Tablet Dispenser

Read these directions thoroughly.

1. Rotate the top clockwise until the

 Rotate the top clockwise until the day you take your first tablet appears in the Window-Box.



Normal, donut shaped, red blood cells.

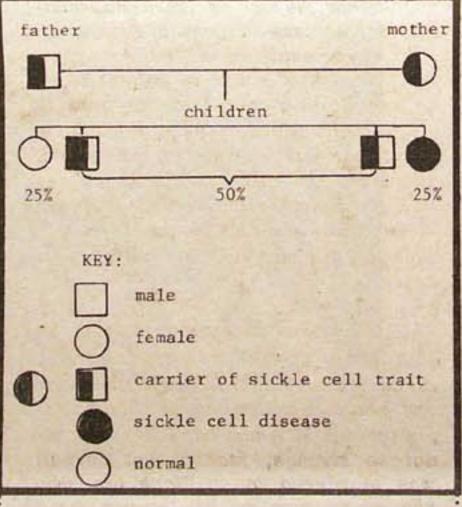


Red blood cells taken from a patient in a sickle cell crisis.

Three of the cells are sickled and the other stretching away from its normal, donut shape.

Within the Black community, there are currently two major views on the question of birth control pills. There are those who feel that the use of the pill by Black women amounts to willful genocide, limiting and eliminating our number before even getting started. Other people feel that women who can't afford to have children should take the pill. This generally comes from "charitable" warnings about bringing a child into a world of misery, suffering and pain. Then there are the moralists, who cry "murder" with every pill swallowed; and the Women's Lib people claim every woman has the right to take the pill. The birth control pill is neither fool-proof nor safe. However, the pill is one of the most effective methods of contraception presently known.

Regardless of all of this, a great number of Black women take birth control pills regularly, and there are many who will in the near future. In this case, then, the Black woman should know that although the pill is considered nearly 100% effective, a missed pill can cause an un-wanted pregnancy; and that not only is she, like other women, subject to excessive weight gains, frequency of vaginal infections, the possibility of birth-defected children or uterine cancer, but, now, scientific research is strongly indicating that the birth control pill has



WHAT CAUSES SICKLE CELL DISEASE?

When two carriers of Sickle Cell Trait marry, 25 per cent, or 1 out of 4, of their children could have Sickle Cell Disease. That is, at each pregnancy there will be a 25 per cent chance of the child having Sickle Cell Disease. This is illustrated by the family tree above. There are approximately 60,000 persons in the United States with Sickle Cell Disease. Ten per cent of the Black population, 2.5 million persons, are carriers.

seriously adverse effects on victims of Sickle Cell Anemia (98% of whose victims we already know are Black).

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (F.D.A.) is a government agency supposedly set up to test all food and drugs for safety and use on the open market. This is why manufacturers are bound by law to label their products to identify their contents and possible harmful effects. The F.D.A. apparently didn't have any time to test the birth control pill, for other than the guineapig tests that were unknowingly given to women in places such as Puerto Rico, the pill has not really been properly tested. It would be even more absurd, then, to expect that the F.D.A. tested the pill for effects on sickle cell victims (especially since Black people in general were unable, until recently, to even get a test for sickle cell).

known, it appears that the birth control pill taken by someone with sickle cell disease or trait amounts to no more than a poison. Without any of this information, or concern about getting it, the government has wantonly filtered the pill into the Black communities across the country, doing everything possible to force Black women to take them, in the usual attempt to kill us off. Certain clinics and hospitals around the country, locally controlled on PAGE 14

THE SOUL OF W. E.B. DU BOIS

LEST WE FORGET THE MAN WHO FOUNDED THE N.A.A.C.P.,
BECAME A COMMUNIST AND FLED TO AFRICA TO DIE.



In a time when it is acceptable to pronounce the word Black, to remember proudly the people of our past, to praise ourselves and speak of uniting for freedom, there is a noticeable gap in our pronouncements, by the name of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. So much has been denied our people, we Black people in the U.S., land, language, culture, nationhood. Our heritage is so unique that we must, by necessity, focus on the future to claim in fact, in real terms our humanity. Yet, there is always the tie that binds us, separated and dis-

placed as we were and are, done by design; transplanted without consent and robbed of every right of human beings. We have our sub-culture, born from the common oppression. And, we have our heroes, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser, Malcolm so many. Let us count among them the man who, at one time, would have begged to go to Harvard; who formulated the concept of "The Talented Tenth", but fought Booker T. Washington, because he wouldn't fight America; who was denounced by Marcus Garvey and praised by Garvey's

good friend, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, let us count Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois among those Black people who gave themselves to the liberation of our people, of all oppressed people.

Du Bois was born, as it happened, the day after George Washington's birthday and three years after the so-called Emancipation Proclamation, on February 23, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. As a Black man from the New England area, of a racially well-mixed family stock, he was thrown into a somewhat leisurely life as a

scholar. After high school graduation, his only wish was to enter Harvard, the "best" school in the country. However, the reality of his life wouldn't permit such a thing for a Black man in those years. Therefore, with reluctance and a scholarship, he went to all-Black Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee. There, the "refined, colored" young gentleman from the North was, for the first time, among his own.

It was really shocking for him. There in Nashville he saw the lynchings and brutal murders of Black people be performed by racist whites with as much customary casualness as drinking tea at tea-time in New England (between 1885 and 1894, seventeen hundred persons of African descent were lynched). When he finally left Fisk, to attend Harvard, it wasn't what it would have been, At Harvard, he clung to Black people, rejecting even general social courtesies toward whites. Soon he had received his Masters Degree and he left for Europe (in 1892), staying for two years, Glad to get back, he tried to get a teaching position with one of the Black colleges, Tuskegee, Howard, etc. They rejected him because he didn't have a Ph.D. Getting acceptance from Wilberforce University (Ohio), he taught there until he received his Ph.D. from Harvard and was offered a job at the University of Pennsylvania to work on a project involving the Philadelphia

It was with this new assignment and his past experiences that Du Bois began to view the world in real terms, in terms of Du Bols the Black man, He began to understand the absurdity of life as a Black in America, With the most honest of intentions, therefore, he began to speculate on how the Black man could get out from under the oppression. One such theory, which became popular as the notion of "The Talented Tenth", outlined how 10% of Blacks in America should go to school, take the training and skills from the white man and teach and lead the others, to the point of liberation.

It was during this period that Du Bois met Booker T. Washington, with whom he would engage in a bitter contradiction. Washington had become popular with his philosophy of "Cast down your bucket where you are", implying and meaning that the Black American should not look to raise himself above his present oppressed station, but try to learn industrial trades and manual skills so as to be able to level collective bargaining power for his civil and human rights. Du Bois opposed this concept v g Vously. Where Booker T. Washi gt. b said the Black man didn't need to Vote just then, Du Bois insisted Blacks have and exercise the right to vote;

where Washington was opposed to the use of violence in defense of racist lynchings, tar and featherings, etc., Du Bois believed in returning violence with violence. Du Bois was finally led to say the following: "The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate - a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host, But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds - so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this - we must unceasingly and firmly oppose

Du Bois was constantly being frustrated by the slowness of progress of his people. This he felt so strongly that when his two-year old son died, although he was naturally sad and bitter, he cynically wrote, "Well sped, my boy, before the world had dubbed your ambition insolence, had heldyour ideals unattainable, and taught you to cringe and bow. Better far this nameless void that stops my life than a sea of sorrow for you.

"Idle words; he might have borne his burden more bravely than weaye, and found it lighter too, some day; for surely, surely this is not the end. Surely there shall yet dawn some mightly morning to lift the Vell and set the prisoned free."

By 1905, this bitterness and frustration shaped itself into an organization Du Bois founded called the Niagra Movement. The essence of the 1905 Conference, held in Buffalo, New York, was an outline of the Niagra Movement's purpose, which in summary stated that the time had come for Black people to stop asking and demand their rights from white people, Their demands, those of the Niagra Movement, seem somewhat simple and basic now; but in 1905, they were revolutionary: equal treatment in public places; equal voting rights for all men; decent and fair employment and economic opportunity; the right to an education for all people; equal justice under the law, without racial discrimination in jury selection; the right to live in healthy conditions, decent housing, etc.

The Niagra Movement had its second conference at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, to make a particular point, for it had been there that John Brown had attempted to aid Black slaves in obtaining guns to free themselves from the masters, However, the Niagra Movement began to lose the little support it had been building, in favor of the program of Booker T. Washington. Therefore, it was dis-banded, only to be re-shaped by its members, in 1909, into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The first program of the NAACP, strangely enough, was what to do about Booker T. Washington, However, this new organization's purpose was the achievement of equal rights for Black people. The organization developed a newspaper, "The Crisis", of which Dr. Du Bois became editor (he preferred that to an organizational leadership

When Washington died in 1915, the leaders of the NAACP became the prime spokesmen for the struggle of Blacks, Although, even then, it primarily appealed to middle-class type Black people, and although Du Bois himself was viewed in this way, as editor of "The Crisis", many very radical positions were put forward in "The Crisis" newspaper: "Let black men especially kill lecherous white invaders of their homes and then take their lynching gladly like men. It's worth it,"; then, "Let the eagle scream! America is redeemed at Coatesville, Some people talk of punishing the heroic mob, and the governor of Pennsylvania seems to be real provoked. We hasten to assure our readers that nothing will be done. There may be a formal arrest, but the men will be promptly released by the mob sitting as jury - perhaps even as judge, America knows her true heroes,

"This we said some nine months ago when the crucifixion at Coatesville was new in its horror. Some of our readers took us roundly to task at the time, but today we can proudly announce the fulfillment of our prophecy: The last lyncher is acquitted and the best traditions of Anglo-Saxon civilization are safe. Let the eagle scream!" The NAACP, by 1917, was able to organize 10,000 people to march down New York's Fifth Avenue to protest lynching.

As part of his work with the NAACP (although Du Bois always made a kind of distinction between "The Crisis" operation and the regular work of the NAACP), Du Bois often travelled overseas, as a kind of diplomat for Black 4. Americans, Therefore, it was only natural that at the end of World War I (in 1918), he went to Paris to observe the peace talks, However, while there, he held a meeting, with some other Blacks in Paris, and as its Chairman, designated the meeting as the First Pan-African Congress, There, Du Bois openly denounced colonialism and imperialism. By the next year, he was

THE SOUL OF W.E.B. DU BOIS

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CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

able to hold another Congress meeting, and get the very weak support of the NAACP.

what I had Jone

With such progressive activity, Du-Bois was shocked when the "Black Saviour", Marcus Garvey, who had begun another organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), began to denounce Du Bois and his "Talented Tenth", elitist ideas. .Garvey's appeal to the average Black person, through the "Back to Africa" movement, had become widespread; thousands were buying stock in UNIA's Black Star Shipping Lines and Negro Factory Corporation. Garvey said that he himself had come to deliver the masses, and that Du Bois despised the masses, and worshipped the white man (the reason for this was, as Garvey put it, his white ancestry).

Du Bois tried not to come into conflict with Garvey and to continue his work, arranging a Third Pan-African Congress (in 1921), commenting that Garvey placed too much emphasis on color within the race. However, with all Du Bois's disagreement, when Garvey was eventually deported back to the West Indies (for a false charge of selling phony stock to the Black Star Lines), Du Bois realized Garvey's correct position, and even, later, agreed with Garvey about the middle-class nature of the NAACP. The contradiction they had had, however, hurt him deeply for he had become stamped as a white man's "negro": "Of the movement I was willy-nilly leader. I hated the role. For the first time I faced criticism and cared. Every ideal and habit of my life was cruelly misjudged. I who had always overstriven to give credit for good work, who had never consciously stooped to envy was accused by honest colored people of every sort of small and petty jealousy, while white people said I was ashamed of my race and wanted to be white! And this of me, whose one life fanaticism had been belief in my Negro blood!"

He continued with "The Crisis" newspaper, using it as a forum for



"I have been in the world, but not of it. I have seen the human drama from a veiled corner..." (W. E. B. Du Bois)

such as the works of Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay. It was then that he was ironically to be charged by many as preaching race hatred, when he said of World War I: "...that as wild and awful as this shameful war was, it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World cease..." And, even later, he was accused of receiving orders from the Kremlin, after his first visit to the Soviet Union (in 1926).

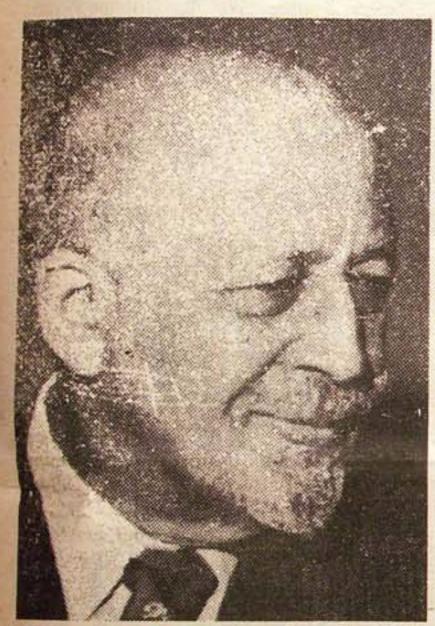
Naturally, the stock market crash in 1929 did not much affect Black people, many of whom barely knew there was such a thing as a Great Depression. The split between Du Bois and the NAACP became greater during that period, however. It had been during that Great Depression that the actual organization (NAACP) wanted to take over what had become Du Bois's newspaper, because, as they stated, of high production costs in a time when everyone was suffering economically. The conflict over this issue became very bitter, especially between NAACP

President Walter White (who had replaced James Weldon Johnson) and Du Bois, primarily, however, because Du Bois was constantly denouncing White's conservatism. Finally, in 1934, Du Bois resigned from the organization he had helped create.

He decided to travel and learn more. In 1936, he was disappointed by all the foreigners in China (this was, of course, before Liberation in 1949), so much so that he compared Shanghai to Mississippi. Gladly, then, he returned to the U.S., to Atlanta University to teach. Du Bois introduced African studies there, and read from the works of Marx. He well understood by then and basically agreed with Marxist philosophy. However, after the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had been trumped-up as the working man's friend and hero, Du Bois was to write: "I was bitter at lynching, but not moved by the treatment of white miners in Colorado or Montana. I never sang the songs of Joe Hill, and the terrible strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, did not stir me because I knew that factory strikers like these would not let a Negro work beside them or live in the same town. It was hard for me to outgrow this mental isolation, and to see that the plight of the white workers was fundamentally the same as that of the black..." It was during the period of Roosevelt that he wrote four books: "Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880"; "Black Folk"; "Then and Now"; and "Dusk of Dawn". He was then, of course, a well-known scholar and writer, and eventually (in 10 years) was asked to re-join the NAACP. Tricked into acting as Walter White's assistant on a visit to the United Nations in San Francisco, Du Bois hated what he saw. Based on that, he wrote, "Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace", denouncing the U.N. and its policies toward African nations. It was not long after that (in 1945) that he held the Fifth Pan-African Congress (in England), where he was to really meet a man who became one of his closest friends, Dr.

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"It is curious to see America, the United States, looking on herself, first, as a sort of natural peacemaker, then as a moral protagonist in this terrible time. No nation is less fitted for this role. For two or more centuries America has marched proudly in the van of human hatred...."

(W.E.B.Du Bois)

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE
Kwame Nkrumah.

Eventually and expectedly fired from the NAACP, Du Bois joined and helped organize a variety of groups, the fundamental purpose of which was the achievement of man's human rights. The McCarthy witch-hunt Era was coming into full swing by then, and because of all these activities, Du-Bois, like so many others, found him self charged by the government, for refusing to register as a member of a "subversive" group (the Peace Information Center). He was 82 years old by then, and didn't much care about what the U.S. government had to say: "The claim of the United States that it represents democracy in contrast to fascism or communical is patently false... Today in the United States or-

ganized wealth owns the press and chief news-gathering organs, and is exercising increased control over the schools and making public discussion and even free thinking difficult and often impossible...The cure for this and the way to change the socially planned United States into a welfare state is for the American people to take over the control of the nation in industry as well as government...If this be treason, make the most of it." Although he was eventually acquitted of the charge, when he received the World Peace Council Prize and the Lenin Peace Prize, he was unable to go and receive either one, as the government had kept his passport.

As soon as he, after a struggle, got his passport back in (1958), Du Bois took off, away from America. He went to Europe, again to Russia, and returned to see the new China, under new leadership and with new direction. After meeting with Chairman Mao Tsetung and Premier Chou En-lai, and lecturing at various colleges and universities there, he felt ever closer to the people of China and the Third World: "I used to weep for American Negroes, as I saw what indignities and repressions cruelties they had passed; but as I read Chinese history in these last months and had it explained to me stripped of Anglo-Saxon lies, I know that no depths of Negro slavery in America have plumbed such abysses as the Chinese have seen for 2,000 years and more...Despite all this, China lives...Oh, beautiful, patient, self-sacrificing China, despised and unforgettable, victorious and forgiving, crucified and risen from the dead."

Although Du Bois joined the American Communist Party in 1961, he immediately left the U.S., never to return, to live in Ghana, close to his good friend, now President of the first independent African nation. It was not long before this good friend, Kwame Nkrumah, would say, after the death of Du Bris, on August 27, 1963, there in Ghana, having bent over his casket and

kissed him, with tears in his eyes:
"Dr. Du Bois, in a long life-span of ninety-six years, achieved distinction as a poet, historian, and sociologist. He was an undaunted fighter for the emancipation of colonial and oppressed people and pursued this objective throughout his life...I asked Dr. Du-Bois to come to Ghana to pass the evening of his life with us...We mourn his death...May he rest in peace."

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois had spoken for himself, however, for his last writing had said: "...I am going to take a long, deep, and endless sleep. This is not a punishment but a privilege to which I have looked forward for years.

"I have loved my work, I have loved people and my play, but always I have been uplifted by the thought that what I had done well will live long and justify my life; that what I have



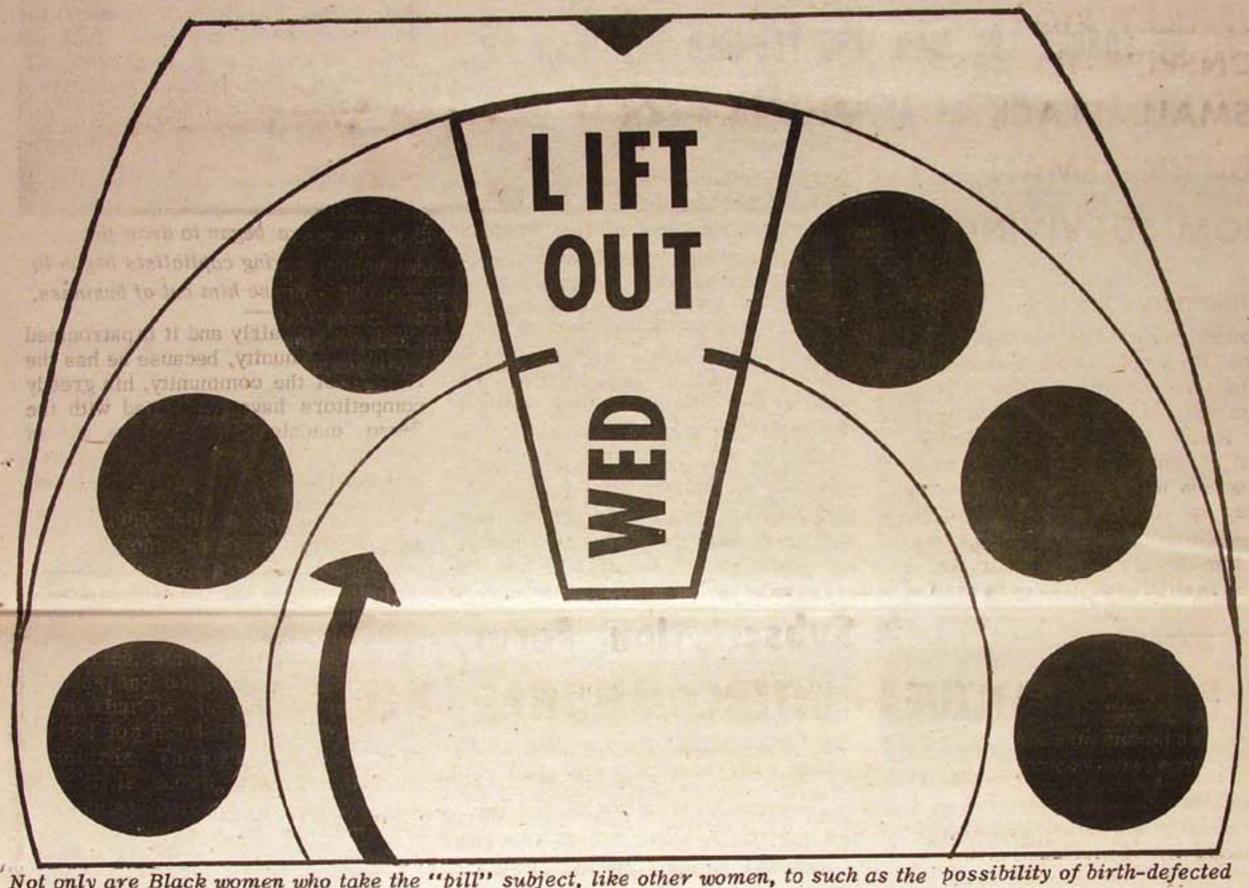
"Murder may swagger, theft may rule and prostitution may flourish and the nation gives but spasmodic, intermittent and lukewarm attention. But let the murderer be black or the thief brown or the violator of womanhood have a drop of Negro blood, and the righteousness of the indignation sweeps the world."

done ill or never finished can now be handed on to others for endless days to be finished, perhaps better than I could have done.

"And that peace will my applause ... "

SICKLE CELL ANEMIA

THE "PILL" = INSTANT GENOCIDE



Not only are Black women who take the "pill" subject, like other women, to such as the possibility of birth-defected children or uterine cancer, but now, scientific research strongly indicates the pill has serious effects on sickle cell anemia victims.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

thing but get out onto the street and hawk the pill, offering Black women the pill on a "step-right-up" basis.

Sickle Cell Anemia is a hereditary blood disease that affects the red blood cells of its victims, causing those red blood cells to change from their normal donut shape into a long sickle shape. When the cells are sickling, the prosess drains the body's oxygen, causing the clotting of blood, and possibly leading to death. Most people who have sickle cell anemia die before the age of 35. The birth control pill has been found to reduce the amount of oxygen in the blood. This oxygen reduction in a sickle cell anemia victim speedsup and increases the sickling process (and, the clotting), so much so that for a woman who would only have the sickle cell trait, serious illness can occur. In a sickle cell anemia disease victim, the more sickling, the greater amount of clotting, eventually creating a vicious circle, leading to death.

This genocidal conspiracy is not limited to the continental United States. As the U.S. government stretches its greedy hand across the water to rip off other people's land and resources, all the murderous domestic policies go with it. The Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) is another U.S. government agency (admittedly affiliated with the C.I.A.) which sets itself up to provide "aid" to underdeveloped countries. Its purpose, in fact, is to brighten Uncle Sam's filthy image to the people of the world. Through A.I.D., the U.S. government not only distributes financial loans, "economic advisors", and U.S. propaganda, but, of course, the birth control pill. It especially distributes birth control pills throughout the Third World, the oppressed people of color (in Africa, Asia and Latin America). Naturally, in those communities also, there is no testing of the pill for harmful effects; and, those harmful effects that are known are kept a secret.

The U.S. Empire is attempting to exterminate us all, through every possible devious scheme. We must, therefore, ourselves continue to wage a massive educational, research and preventative medical campaign, in order to survive these genocidal attempts, in the form of medical "aid" to oppressed people. The Black Panther Party, one with the people of the world, will continue to implement survival programs in Black and other opcommunities throughout pressed America, in the interest of our people's survival, in the struggle for complete liberation.

IF YOU'RE BLACK, GET BACK

PHILLY PIGS
CONSPIRE TO KEEP
SMALL, BLACK
BUSINESSMAN
FROM SURVIVING.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

RENEWAL

Brother Street has not been intimidated by such tactics, however. He
has contacted Hardy Williams, a Black
lawyer who ran in the Democratic primary against fascist Frank Rizzo for
Mayor of Philadelphia. He hopes to
get enough help from Brother Hardy
to stay in business, to survive. He
has contacted several organizations to
help him in his fight to survive. A



When "Street's Lunches" "fair prices and good service began to draw the customers of his crooked competitors, the greedy, aspiring capitalists began to conspire with the Philadelphia Police Department to drive him out of business.

demonstration was called to support Brother Street. He has the support of the community, of the Temple University Students, his fellow victims, who are also his customers.

Brother Street is a Black man who is trying to survive. Yet, he has not forgotten his people. He prides himself upon service to the community, not profit from it. Because he has run

his business fairly and it is patronized by the community, because he has the respect of the community, his greedy competitors have conspired with the Rizzo machine to run him out of business. The community, however, will continue to support Brother Street and his right to survive.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, CA 94126

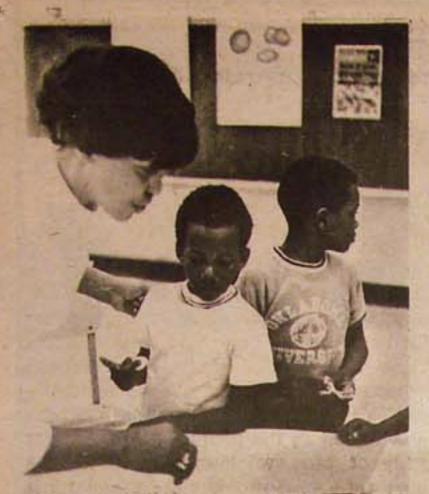
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"Some people have called the Black
Panther Party a fraud. All we're saying
is that 40,000 sickle cell anemia tests...
thousands of bags of groceries...
thousands of brand new pairs of shoes.
that we've given away...are not frauds."

TRANSFORMING THE SYSTEM

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SPEAKS AT ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY'S CIRCLE CAMPUS IN CHICAGO

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

not to the Party, to the programs (that we're making non-profit, so that they can even get a tax deductable operation). We're going to make sure and see to it that those programs flourish in the community. We're going to make sure and see to it that we begin, now, to end that oppression; and we are not stupid. We know that the power structure would love to attack some of these programs. In California, we have a Fred Hampton and Mark Clark People's Free Food Program. The pig power structure wants to arrest the food, I think they're going to make a whole lot of Black people mad, and it's going to make a whole lot of white people mad, a whole lot of poor people, poor, oppressed people mad. Their (the pig power structure's) political power begins to disintegrate more so when you are giving away 2 and 5 and 6 and 3,000 bags of groceries plus clothing and shoes, etc. So, the pig structure comes along and tries to arrest the programs. We've got to defend them. We've got to defend those programs; and we will defend those programs. We'll get on picket lines, and we will, in fact, go out there and

boycott certain businessmen who will refuse to donate a small, nominal amount every week, continuously (and he can choose what program he wants to donate to), using a legal, lawful picket. If he refuses to donate, we intend to shut him down. Teach him. We did it a number of times. It worked in California; it's going to work elsewhere. Now we'll move on the white businessmen, because they're both akin to each other. Both of them are exploiting. It's just that the Black brothers are victims, and the greedy, white, monopoly capitalists and the greedy Daleys, Nixons, Rockefellers are victimizers. We have to get out there, in front of these picket lines, and walk. To implement survival programs, we have to walk for survival. We have to work in the community and educate, pass out leaflets, pull the people around and educate them. When we start talking about doing certain things, in particular, in operating in our community, we have to talk for survival. We have to get out there and work together, get a proper perspective and organize and implement for survival. And if the pigs don't like it, and they want to attack one of our programs, well, we'll implement one new free program, called the Free Gun Program, so we can shoot for survival!

Some people misunderstand what the gun is about, though. I said, to defend the programs. In an unjust racist attack, we will have to shoot for survival. We're involving masses of people doing this, to protect their right to free shoes, to protect their right to free clothing, to protect their right to free food, to protect their right to live. The gun is not, per se, power. Survival programs become institutions in the community, not only institutions in the form of facilities, but institutions also in the consciousness of the people, because the survival programs are spread to catch the consciousness of the people. The programs are institutions, controlled by the people, in their communities. It's really people's power, when you see that those institutions actually serve the people. The people see to it. That's real people's power. We have a few cultists who misunderstand what the gun is all about. It's only a tool, brothers and sisters. It's only a tool, that's used in a particular time and in a particular situation. That's all it is. The hammers that we pick up are tools, that we use to put the nails in the walls of the medical clinics, the Free Medical Clinics. I am not going to pick up a .357 magnum and try to drive a bullet into those walls, the bullet of a .357 magnum. I must use a hammer at that particular time and in that particular situation. But, I keep the gun handy, to defend my right to pick up the hammer to nail the nail into the

wall of the Free Medical Clinic.

That's what George Jackson was trying to get over. In case you didn't know he has a new book, BLOOD IN MY EYE. You talk about revolution, you're talking about people, you're talking about human beings. You're not talking about viciously killing people for the sake of viciously killing, You're talking about defending humanity's right to live on the face of this earth. I will defend the right to drive that truck full of groceries down to the community, to give it to the people, free, implementing some freedom. And, the people will defend their right to have that food too. They become involved in the revolutionary struggle. A group of cultists cannot go out and stop 1,200,000 policemen in this country, armed for over-kill; not only armed with .357 magnums, but AR-15's, armoured tanks, trucks, and cars and everything else. He (the cultist) jumps out and says, we want to have guerilla warfare, guerilla warfare pasted or plastered all over the front pages. I remember when I used to be in an organization called RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement) which was way before the Party started. The basic reason I got out of that organization was because these cats passed out 2,000 leaflets announcing an "underground" meeting. No perspective. That's why I got out of RAM - 2,000 leaflets announcing an underground meeting.

The Servant of the People, Brother Huey P. Newton, ran it down that we're going to run a top-of-the-ground organization. Revolutionary struggles in the past have been basically carried out on top of the ground, Some people want to go underground because they're scared, in the first stage. They haven't anything, anyway; or they're forced to go underground. If they're forced to go underground, it must mean that they've done something on top of the ground, already, in behalf of the people's survival, for humanity. We're talking about running a people's, basic, revolutionary struggle. scientific We're not talking about running acultist struggle. Just because I might have good ideas about what the revolutionary struggle is about, I've got to remember what the level of my consciousness is to where the people are, in terms of what they themselves want. We are not trying to be monarchs.

That's one thing the Servant did. When he first got out of jail a year ago, the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party gave him a title, called Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party. Huey did not want that, It took him two months to educate them to get rid of Supreme Commander. He was trying to tell them that the most he could be was a ser-

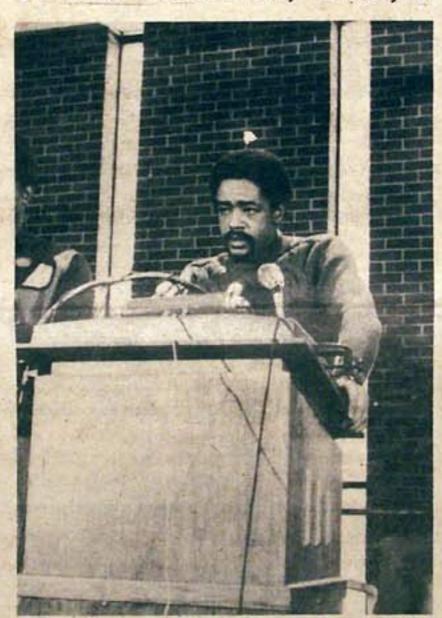
TRANSFORMING THE SYSTEM

CHAIRMAN BOBBY SPEAKS AT ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY'S CIRCLE CAMPUS IN CHICAGO

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE vant of the people. The Central Committee then came up with the "Supreme" Servant of the People. Huey told the Central Committee how they had it all wrong. That's not it; you've still got that "Supreme" in there. So, he finally educated them, in two more months, and he got rid of the title Supreme Servant of the People; and the Central Committee came down with Servant of the People and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. When I came out of jail, Huey whispered in my ear. He said, "Look, man, do you think we could get rid of the title Minister of Defense?" We finally educated the Central Committee to vote that we even get rid of that title. We are working away from the monarch-type notion. We do not need those things. We're trying to work, and just be teachers. That's the most we really can be. It might take three or four more years to get away and give Bobby Seale another title (if the Central Committee wants to do that). The point of the matter is that many people misunderstand that. The press loves to play up "Supreme Commander" or "Minister of Defense". Huey's title is not Minister of Defense; it's Servant of the People. Oh, they like to play up the fact that we've got Huey P. Newton up on the 25th floor (of an Oakland apartment building). The Black people in the Black community like it. They say that's where he ought to be. They tell me that Malcolm X didn't have enough security, and that Martin Luther King didn't have enough security. We know that with him (Huey) up there, sixty per cent of the time he does not have to dodge bullets and bombs. In that particular place, the police are not going to be running up in there. To top that off, we don't even have to pay for it. A book publishing company, the book publishing operation, copyright company who wants to do all this jive, we make them pay those expenses, beyond the fees for writing books. The money from the books goes back into the survival programs. We kill two birds with one stone, security, etc. That's why we're going to keep him there, where he needs to be. They murdered Martin, the murdered Malcolm, they murdered Medger. They will keep murdering. They probably still can murder him; but if we can keep him secure 60% of the time, I say that's what we ought to do. The Black community tells us to do it. The press is worried about that. Why don't they tell the

truth? The press won't do that. They try to confuse the people.

I came here to try to explain it to you. More so than that, I came to explain the analysis that we have of the revolutionary struggle, and how the masses of the people are going to be involved in it. You don't stop 1,200,000 pigs with small groups of people, small cultist groups, without the masses of the people. You have to raise the consciousness, You cannot raise the consciousness, unless you



"We can speak of how we must transform fascism, racism and exploitation...but what will we do about it?"

begin to implement some aspects of what the goals of the people's struggle is about. The goal becomes manifested in the survival programs. The survival programs become a basis around which the people begin to unify.

We have operations where we can institutionalize preventative, free medical care and attention in the community in a matter of 3 to 6 months, throughout the poor, oppressed Black community. We educate the people about the thin line of demarcation between what the corrupt power structure is doing with the taxes they take from the people and what should be done with the taxes. The power structure is running around talking about we need of thousands of hundreds these millions of dollars to build more hospitals. We're talking about mobile units,

free, people's medical clinic mobile units in the community, with preventative medical care and attention, to keep them out of the hospital. People relate to that, staying out of the hospital. To focus in on what the desires and needs of the people are, one must respect his own humanity, if he has any; take his own humanity and put it into some form of practice, institutionalize something that's functional for the people. It becomes consciously institutionalized in the people's minds, and the people can compare it with what they didn't have before. When the people start to do that, you know you are beginning to end oppression.

We can speak of how we believe in humanity. We can speak of how we must transform fascism, racism and exploitation. We can speak of it; but what will we do about it? Brothers and sisters, people and human beings alike, what will we do about it? Are you scared to talk about Daley? I don't think you are. I wasn't scared to talk about Hoffman (Judge Julius Hoffman who tried Chairman Bobby in Chicago), was I? So why should you be scared to talk about Hoffman or Daley or any other racist or fascist in this country. We've got to learn how to stand up and speak out for our human rights and demand them. And if we get killed in the process, well, at least I'm still a man, who demanded his human rights. . Martin Luther King said, "There will be no tranquility until the oppression is ended." The Party, the people, and you. The people in the Black community are saying "poetry does not feed me". So some people want to "ego trip" and say they are perfect. So what, that hasn't fed anybody. We're not perfect. We're human beings, we're inter-related, and variable, we're interconnected.

We have a philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism, that of the redistribution of the wealth, the economics of the philosophy. Revolutionary intercommunalism is that of the redistribution of the wealth. This is the most wealthy, highly technological society in the world. The masses of the people have produced this wealth in this country. But, the wealth in this country is controlled by a bunch of reactionaries, reactionary power structure racists. That's what it's controlled by. Yet, the people have pro-



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duced it with their labor. Even the press people are oppressed, although sometimes they don't know it, until one of those cops out there beats them upside their heads. The young whites didn't know they were oppressed. They thought we were crazy, running around here talking about police brutality, seven, eight, nine years ago, right? When the police started beating their heads, they ran back down there and said, "You know those cats are right; there is such a thing as police brutality." Remember that? So the young white youth are getting a crash, 20-years course in oppression, all right? We've been at it 400 years now; you're getting a crash course. So you can understand what we know about. I don't know how hungry many of you are; but, hopefully, some of the brutality they put on some of your heads is beginning to get you to realize what we were talking about all along: that it existed; that it was real; that it still exists; and you know it exists. We recognize that today in the world, with the philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism, the communications, the technology, interconnects all the communities of the world. The technology, etc. interconnects them, telesatallite communications: you can see something, live, on T.V. tommorrow night, possibly, from half way around the world - transportation and technology. You can leave tomorrow morning, and get back in two days; leave Saturday or Friday night, and be back here Monday morning for school. Communities are too interconnected and inter-related in this world. This world is spinning at a thousand miles an hour, and it's humping around the sun on a six hundred million mile trip every three hundred sixty five days. You got some ignorant power structure fools that play games. There's always the possibility of there being a righteous fool in control of H-bombs. It's been scientifically speculated that if ten or twelve of those bombs are dropped in a general, centralized location on this earth, it might be enough power to throw the spinning and the orbit of the earth out of wack. Then, none of us will be here anymore. Because they're greedy, we have to transform them, step by step.

What we're saying, brothers and sisters, people and human beings alike, is that we have no time for racism; we have no time for exploitation; we have no more time for running around talking about nationhood (in the Party, we don't even believe in nationhood anymore). We don't defect from the Black community; but we do not believe in nationhood. One nation says it's superior to the other. So nationhood becomes akin to superiority, akin to racism, akin to sectarianism, akin to isolationism. We do understand how nationhood can fit into a socialistic framework, if you have an undeveloped technology and the country. The wealth I'm talking about, in terms of factories and industry, sits right in the back yard of the poor oppressed communities. So we're not going to have a revolution just like China - that was an un-developed country. They had to go through a phase of nationhood and socialism. Socialism so they could get an industrial build-up to get goods and wealth to distribute and give to the people. We're not talking about the revolution in 1917, in Russia; nor are we talking about the proletarian revolution in Cuba, Certainly, they're our class brothers; sure, we're united

with them, because they're fighting the same enemy we are fighting. However, the point of the matter is that when we start running a revolutionary struggle here in America, our primary task is exproporiation, step by step, price by price, of the wealth; and redistribute that to the masses of people of the WORLD. And, we are saying that in the process of doing this, pigs are going to try to attack us, the people. We're saying that what the people can do is come on out and be unified around the programs as they are implemented, and defend, in a righteous people's revolutionary spirit.

You're talking about a revolutionary struggle, you're not talking about a cultist struggle. You're talking about a people's human right to live on the face of this earth. We're talking about stopping, the masses of the people stopping the exploitation, the use of H-bombs and atomic bombs to threaten other countries and communities of people. All they're doing is walking off into Africa talking, saying you better give it up, give me all the copper, give me all the ore. We're saying that the wealth and the technology in this country belongs to the masses of people of the world, as it belongs also to the oppressed people and the other masses of people and workers in this country.

Some people are scared to think like this, because when you start talking about a philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism, you're also talking about getting rid of your racism, if you have it. I have ideological principles and I have philosophical principles. I want to educate the masses of the people and I want to serve the people. I want to contribute, one with you, to serving the people with basic philosophical principles of believing in the rights of people and human beings to live on the face of this earth; believing in the right of Black people to live, therefore; to live. If I divert away from that, I'm not doing anything but practicing the same thing the exploiters practice, the same that the racists practice. So let it be said, brothers and sisters, people and human beings alike, that if we believe in humanity, that if we believe in what we call "power to the people", then it's necessary to go forth and transform this system away from its racism; transform it away from the existence of oppression. We don't talk about "Power to the People" any more, please, unless we're doing something; walking and talking for survival; and implementing and organizing for survival; and if you have to implement a free gun program (just like I said to implement), so you have to shoot for survival, defend the right of humanity to live on the face of this earth. Thank You.



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 CHIEFOFSTAFF 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.

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 7

