

# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE 25 cents

VOL. VIII NO. 18

Copyright © 1971 by Huey P. Newton

SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1972

PUBLISHED  
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION  
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126



## SUPREME COURT VOIDS FIRST AMENDMENT !

U.S. GOVERNMENT RENEWS ATTEMPT TO FORCE BLACK NEWSMAN  
EARL CALDWELL TO INFORM ON DAVID HILLIARD.



DAVID HILLIARD,  
CHIEF OF STAFF, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EARL CALDWELL

SEE ARTICLE INSIDE PAGE 2

ALSO: SEE CENTERFOLD ARTICLE "THE URBAN LEAGUE AND  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY... BRIDGING THE GAP" PAGES 10, 11, 12 AND 13

SURVIVAL TICKET  
VOTE FOR  
SURVIVAL

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND  
ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN







DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, and EARL CALDWELL, New York Times reporter, are the special targets of the racist Nixon-influenced Supreme Court decision.

# SUPREME COURT VOIDS FIRST AMENDMENT !

## U.S. GOVERNMENT RENEWS ATTEMPT TO FORCE BLACK NEWSMAN EARL CALDWELL TO INFORM ON DAVID HILLIARD.

The United States Supreme Court has, once again, exposed its true nature. In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court, on June 29th, 1972, ruled that no news reporter has the First Amendment right to refuse to answer questions of investigative grand juries, and also no reporter has the right to refuse to appear before these grand juries. The Supreme Court "judiciously" said that there was nothing in the First Amendment of the Constitution, regarding freedom of the press, that legally allowed news reporters to refuse to reveal "confidential" information and the sources of such information to grand juries "investigating criminal cases".

The fascist ruling came with the racist votes of Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White, and the four Nixon appointees to the Supreme Court, Harry A. Blackmun, William H. Rehnquist, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, and Lewis F. Powell. The Supreme Court's decision was specifically prompted by three cases, the most outstanding of which was the case of a Black New York Times reporter, Brother Earl Caldwell. Brother Cald-

well had been convicted, several years ago, of contempt of court when he refused to appear before a federal grand jury and divulge certain confidential information. The federal grand jury, in San Francisco, California, had been, at the time, "probing" alleged "subversive" activities on the part of the Black Panther Party.

Around the time Caldwell was called by the San Francisco grand jury, the Black Panther Party was under secret investigation by that grand jury. Having already attempted to trump up a number of cases against the Black Panther Party, at the time, the grand jury was trying to pull together, particularly, some kind of incriminating information on the man who was then in the Party's top leadership position, David Hilliard. Earl Caldwell was to be a test, a test and an example. Brother Caldwell, as a New York Times reporter, working in the Times' San Francisco office, had been doing a series of interviews with David Hilliard, the Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party. Because of Caldwell's position, as one of a few Blacks allowed

into the special world of white journalism, it seemed he would make a perfect informant.

Question after question was fired at Caldwell, about his conversations with David Hilliard, with other Black Panther Party members. All the answers were the same, a refusal to answer, according to his constitutional rights. Finally in the late summer of 1970, Brother Caldwell was convicted of contempt of court. Even though he was threatened with an indefinite jail sentence until he "talked", Caldwell stood firm. He refused to be their "Black example". He refused to say anything because his right was to keep confidential his conversations with interviewees. More importantly, Caldwell demonstrated that Black people must not tolerate, even under intimidation, must not bend to joining in dis-uniting our communities for whatever reasons.

After his conviction, Caldwell pressed for an appeal. Finally a California appellate court over-turned the contempt conviction, upholding Bro-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7



# DON'T SAY IT IN DALLAS

## THE QUIET RAILROADING OF FRED BELL

*Note: Most of the information below was compiled by the The New Bois D'Arc Patriots Organization, of Dallas Texas, whom we thank:*

It is not an unusual occurrence for the U.S. Government to single out for special repression a Brother or Sister who is especially effective in organizing and serving the Black and poor, oppressed communities. All of us are familiar with the cases of the Servant of the People, Huey P. Newton; Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins; Angela Davis; Ruchell Magee and the Soledad Brothers.

However, while all of the comrades mentioned above have received widespread attention and support from the people, there are many brothers and sisters persecuted for their diligent work toward our liberation, whom the state has been able to quietly tuck away in the prison camps of America.

The story of Fred Bell is such a case in point. In the mid-sixties, Fred Bell was a pre-law student at the University of Texas, at Arlington. He was instrumental in organizing Black Student Unions in the area. In 1967, Fred was expelled from college for so-called "militant activities". Brother Fred then moved to Dallas, Texas, to work with the local Chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.).

At this time S.N.C.C. was very active in Dallas. By 1968, S.N.C.C. was engaged in a very powerful boycott of the O.K. Supermarket, which boycott Fred organized. The primary issues involved were: the unsanitary conditions of the store; the substandard meats and produce it sold; and the raising of store prices on the day welfare checks were received. The response of the racist store management to the boycott was typical: they lowered the price of watermelons,



*When attempts failed to buy him off, BROTHER FRED BELL, a former SNCC worker, was quietly railroaded to the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth.*

The boycott started slowly but picked up momentum as the community (South Dallas) became educated to the issues involved. Meanwhile, S.N.C.C. had decided to buy the O.K. Supermarket and develop it into a Community Co-operative Market, to be collectively owned by the people of South Dallas.

The "Co-op Plan" was made public and a fund raising drive for this purpose eventually accumulated over \$30,000. The boycott, however, had not yet been effective enough to close the store; so naturally the management refused to even discuss selling the store. The people who were still shopping at O.K. Supermarket were doing so because they had no choice. They were

trapped into paying high prices for inferior foods and they didn't have the money to even get to a better store.

The situation was brought to a climax somewhat mysteriously. South Dallas was flooded with 20,000 leaflets stating only: "Stay out of O.K. Supermarket, Nigger!" S.N.C.C. immediately charged that O.K. Supermarket had stepped over the line. The management of the store denied responsibility for the leaflets. Regardless as to who wrote them, their effect was devastating. It was shortly after that, that O.K. Supermarket went out of business.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9



# AFTER ERNEST T. WILLIAMS, JR. ... NO MORE!

## IN COMMEMORATION OF MURDERED BROTHER, PITTSBURGH'S BLACK COMMUNITY UNITES FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE.

In the fall of last year, a Federal Judge had the courage to issue a restraining order against the Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) Police Department and its storm trooper organization, the F.O.P. (Fraternal Order of Police), for their incessant harassment and brutality of the Black community. Needless to say, this isolated act has been insufficient to curb the almost daily acts of aggression by the F.O.P. upon the members of the Black community of Pittsburgh. Among the outrageous acts of brutality committed against Blacks by the very special Pittsburgh F.O.P. was an actual physical assault upon Black police by white F.O.P. members.

With such activity, hardly anything could come as a surprise. The Black community, however, drew the line with the murder (last year) of Brother Ernest T. Williams, Jr., by Howard Landers, a member of the F.O.P. Recently, therefore, the Black community took its first, organized step toward survival against police brutality, uniting to dedicate the Ernest T. Williams, Jr. Center, with the vow to step up that struggle for survival.

Ernest T. Williams, Jr. was a 17 year old Black man. Ernest T. Williams was killed standing at a bus stop in the Homewood area (a Black community) of Pittsburgh. He was on his way home to Northview Heights (another predominately Black community). He was just standing there, waiting for the bus. There was no "crime" here; no suspicion of anything involved; no excuse available. Ernest T. Williams, Jr. was just standing at a bus stop, and, then talking to a friend. Ernest was standing and talking to his friend. Just when his friend was departing, a police car pulled up to the bus stop. Ernest didn't have to guess their intentions. He started walking toward the next bus stop, knowing... when one of the policemen yelled, "Hey nigger! Come here!" Brother Ernest continued to walk. He had committed no crime; violated no law. It was broad daylight; early morning. One of the policemen got out of the car, and followed him. The other circled the block, to intercept him at the first intersection. When Ernest saw the fascist swing the car into the intersection and alight from the car with his gun drawn, he turned from the as-



*ERNEST T. WILLIAMS, JR. had no weapon; had committed no crime.*



*Racist pig Howard Landers has been officially "excused" for murder.*



*Brother Ernest's family in Pittsburgh's new Ernest T. Williams, Jr. Center.*

sault only to face the other fascist, who had followed him on foot.

Ernest T. Williams, Jr. had no weapon; he had committed no crime; violated no law. He stopped, stood there on the street of this Black community and received a bullet in his head from a gun-slinging member of the F.O.P. named Howard Landers.

Howard Landers is still a member of the Pittsburgh Police Department and the F.O.P. He has not been prosecuted, for shortly after the murder case the declaration of "justifiable homicide" was pronounced by the District Attorney's Grand Jury, based on "testimony" that Brother Ernest T. Williams, Jr. "looked like" another Black man with an arrest warrant pending on him. Brother Leonard Moses, beware! The F.O.P. intends to murder you, on sight. They have already been excused for murdering Ernest T. Williams, Jr., in your name.

The Black community of Pittsburgh is calling for, demanding community control of police. Many segments of the community, including the Pittsburgh Branch of the Black Panther Party, have now come together to work toward that community control. Ernest T. Williams, Jr. will live on, then, through that struggle.

In the interest of Community Survival, the Black community of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania must be on guard, especially, for the following members of the F.O.P. and Pittsburgh Police Department:

1. Howard Landers
  2. Russell Worthmen
  3. Barry Joyce
  4. Daniel Cuneen
  5. Officer Hutzler
  6. Officer Borginny
  7. Officer Parzich
  8. Officer McMeekin
  9. Officer Laukartis
  10. Officer Pendell
  11. Officer Kaufman
  12. Officer Figura
  13. Officer Conroy
  14. Officer Stephanie
  15. Officer Wolfe
  16. Officer Ellrey
  17. Officer R. Corbett
  18. Officer Paul Sunngfield
  19. Officer Seneway
  20. Officer Kranick
  21. Officer Holliday.
- ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



# FIRECRACKER PIGS

## A DOZEN PIGS ATTACK 15-YEAR OLD BLACK WOMAN FOR ALLEGED FIRECRACKER POSSESSION.



*VERONICA HOLMES, a fifteen-year old Sister with an asthmatic condition, was viciously assaulted by over a dozen, armed Richmond, California pigs.*

It happened in Richmond, California, on the evening of June 30th, 1972. Fifteen-year old Veronica Holmes, former Haver Junior High School honor roll student, was pursued, by Richmond police with guns, handcuffed by them, forced to submit to an indecent "search" of her person, and, finally, beaten and jailed for allegedly possessing and exploding firecrackers.

Veronica and several of her young girlfriends were gathered near her house in the Crescent Park section of Richmond, California. Suddenly a

so-called adult male neighbor showed up on the scene where Veronica and her friends were gathered. He said he had been disturbed by the sound of firecrackers, which he claimed Veronica and her friends were ex-

ploding. Without further investigation or another word, he walked up to 15-year old Veronica, pushed her, verbally assaulted her friends, and then walked bravely off to call a complaint in to the police.

As Black and poor people well know, it takes no time for the police to arrive in the oppressed community when there is an opportunity for them to brutalize or murder us. The personnel the Richmond Police Department decided to deploy to arrest alleged "firecracker violators" consisted of well over a dozen police and one helicopter. They arrived in no time at all. When they observed the Richmond police coming, Veronica and two of her friends fled to her home. A pair of Richmond pigs, Al Thomas and Donald Liebert, both white, "heroically" jumped out of their car to "stop crime". Disregarding the sanctity of the Holmes' household, and lacking a valid search warrant or signed complaint, Thomas and Liebert stormed their way into Veronica's house.

Veronica's mother, Mrs. Bayonne Holmes, who was also in the house at the time, begged for an explanation of this rude, fascist intrusion. Thomas and Liebert knew they didn't need to explain anything. With this, another pig invited himself into the house. He was Sergeant E. Clements, who began immediately giving out orders to Thomas and Liebert to "arrest the girl that lives in this house". All three of them then grabbed and handcuffed Veronica, and pushed her out of the door. Outside, there was more. Sister Veronica was thrown against a parked car to be "searched". She suffered, in front of her home, the indignity of the filthy hands of one of these dogs all over the front and back of her person.

A young brother, named Denny Chapman (who, incidentally, is the Student Body Vice-President at Contra Costa College), had stopped his car and had been observing the now completely berserk actions of the fascist Richmond pigs. He could take no more. Brother Denny Chapman walked over to the police holding Veronica: "What are the charges?", he asked. With that, Brother Denny, too, was grabbed by the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

### THE BLACK PANTHER

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

YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$ 7.50  
APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES  
PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.





Wisconsin State Assemblyman Brother Lloyd Barbee knows the '72 elections provide few choices to Blacks.



"In their quest for power, they become corrupt before they attain it - as corrupt as those who presently hold it."

# ELECTIONS '72: A CHOICE BETWEEN "A GNAT AND A FLEA".

## BARBEE COMMENTS ON DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

LLOYD BARBEE... July 7, 1972

It is interesting and enlightening to watch this year's presidential aspirants falling all over themselves and

each other to get the Democratic presidential nomination. They are like a group of wild college playboys doing their best to impress the pretty, young co-ed that each is more worthy of her affections than the others.

The over-anxious politicians are quick to tell us how they will end the war, poverty, racism and injustice -- in other words, how liberal they are. But I'm sure you've noticed how they all seem to be moving towards the right in an effort to capture the coveted nomination.

Hubert Humphrey, one of the early liberals, has disappointed me by what he calls his "move to the center". This is just a catch phrase for his alliance and catering to the reactionary forces which have put this country where it is now.

The new liberals are not innocent of this maneuvering either. Senator McGovern is as guilty as the rest. Even Sister Shirley Chisholm recently explained on nationwide television -- before millions of Blacks -- that supporters of George Wallace were not racist!

None of the candidates would go near this southern bigot before he gained such popularity or was shot. But all of them, including Ms. Chisholm, have made the journey to his bedside to demonstrate that his preaching of hatred and fear really isn't so terrible. What will these candidates be saying tomorrow? Can we really trust them?

Those who aspire to power possess curious characteristics and contradictions. Out of one side of their mouth, they are decrying the dictatorship of Nixon and how corrupt power has made him. But out of the other side, they are making deals, pressuring delegates and who knows what else.

They call each other names, throw temper tantrums, make threats and empty promises in order to gain more votes. Then they turn around and tell their frenetic supporters, in a cool and calm voice, they have the moral leadership and temperance to lead this country. In their quest for power, they become corrupt before they attain it -- as corrupt as those who presently hold it. The amateur politician will prostitute his body and soul to get that power. If virtue is its own reward, then the major Democratic presidential contenders will be permanently damned.

Democracy is a difficult principle to implement. We say and think we have a democratic country, but we don't. The party bosses and corporate tyrants run this nation. That is why practical politics requires a contrast between the challenger and the incumbent. But the Blacks and other have-nots do not have a choice. They must choose between a gnat and a flea.



# SUPREME COURT VOIDS FIRST AMENDMENT !

U.S. GOVERNMENT RENEWS ATTEMPT TO FORCE  
BLACK NEWSMAN EARL CALDWELL TO INFORM  
ON DAVID HILLIARD.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

ther Caldwell's rights. However, the State would not allow such cockiness, such arrogance, especially from one to whom it had given this special position. Therefore, last June 29th, when the Supreme Court of the land heard the State's plea, it upheld the original decision. In essence, that decision amounted to the Supreme Court's saying that Black people have no rights it is bound to respect.

Now, the much vaunted "freedom of the press", as "guaranteed" by the First Amendment, is shown to be, in reality, non-existent. After all this time, since the First Amendment was written, the Supreme Court finally

concludes that newsmen really have no protection against divulging information and news sources to federal grand juries "investigating criminal activities or groups"; that they must supply, on demand, any and all information that a federal grand jury wants from them.

Black news reporters, however, are showing that they will not bow down to the Supreme Court; that the government's attempts to gain information on "subversive" organizations and individuals will not be gotten from Black newspaper men and women. Already, in New York, 150 Black journalists have publicly stated that they will defy the Supreme Court's ruling. The 150 Black journalists, all members of an

organization called Black Perspective, issued a statement saying that, "...As a result of the (Supreme Court) ruling, any police or intelligence-gathering agency can attempt to make the Black reporter its unofficial arm, its spy in the Black community, where the Black reporter's insights...give him an advantage over his white counterpart...As Black reporters, we wish to re-affirm our intent not to be used as involuntary agents of the Justice Department or any other police agency."

It is clear that the Supreme Court ruling is nothing more than a reactionary conspiracy aimed at the Black Panther Party, and, in particular, toward David Hilliard. It is also directed toward the Black Panther newspaper and all other Black and progressive newspapers, organizations and journalists who dare to tell the truth about this fascist society to the oppressed Black and poor communities of America. The unity that Black news reporters are showing against the threat of the Supreme Court, or even the "supreme" government of this country, will undoubtedly be joined with the unity and support of the oppressed Black community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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

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

## TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

The Writings of  
**Huey P. Newton**

Clothbound \$7.95; Vintage paperbound \$1.95.

Now at your bookstore RANDOM HOUSE





# SUPREME SACRIFICE FROM VIETNAMESE PATRIOT

VIETNAMESE BROTHER NGUYEN THAI BINH  
MURDERED ON PAN AM JET.

*I still remember my birthday in gunfire with all the suffering and humiliation of my mother and father.*

*These are not the words of a Black person in America, though they could be: a different land, a different language, the same horrors.*

He was born in the southern part of Viet Nam, and grew up in the midst of war, seeing with youthful Vietnamese eyes all of the torture and misery the United States military inflicted upon his people. His name was Nguyen Thai Binh, which means "peace".

Four years ago, Nguyen Thai Binh came to the United States having received a scholarship for "International Development". He began studying at the University of Washington, in Seattle. While in the United States, Nguyen Thai Binh did not conceal his love for his people, his hatred of the war in his homeland and the United States government, which is responsible for the suffering of his people. He took part in many anti-war demonstrations inside the United States: at the University of Washington; in the takeover of the Saigon Consulate in New York; in the demonstration against the U.S. Agency for International Development Center at the Southern Illinois University; etc. He felt and knew these activities were his duty, his sacred obligation to the millions of oppressed Vietnamese people, his people, our people.

On July 2, 1972, Nguyen Thai Binh, representing the oppressed victims of Viet Nam, boarded a Pan American jet in San Francisco, and confronted the plane's captain, Gene Vaughn, with these revolutionary words: "I am doing this for revenge, your bombers are maiming and killing our people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. You are going to fly me to Hanoi and this airplane will be destroyed when we get there." Comrade Nguyen was carrying a knife and a paper bag, which, he said, contained plastic explosives. Racist Captain Vaughn told Nguyen that there was not enough fuel in the plane to get to Hanoi, and that the plane would have to land in Saigon. When the plane



NGUYEN THAI BINH, assassinated by a racist American pilot.

landed in Saigon, Captain Gene Vaughn managed to get close enough to Comrade Nguyen to grab him, shouting, "Kill the son of a bitch!". When these words were uttered, a strange "passenger", former reserve policeman William Henry Mills, of Richmond, California, pulled out a .357 magnum

pistol and shot Comrade Binh five times. He was killed instantly. Glee-fully, Vaughn later told reporters, "I took that fellow by the back of his neck and legs and threw him right out of that aircraft like a football... He was al-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17



# DON'T SAY IT IN DALLAS

## THE QUIET RAILROADING OF FRED BELL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The Dallas power structure, to put it mildly, was furious. Someone had to pay for this. On August 23, 1968, the Thursday after O.K. Supermarket was closed, Fred Bell, Director of Defense for S.N.C.C.'s Dallas Chapter, and Charles Beasley, his assistant, were surprised with an indictment for aiding and abetting the robbery of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank at Ladonia, Texas. On the very same day, Ernie McMillan, a Dallas S.N.C.C. field secretary, and his assistant, Matthew Johnson, were sentenced to ten years in prison on a destruction of property charge, which stemmed from the boycott of the O.K. Supermarket. Since Charles Beasley was

not in Dallas at the time he received word of his indictment, he refused to return for a legal lynching, and therefore fled to Canada.

Fred Bell was tried and convicted in the court of Federal Judge William Wayne Justice, in the Eastern District of Texas, at Tyler. Tyler, a small racist town, was still openly, out-right lynching Black people as late as 1956. Needless to say, Brother Fred's jury was all white. All of this was in 1968. After serving over two years in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, Fred (who knew something about law, having been a law student) filed a brief in his own behalf.

Besides, there was hardly any help from the outside - helping an "out-spoken nigger" in Texas can be dangerous. Fred had been represented and betrayed by Ney Wade (brother of the man who is now the notorious District Attorney of Dallas, Henry Wade). Fred's brief pointed out all the inconsistencies surrounding his case: that his arrest and the search of his apartment by F.B.I. agents was illegal; that his lawyer participated in his railroading by telling him that his arrest and the search were, in fact, legal, and urged him to enter a guilty plea for a "crime" he hadn't committed, so he would get a "light" sentence.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

## Let this be his epitaph.

**Blood  
in My  
Eye**

## George Jackson

(author of *Soledad Brother*)



This angry, passionate, eloquent book—which takes up where *Soledad Brother* left off—was completed only days before George Jackson was shot to death at San Quentin prison during an alleged escape attempt last August.

George Jackson spent the last eleven years of his life behind prison walls, seven of them in solitary confinement. During that time he developed a radical world view, a deep understanding of politics and history in relation to social change, as well as a remarkable voice as a writer. *Blood in My Eye* speaks out to the poor, the black, the jailed, the disenfranchised throughout the world. Born of a spirit that refused to be crushed, yet filled with a prophetic sense of his own impending doom, this powerful book from prison presents George Jackson's burning vision of the world that could be—a world reshaped by "total revolutionary war."

George Jackson lived and died for the revolution. *Blood in My Eye* explains why.

 **RANDOM HOUSE**  
\$5.95, now at your bookstore



# THE URBAN LEAGUE AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY... BRIDGING THE GAP

SPECIAL INTERVIEW WITH PERCY STEELE, BAY AREA URBAN LEAGUE'S EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

QUESTION: We're interviewing Percy Steele, Executive Director of the Bay Area Urban League. First of all, I think that a lot of people are going to be interested to know that the Black Panther Party and the Urban League have something in common; especially because there are those who wish to divide the Black community, and the poor communities, to their own interests. In this light, then, perhaps you will outline some of the basic goals the Urban League has been struggling, these many years, to achieve; and, how long your particular involvement has been and what in particular you've been doing, yourself?

PERCY STEELE: I think that's probably a good kick-off for this interview; primarily because over the 27 years that I've been connected with the Urban League movement I've seen many changes, not necessarily in the program objectives or the goals of the Urban League as a movement, but in methodology, in how we go about seeking changes in society. The things that we did, for instance, in 1945, when I joined the Urban League movement as a professional staff person, if we operated the way we did then, we'd get run out of town... Relating to our brothers and sisters in the ghetto, the poor, the disadvantaged, the disfranchised, and all, we have to respond to their needs in a way that has meaning to them, where they can see changes taking place, and they see that it's legitimate and it's an honest effort and not a rip off... Because we've had too many programs and too many organizations that have come on the scene and really ripped off some bread for themselves; and there've been no services, and nothing substantially has changed in the community. The goals and objectives of the Urban League are, I think, I can sum it up in two broad areas: first of all, we say that it's to improve the living and working conditions of Blacks and other minorities; but, it's also designed to change institutions from operation to the disadvantage

of Blacks to operating to their advantage. It's one thing to make these kinds of institutional changes and also to maintain the kind of support to keep the organization alive.

Oftentimes we find ourselves at somewhat of a disadvantage. You mentioned the Urban League and the Black Panther Party having something in common; and I think that the thing that we really have in common is that the goals are the same, I'm sure. I think, our goals are the same. But, it's methodology that may be somewhat different from one organization than the other. I think that the mutual respect that we have is something that both organizations treasure, because if we had 50 organizations all doing the same thing, with the same goals, same methodology, it might be an economic waste in the administrative overhead... There are some things that the Black Panther Party can do that we can't do. There're some things that we can do that the Black Panther Party can't do. As long as we're striving toward those same goals, institutional change, system's change, then we can work harmoniously. And, this is the thing that brings us together.

QUESTION: We've heard you mention that there was an interesting, so to speak, phenomenon that began to come into being when the Black Panther Party came into being, in terms of the very goals about which you're talking. Would you elaborate on that?

PERCY STEELE: Yes. Years ago, going back to my early days, we hadn't really talked about economic development - and I think that's what it's all about, survival, and the only way to survive is to have some bread, to put food on the table and live a decent life and work and so forth. We used to have what we called a pilot placement program, where we spent a lot of effort and a lot of time and a lot of money trying to get one Black person into some company or business, or what have you. When you look back at that, now, that was



On the occasion of the June 24th Survival Conference, BROTHER PERCY STEELE presented an award from the Urban League to CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE in honor of the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Children Program. Unity is survival.

really a fraud... All of the objectives were legitimate, I think, but I guess we had to wait for the right time to do some things. But, think of the wasted effort and time and money to satisfy the needs of one person. So, the Urban League began to recog-

nize that the only way we were going to make an impact and the only way we were going to be of real and true service to our Black Brothers and Sisters is that we've got to bring about the necessary changes that affect the lives of the masses, and not a

select few. That's why the Urban League, for a long period of time, was labelled as bourgeois, Uncle Tomish, and all that sort of thing. (Some people may still say that, but I think it's to a large extent because a lot of people don't know what we're into)...

During the early 1960's, when CORE and the NAACP were both very active, in the height of all of their efforts, with the sit-ins and the lie-ins and all that kind of thing, the establishment people, corporations, and businesses and all, started coming to the Urban League, because the pressure was on. Then the Black Panther Party came into being and became very strong, to the point where that brought about a serious threat to society, to white society. Again, we were bombarded with requests for service. People began to say, "Well, damn, what you were talking about 10 years ago, makes a little sense today." If they'd really looked at it, and had really been sincere, they would have come to us before. I'm not saying that as a result of the activities of the Black Panther Party that they're anymore sincere today than they were then. They're not, I don't think. It was expedient that they come; and it was economically feasible for them to come. Otherwise, their own institutions would be destroyed.

It's a matter of facing up to reality. It has helped the Urban League gain some respectability, because our goals are no different today than they were then; but, our method has stepped up. We've even changed our methods, as a result of the changing times. And, I give full credit to the Black Panther Party, primarily; and to CORE and some of the other organizations when they were in their height... but they didn't last. The Black Panther Party, regardless of what some people may say, is not dying. You know a lot of times you step back and reorganize. We've done that. I look at it in that way. So when people tell me, "Aren't you glad that the Black Panther Party is dying out?" I say, "Listen, they're not dying out. They're re-grouping." We've had to do that. You have to sometimes get a new team, new players, lieutenants and captains and that sort of thing. In any organization. So, the Urban League isn't dying either; we, too, may re-group sometimes.

That's the reason I say that the Black Panther Party has played a very important role and continues to play one. I was kind of taken back by some of the comments that I heard following the Conference (Black Panther Party's June 24th Survival Conference), when I appeared there. In fact, there was one Brother who told me, on the street, "Man, when I heard Sister Elaine Brown introducing you, I shuddered as

to what those people in the audience might think... the Urban League appearing on that program. But, after you said what you said and the response that you got," he said, "I had a real good warm feeling."... He said, "Man, Brothers are getting together." That made me feel good, because I was sincere; and I think everybody else was too.

QUESTION: Of course, without unity, without the masses of people, without the unity among our people, we can't do anything. That leads to another question, about some of the concrete things that the Urban League has done in service to the people, about the jobs of people who are now working and have some hope in their lives because of the existence of the Urban League. Perhaps, you can give some kind of concrete data or information about that work.

PERCY STEELE: Right. As a matter of fact, the whole area of economic development and employment, that's our main job, because we recognize that as the most important thing to Blacks, and other minorities, primarily Blacks, in this instance. If a guy doesn't have a job - and has no possibility of getting a job, then he just can't function... therefore, the Urban League's interest has been placed on that area, not only here, but nationwide. I think that this particular affiliate of the National Urban League (in the Bay Area) has a record, second to none, in the innovative things that we've done in institutional change or system change, using federal funds to the best advantage.

When we first started out, we had to play the numbers game, like everybody else... When the Federal Government gives you money, they're always looking down both sides of your neck, to make sure that you're doing the right thing, because they don't trust us. So, we built up some credibility, and then we began funneling our on-the-job training funds to Blacks: to Black businesses and to organizations that serve the needs of Blacks. We still maintained the quality of the program, but we knew that we had to play their game until we got them off our back; and then we could go ahead and do our own thing... Now, during last year, 1971, we placed over 2,000 people in meaningful jobs, in the Bay Area; 2,000 Blacks. They range in all kinds of job categories, not meaningless jobs, broom pushers and that type of thing. I'm talking about real, full-time jobs. We've also, through our clerical training program (on an

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



# THE URBAN LEAGUE AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY... BRIDGING THE GAP

**SPECIAL INTERVIEW WITH PERCY STEELE,  
BAY AREA URBAN LEAGUE'S  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**



**PERCY STEELE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BAY AREA URBAN LEAGUE.**

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

experimental basis in the Western Addition, and now we've extended it to Hunters Point, and we hope, in the very near future, in September or October, to extend it to the East Bay), we have developed a clerical cluster program, where we're working primarily with Black women on welfare who are trying to get out of that trap. We just got a contract, this week, from HRD (Human Resources Development Agency) to provide training for welfare people. They're going to pay us to do it, and we will put the money back into the program, so that we can get some meaningful training experiences for women who really want to get off of welfare...

Another area that the Urban League has been, I think, dynamic in, in terms of bridging some other gaps that exist in our society, is the whole area of Veterans, with the Military Veterans Advantage Programs that we have. We only get fourteen thousands dollars a year for this; but we've gotten twice that much put into the program, to

really work with brothers who are coming out of the service back into society, with nothing to do and no jobs. This program is highly successful. We have about fifteen hundred Veterans, not counting the other two thousand job placements, that were aided through this program; and we give them a reason to come home. Too many of our brothers are re-enlisting because there's nothing meaningful here for them, by and large, and nobody interested in taking care of them. The Veterans Administration is a jive thing, and other so-called services in the community for Veterans are jive...

We just got funded for a street academy program, for Oakland. There'll be three sights...The whole function, or focus of that program is designed to retrieve the dropout, because we know that there are a lot of Blacks, as well as others, that drop out of the school system because it isn't relevant. They aren't learning anything. There's no challenge. Some teachers aren't interested and don't give a damn. So, this program is

designed to not set up schools that have the same methodology and the same courses and all that stuff as the public schools, but to add programs that are meaningful to the individuals and what they're interested in doing. We try to work out programs that will be of benefit to the individual, so that there's an emphasis on individual rather than group...

**QUESTION:** How does that work, exactly?

**PERCY STEELE:** Well, I can give you a good idea...You have community people teaching certified teachers about the community, so the teachers can then be relevant in how to deal with the students. So we'll have instructors, who are trained, certified teachers; and then we'll have the instructional assistants, who work with the teachers; and relate them to the community. These will be teachers who are already committed to the goal. Nobody is going to tell us who to hire. We're going to hire those who we think have their heads on them, and can relate to the needs of the youngsters. We'll also have counselors, full time tutors from the community...So, that will be the team...It's a matter of doing something that will bring them back, give them a meaningful experience in education, that can lead them to something basic to their own needs of survival...

Now, we also have a new program that is being launched in Oakland... We have a juvenile delinquency prevention program that has just started, funded by the California Council on Criminal Justice...This program is designed to provide alternatives to juvenile arrests. We're going to try to prevent kids who are picked up in East Oakland (that's going to be the target area) from being taken to juvenile hall, or to jail, or to the California Youth Authority, for little or nothing...

**QUESTION:** The young people who will be participating in the program for juvenile delinquency, will they be living there in the facility, or what?

**PERCY STEELE:** No. They'll be returned to their homes just like the Suburban kids are when they're picked up. There may be some kids that are picked up that are high on drugs, or something, and we'll have a crash pad there, with counselors right there on the scene to stay with them. Those will be the only ones that may stay over night...We will utilize all kinds of organizations and groups in Oakland to work with us, and many of them have pledged their support...

**QUESTION:** You've mentioned that you've been with the Urban League,

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



## CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

yourself, for twenty-seven years. Will you tell us something about yourself?

PERCY STEELE: ...I was born in Massachusetts... During my senior year in high school, Dr. Howard Thurman.. was our commencement speaker; and he talked about the needs for Blacks in social work... I was planning to be a carpenter, a cabinet maker. After I graduated from high school... I worked as an apprentice in cabinet making; but, I kept thinking about what Dr. Thurman had said. I went back and did another year of high school to get some requirements to get into college, because I hadn't planned to go to college... Lester Granger came into my life while I was a graduate student, and he was recruiting professionals for social work in the Urban League. Back in those days, the Urban League was about the only National Agency, social work agency, public or private, that offered Blacks any kind of opportunity to be professional social workers. So I went straight into the Urban League in September of 1945, and I've been there ever since...

When I look back over my years in the Urban League, it's been a rather interesting and stimulating experience, because I've seen so many

changes. I've even witnessed my own personal reorganization of my thinking and philosophy. I've changed in my own methodology and my own outlook... As long as I recognize where my master is and who my master is, then I don't have any difficulty in getting the job done; and my master is the Black community...

QUESTION: Let's get back to one of the things we started with, about the Black Panther Party and the Urban League. As people may not have known, the Urban League presented the Black Panther Party with an award at our June 24th Survival Conference, this past June 24th, for having begun the Breakfast Program in 1969. Also, people should be aware that the Urban League has also contributed regularly to that Breakfast Program. In view of what we discussed earlier, what kinds of problems, if any, did you run into, in regard to the Urban League's presenting an award to the Black Panther Party?

PERCY STEELE: What we do with our staff is to get them to suggest, from time to time, groups that ought to be recognized for significant achievements that affect the masses. At one of our staff meetings, the idea of the Black Panther Party's getting an award came under discussion. With

our staff, it was no problem... We felt that the most legitimate thing that you could give anybody an award for would be for providing food to hungry kids, especially so they can go and learn in school. Now we did have some say, "Well, what about all that crap they try to teach them at the Breakfast Programs?" My answer to that was, "If a child's got a full body and his thinking processes are working, he can decide for himself what he wants to be and what he wants to do, and that's his thing, not ours. We're recognizing the fact that here's a group that has recognized a serious gap, a serious need that exists in our society, when it shouldn't, with the wealth that this nation has, to feed some hungry Black kids, and others too that came into those programs."

I think that regardless as to how some people might feel, the Urban League and the Black Panther Party are going to walk down many roads together... The Urban League, too, belongs to the people; the people mandate what we do. Therefore, I just want to say, as a final thought, that we've just begun. It's been a hell of a long time getting there; but sometimes we have to travel rough roads to arrive at the place of embarkations... I think we're here.

## Subscription Form

### 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.

# SUBSCRIBE TO SURVIVE

ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION FOR (CHECK BOX)

		Domestic Subscriptions	Foreign Subscriptions
3 MONTHS: (13 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/>	\$2.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$9.00
6 MONTHS: (26 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/>	\$5.00	<input type="checkbox"/> \$12.00
ONE YEAR: (52 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/>	\$7.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$15.00

(PLEASE PRINT)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE/ZIP # \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

NEW SUBSCRIPTION ☐  
RENEWAL ☐

PLEASE MAIL CHECK  
OR MONEY ORDER TO:



MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, CA 94126





*BROTHER DENNY CHAPMAN'S question about the charges against Veronica, by pigs, was a brutal beating of his own.*

# FIRECRACKER PIGS

## A DOZEN PIGS ATTACK 15-YEAR OLD BLACK WOMAN FOR ALLEGED FIRECRACKER POSSESSION.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

pigs, handcuffed, and placed under arrest. At this point, Veronica and Denny were forced to the ground. Mrs. Holmes was desperate. Here was her child at the mercy of barbarians. She finally just yelled to Veronica, "Run for your life!" Veronica actually managed to get up and run toward her house. The pigs didn't really care too much about that at the time, anyway, because they were busy beating, unmercifully, Brother Denny Chapman.

Veronica made it home, her mother following behind, and ran up the stairs. A pig, with his gun unholstered, began chasing after them. He ran into the house and up the stairs also, but was stopped in his tracks by a neighbor, who gave him the option: "Kill me; but save the children." Veronica voluntarily came back down the stairs, which in all probability prevented the outright murder of the courageous neighbor. She was then pushed the full

length of one city block, to a waiting police car. Over 40 community people had, by then, assembled in the streets and were screaming for the police to stop their wanton brutality.

Unbelievably, Brother Denny was still being beaten, to be eventually carried to a police car and taken to jail. Mrs. Holmes immediately went to the police station, along with 30 other Black people from the community. In unison, they demanded Veronica's release. At the police station, racist Sergeant E. Clements, who had just previously violated her home and her child, had the gall to tell Mrs. Holmes that "...none of this would have happened if you and your friends would just learn to cooperate and stop trying to 'know' so much." He also said that he did not know that Veronica was only 15 years old and had an asthmatic condition (for which she receives weekly shots), as if this were justification for Veronica's being viciously manhandled by a squadron of fascist dog police,

With the help of a lawyer, Veronica was released, with no charges placed against her. Brother Denny Chapman was booked, however, for alleged assault, and strangely, lynching (a term the City still uses to charge a person with attempting to take a "prisoner" away from a policeman). The pigs harassed him to the end. Even when a judge was forced to order Brother Denny's immediate release, on his own recognizance, Denny was still unlawfully held captive for an extra four hours. The pigs had beaten Denny so badly that he required six stitches in his lip, and was suffering body bruises, and swollen arms and wrists.

All of this started over the alleged explosion of firecrackers. Firecrackers in no way explain the bestiality of the Richmond police. No. The firecrackers only served as an excuse to set the pigs off.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL



## THE 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.

## FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children a free, hot breakfast every school morning.

## 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.

## LEGAL AID EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides full legal assistance to those involved in legal problems, as well as legal aid classes.

## PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

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

## THE DAVID HILLIARD PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes to the people made at the David Hilliard Free Shoe factory and elsewhere.

## THE ANGELA DAVIS PEOPLE'S FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

## THE PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the 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 NEWS SERVICE

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

## THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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

## PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE (Being Implemented)

Provides free, 24-hour speedy transportation to people in need of emergency medical care.

## FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM (Being Implemented)

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's housing conditions.

## 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 COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

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

## COMMUNITY COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides decent housing, cooperatively owned and managed by the resident families.

## PEOPLE'S FREE FURNITURE PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

Provides free, decent furniture to improve our living standards.

## PEOPLE'S FREE LINEN PROGRAM:

(Being Implemented)

Provides new sheets, towels, blankets, etc. free to the people, to make daily living more healthy and comfortable.



# 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.





# What Next for the Anti-War Movement? A Call to Come to the

## FIFTH NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONVENTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA JULY 21 - JULY 23

University of California at Los Angeles

REGISTRATION AND HOUSING WILL OPEN

12 NOON ON FRIDAY, JULY 21, IN THE

ACKERMAN UNION BUILDING

ON THE U.C.L.A. CAMPUS.



### BOBBY SEALE

CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Will Address the Convention on

FRIDAY, JULY 21, AT 7:30 P.M.

U.C.L.A., ACKERMAN UNION BUILDING,

GRAND BALLROOM

# SUPREME SACRIFICE FROM VIETNAMESE PATRIOT

VIETNAMESE BROTHER NGUYEN THAI BINH  
MURDERED ON PAN AM JET.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

ready dead. I just couldn't stand to have that person in any part of my airplane." When the bag of "explosives" was later examined, it was found to contain only two lemons, wrapped in tinfoil... Thai Binh means "peace".

It was discovered, after Nguyen's brutal murder, that he had written a letter to Nixon, only a day before boarding the Pan Am plane:

"Mr. President, for the destruction, killing, burning in Vietnam as well as in Indochina, you have had in your hands the whole of the most sophisticated, murderous weapons... In the struggle for love, peace, justice, I only have with me my unshakable iron will, my indomitable spirit, and my true love to mankind. My cause is just; no weapons, no threats can make me shrink. With the Vietnamese, it is the same.

"To defend our Vietnam from the U.S. aggression, from the savage am-

bition of the leaders of the most powerful country in the world, the struggle of the Vietnamese people is full of hardship. Even though today, my only bomb is my human heart which can explode... to call for love, to restore faith of MAN in justice, to wake up the conscience of the enemies. If I get killed, millions of Vietnamese will replace me to fight until end this inhuman, immoral war."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



# DON'T SAY IT IN DALLAS

## THE QUIET RAILROADING OF FRED BELL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

There was more to the story, however, than even all of this; more that added up to why Fred Bell had to be put away. Earlier in 1968, during the boycott of O.K. Supermarket, Ney Wade had invited Fred to address a Democratic Party luncheon. Wade's story had been that certain people in the Democratic Party considered Fred good material and wanted to groom him for a seat in the Texas House of Representatives. Fred realized that this was an attempt to buy him off and declined the invitation. When Wade took Fred's case, there was no doubt about the attempted pay-off. Ney Wade came right out and told Fred that had he (Fred) accepted the invitation, he would probably never have gone to trial.

After Judge Justice studied Fred's brief, there was no way to get around the fact that the whole case was phony. Justice finally set aside Fred's conviction, stating, in essence, that

Ney Wade had mishandled the case. Fred was actually released on bond, pending a new trial, late in 1970. Never tiring of serving the people, during the seven months he was out on bond, Fred organized the Angela Davis Liberation Party and directed the people's Community Center, where he established free dinner programs for children. At the second trial, which took place in Paris, Texas (another small, racist town), Fred was tried by a Federal Judge personally appointed by Richard Nixon, William Steger. Again, there was the all-white jury. Originally charged and convicted of aiding and abetting a bank robbery, and originally sentenced to six years, in Steger's court Fred found himself convicted of unarmed bank robbery, and sentenced to ten years, without even "benefit" of credit for six months time served in the county jails of Dallas and Tyler when he was originally awaiting trial. The Paris trial was a spectacle, with federal marshalls searching the family and friends of Fred Bell in full view of

the all-ready convinced jury.

Brother Fred Bell has been tried twice for the same charge, and still languishes in the Leavenworth, Kansas Federal Penitentiary. Brother Fred Bell has been convicted of a crime for which he was never charged and for which the jury was not qualified.

The case of Fred Bell must be brought out of the darkness and into the light, where it can be seen by the masses of Black and oppressed people, for it will be the masses who will free Fred Bell.

If you wish to help, contact: **FRED BELL LEGAL DEFENSE**, c/o NEW BOIS D'ARC PATRIOTS, P.O. BOX 45574, DALLAS, TEXAS, 75245 OR CALL (214) 357-1176.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

HERE ARE TRIAL TRANSCRIPTS IN BOOK FORM OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY TRIALS THAT MADE HEADLINES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS. "... THE VIOLENCE THEY REVEAL IS LEGALIZED VIOLENCE - A RACISM THAT FUNCTIONS WITHIN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF JUSTICE." THE BOOK...

# WHITE JUSTICE

(EDITED BY SARA BLACKBURN-  
FORWARD BY HAYWOOD BURNS)

HARPER COLOPHON BOOKS \$2.75 (in paperback)

"To **ROMAINE 'CHIP' FITZGERALD**, Death Row, San Quentin, charged with murder in Los Angeles, California, defended by a court-appointed attorney, found guilty during a trial which lasted five days (including jury selection), and sentenced to die in the gas chamber.



CUT HERE



# 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					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					

RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

8501 EAST 14th STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621



I'VE LIVED THROUGH SOME HARD TIMES HERE IN THE "LAND OF PLENTY",  
WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TALKING ABOUT A SALE FOR THIS AND A  
CHARGE FOR THAT, WHILE WE THE PEOPLE STARVE!

**STEAK JAMBOREE!**

**BEEF HALVES 59¢**  
Wts. 300-LBS. UP  
UP  
Government Inspected  
Guaranteed Tender & Delicious

**GOVERNMENT INSPECTED  
GUARANTEED TENDER DELICIOUS  
HINDQUARTERS 67¢**  
LB.

**U.S.D.A. CHOICE  
BEEF HALVES 63¢**  
WTS 300-LBS UP  
YOU RECEIVE SECTIONS A-B-C-D

**U.S.D.A. PRIME  
BEEF HALVES 65¢**  
WTS 300-LBS UP  
YOU RECEIVE SECTIONS A-B-C-D NO V

**FREE! BONUS #3  
50-FILET MIGNON STEAKS**  
with half or more!

**BONUS BACON**  
AT NO COST  
10-LBS.  
FOR OPENING  
YOUR ACCOUNT  
IN ADVANCE

**U.S.D.A. CHOICE  
HINDS 73¢**  
WTS 150-LBS UP  
YOU RECEIVE SECTIONS A-B

**U.S.D.A. PRIME  
BEEF HINDS 75¢**  
WTS 150-LBS UP  
YOU RECEIVE SECTIONS A-B

**50 PORK CHOPS 10 lbs. HAM**

**FREE! 1/2 HOG**  
BONUS #2  
with purchase of half or more

**CHARGE IT!**  
105 DAYS SAME AS CASH  
or TAKE 12 MONTHS TO PAY  
NO PAYMENT TIL AUGUST 20

**USDA PRIME SELECT CUTS**  
Select Only The Cuts You Like!  
**STEAK and ROAST ORDERS 89¢**  
From 10 lbs. WTS 50-LBS UP  
Priced for Volume Buying!

**BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND**

**PEOPLE'S FREE FOOD PROGRAM**

**ENDORSED BY THE PEOPLE**

**VOTE FOR SURVIVAL**

**EMORY**

**MIXED MEDIA DRAWING: PHOTO CUT-OUTS, BALLPOINT PEN**