

THE BLACK PANTHER

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OLYMPICS 1972: RACIST RHODESIA OUSTED

WORLDWIDE BLACK PROTEST EXPELS RHODESIA
FROM OLYMPIC GAMES



SEE ARTICLE INSIDE PAGE 3 ALSO, SEE SUPPLEMENT
OAKLAND-A BASE OF OPERATION PART VI PAGES A, B, & C

SURVIVAL TICKET
VOTE FOR
SURVIVAL

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND
ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN



"NO COMMENT!"

BLACK REPORTER EARL CALDWELL HONORED FOR REFUSING TO TESTIFY AGAINST DAVID HILLIARD

In a recent issue of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service (July 22, 1972) the criminal intent of the United States Government to plot a reactionary conspiracy against the Black Panther Party, and, in particular, Comrade David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, was exposed.

On June 29th (1972), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that no news reporter has the right to refuse to appear before grand juries "investigating criminal cases", and that no reporter could legally deny the grand jury access to any information he or she might have in connection with such "criminal cases".

The Supreme Court had, in actuality, declared the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution null and void. All of a sudden, after so many years, the First Amendment was open to "new interpretation". Now, the Supreme Court said, there was nothing in the First Amendment regarding freedom of the press, that all news reporters must supply on demand any and all "confidential information" that an "investigative" grand jury requests.

At the time this fascist "new interpretation" of the First Amendment came into being, the State had desperately been attempting to coerce a Black news reporter from the New York Times, Brother Earl Caldwell, into divulging information concerning interviews he had conducted with members of the Black Panther Party, and particularly, with David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party.

In San Francisco, three years ago, a federal grand jury convened for the purpose of "probing subversive activities" on the part of David Hilliard and the Black Panther Party. Earl Caldwell was summoned to appear before this jury because it was known that he had been granted a series of interviews with Comrade David Hilliard.

The power structure did not expect any problems from Earl Caldwell;



In their persecution of Comrade DAVID HILLIARD, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the First Amendment of the Constitution null and void.



*Black Communicator of the Year
Brother EARL CALDWELL*

to the State, he was just a Black news reporter who could be easily intimidated. It was through Brother Caldwell that the government expected to construct a case against David Hilliard.

Earl Caldwell, however, refused to bend to the will of the U.S. Government and did not testify against David, even though he was threatened with an indefinite jail sentence until he "talked". Brother Caldwell would not be a Black lackey of the U.S. Government, and relied upon the Fifth Amendment, which guaranteed his right to remain silent. He would not be intimidated. He answered no questions.

In the summer of 1970, because of his just refusal to "inform" on Comrade David Hilliard, Brother Earl Caldwell was convicted of contempt of court. This contempt conviction was later overturned by a California appellate court, but the Supreme Court of
CONTINUED ON PAGE 11



Who can protect ANGELA DAVIS-- the Communist Party, with its glass cage, or the Black Community?

COME HOME ANGELA

Angela Davis has been for more than one-third of her life involved, in some way, with the struggles of oppressed people. It would seem that this involvement along with nearly two years of confronting the racist and backward American legal system would have grounded her firmly in the Black community that has supported her. There were people that spoke out in outraged tones and in quiet ones to see her release from prison, where she was held on charges stemming from the August 7th Uprising at San Rafael and the murder of Jonathan Jackson.

People loved her, her comrades everywhere struggled each day that she struggled. She was released on bail. She stood trial. She was acquitted on the false charges against her. Angela was again able to give to the Black Community her talents, skills, her dedication. Now we see that there is something standing in her way, stopping her from creating some amount of unity, with the love and

respect generated by her place as a Black woman in the history of the People's Struggle. People are wondering why Angela can only be seen for \$12.50 at Madison Square Garden or in cross-country tours geared to the listener who can afford it.

The following is our comment recently released to Third World Media News on Sister Angela. Maybe this can shed some light on something that has been confusing to us all. The statement leaves those who once struggled in her behalf with one response: Angela, come home.

In the interest of trying to return the talents of Angela Davis to the Black Community, we are seeking an answer to a crucial question. Why has Angela Davis refused to involve herself with the programs of Black organizations and people? As she refused to give even an interview to Third World Media News, her reluc-

tance to take part in the March 29th Black Community Survival Conference is another indication. Seemingly, Angela has deserted Black people under the dictates of the racist and reactionary Communist Party of America.

Recently, after agreeing to publish a book with Comrade Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party which was to have produced \$60,000 in advances alone, for a political prisoners fund on which they had already been agreed, she was told by the Communist Party (of America) not to work with Ericka Huggins and therefore did not sign the necessary contract.

Is Angela so blind as not to see that the Communist Party of America does not want her to work with other progressive Blacks because it would be in the interest of Black people in America and not in the interests of the reactionaries in Moscow?

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

OLYMPICS 1972: RACIST RHODESIA OUSTED

WORLDWIDE BLACK PROTEST EXPELS RHODESIA FROM OLYMPIC GAMES



In 1936, German Nazi's attempted to make the Olympics a showcase for white supremacy. In 1968, however, Black athletes TOMMIE SMITH and JOHN CARLOS were suspended for their "political gesture."

The Olympic games are almost as old as war, poverty and racism. Originating in the 13 century B.C., the games became part of the religious rites of the early Greeks. Then the skilled athletes were treated as near gods; the games were celebrations of the gods and the athlete's skills were praised. However the religious significance of the games was lost with the rise of the Roman Empire. Athletes then began to demand money and the Romans banned the games in favor of gladiator fights. When the Romans took slaves as part of their plunder in wars, they put them into the arena to fight each other or wild animals. All this was done to entertain the ruling circle's barbaric lust for blood; to nourish their obsession with killing.

The first modern Olympics games were held in Athens, Greece in 1896. A Frenchman, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who proposed the Olympic revival, was convinced that athletics combined with education could promote international understanding. After several failures when the Olympics were overshadowed by other 'entertainment' such as 'World Fairs,' the games gradually gained some prestige. The governing body of the Olympics, the International Olympic Committee

(I.O.C.) has always "insisted" that the Olympic movement be "kept free of politics, commercialism and professionalism." But in the 76-year history of the modern games, to say these principles have been sacrificed many times, if not discarded completely, would be an understatement. At one time the I.O.C. selected particular cities around the world as sites for the games; representatives of the cities, competing against each other to host the games, would literally campaign before the I.O.C. The focal point of these campaigns became how much capital a particular city could raise to have the Olympics in their country.

The sixth Olympics was cancelled due to World War I and the games resumed in Antwerp, Belgium in 1920, but the political nature of the Olympics was never clearer than in the 1936

games hosted by the Nazi Germans. After the Nazi press blasted the Olympics as an "infamous festival dominated by Jews", Hitler did an about face and supported the games, though only for the purpose of promoting his racist white supremacy doctrines. His plans were somewhat tarnished when an American Black athlete, Jesse Owens, won several gold medals. The use of the Olympics to project various political views did not end with Hitler's tactics.

At the Olympic village in 1956, in Melbourne, Australia, the Hungarians flew their traditional flag, saying they would not compete under the Soviet banner. The Hungarian's hatred for Russia was obvious; whenever athletes from the two countries competed against each other fighting broke out, eventually involving the spectators. CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

THE BLACK PANTHER

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Hitler's racist plans were disrupted when JESSIE OWENS won several gold medals.



The solidarity between Black American athletes and Black African athletes forced racist Rhodesia out of the Olympic Games.

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tors. During the 1960 Olympics at Rome, the entry of China into the games was debated. The anti-people's I.O.C. allowed Formosa to compete as the official Chinese team, therefore ignoring one-fourth of the world's population, in the People's Republic of China. In view of this history, it is clear that the Olympics have long condoned racism and fascism. With this in mind, Black people began using the Olympics as a forum to attack its bias and disregard of people of color all over the world.

In 1968, many African nations threatened to withdraw unless the segregationist nation of South Africa was excluded. Two Black students from the United States, Tommy Smith and John Carlos, gave the clenched fist salute while receiving their medals on the victor's stairs. They were suspended from the United States team and ordered out of the Olympic village in Mexico City. The U.S. team's excuse for its actions was that these two Black men, Smith and Carlos, had violated the basic standards of "sportsmanship" and "good manners". This statement, full of racist overtones, clearly portrays that the intentions of the Olympic officials were not to prevent propaganda from being disseminated at the Olympics but to control that propaganda. The irony of that statement became very evident during the Mexico City games, when athletes were discovered collecting money for wearing special clothes and using specially chosen equipment to insure a win or loss. These events become even more apparent when one looks at the 1972 summer Olympics being held now in Munich, Germany at the Koenigsplatz.

The Koenigsplatz was the site of the "Brown House", a structure which served as the Nazi Party headquarters at the time of Hitler's rise to power. It was also the place where the infamous Munich Pact, during World War II, was signed in 1938. Koenigsplatz is now the extravagantly built site of the 20th Olympic Games. With the war still going on in the streets of America and in the jungles of Viet Nam; with oppressive conditions running rampant in most of the countries of the world, particularly to poor people—

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

AN APOLOGY

The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service apologizes to our readers for a mistake which occurred in last week's issue of the newspaper, Vol. VII #23. The date read Saturday August 23, 1972. It should have read Saturday, August 26, 1972. Thank You.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.



Comrade HUEY P. NEWTON, Leader and Chief Theoretician of the Black Panther Party.

"WE HAVE TO ATTEND TO OUR PEOPLE"

AN INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE HUEY P. NEWTON

The following is an interview with the man who is this generation's social critic, a leader of men, Comrade Huey P. Newton, Chief Theoretician of the Black Panther Party. We are reprinting this from West Magazine (Los Angeles Times; August 6, 1972) to help dispel misconceptions given about him and the Black Panther Party by those backwards elements within the United States who fear change and condone the racism and brutality poured upon Black and other people of color since their arrival in this country. We hope these short glances at this life, a man, a revolutionary, who will continue to struggle until he dies, can begin to correct those misconceptions and mistaken ideas that have surrounded the Black Panther Party.

QUESTION: Can you trace the route of your personal radicalization?

COMRADE HUEY: At a very young age, I learned to reject the bill collectors and landlords. We lived in Louisiana --my father was a sharecropper and I was the youngest of seven children in the family. My father usually held three jobs, never less than two, to make sure we survived. And when the loan people came and took my father's money, it didn't seem to me that they worked. They would just take my father's money. And it seemed to me that my father was pretty ignorant, so I decided that when I grew up I wouldn't work. I would just take money from them. That's one of the reasons I didn't develop many academic skills in school. As I grew up, it

was always the same--always the bills, and my father worked seven days a week. I saw that what they tried to teach me in school didn't work out--that if you are industrious, you'll be successful.

My father came to Oakland to work in Naval supply during the war. Like many Blacks, he came to the "promised land." My father was a very proud man. That's one of the reasons my mother encouraged him to leave the South--he was almost lynched a couple of times when he came into contradiction with the racists in Louisiana. My father was a sharecropper, so everyone except my mother worked in the fields. And the landlord would come down and say, "Everyone's working except your wife, and the only woman who does not work around here is Miss Ann and she's my wife." And my father would say, "Well, my wife's name must be Miss Ann, too, because she doesn't work either." This caused quite a stir. My mother is the angry one. My father is not angry at anybody. He thinks America's the best place in the world. And it sort of makes me upset because it means that he's very unaware--especially when you consider the kind of suffering he went through to retire on \$200 a month.

Q: What is your educational background?

COMRADE HUEY: I didn't go to school very much in my youth. I got suspended from high school in Oakland about 30 or 40 times. I would stand outside the door of the class and stare at the class. I was one of the top 10 bad guys of the school. I was also race-conditioned in school. At a very early age, I noticed that the white kids had no trouble reading and they were in the first section and the black kids were always in the last section.

I didn't get involved in school at all. It was a matter of fear that if I got into it and I didn't do well, it might magnify what the whites thought about my inferiority. Because I felt these things on an emotional level, I wouldn't do school work at all. I would force the smart guys in the class to do the work and I would take their lunch money from them. In fact, I didn't learn to read until I was 17 and had graduated from high school.

Q: That's incredible. How did you get through school?

COMRADE HUEY: Actually, I could cover pretty well. I memorized by rote very quickly. When I got out of high school, I told the counselor that I wanted to go to college. And he said that it was impossible because I didn't know how to read. He said that I should get a job. And that's when I decided to learn to read. He said that

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I couldn't do it. If he had told me I could've done it, I probably wouldn't have gone. Hell, I can do anything I want to do, I told myself. And it was a pretty frightening experience, too. I would study my brother's college notes from his literature and philosophy classes. He brought home some records of Vincent Price reciting Yeats and some other poets. I would listen to the words of the records. In that way, I started to identify words. And the first book that I read was Plato's Republic; it was very difficult, but finally I mastered it. Eventually, I went on to Merritt College.

Q: How did you become conscious of social issues?

COMRADE HUEY: It came about from reading. I got involved soon after high school and from then on I was going from one organization to another. Together with that, I had been in jail for burglary and grand theft, which discouraged my proposed career as a thief.

Q: What solidified your dedication to the Panther movement?

COMRADE HUEY: I think being put in solitary confinement in prison really helped me to discipline myself and

focus my life. One time, they threw me into solitary for 15 days. It was a terrifying experience. My rebellious character determined that my sole motive was not to let them break me. But that solitary--they used to call it the soul-breaker--was a four by six-and-a-half foot room. There was a steel door, no light, no wash basin, no bunk, no toilet paper. You're nude and they feed you split-pea soup once a day and they give you a carton or half a carton of water. No books, no cigarettes, no toothpaste. And they take you out every 15 days for 24 hours, the jail doctor examines you, and then they put you back in. And it's dark and the cell is painted red and black. It's a deprivation chamber. They flush the toilet--you can't flush it--by running a hose every week or two. You can imagine the smell. You have to discipline yourself so that you won't eat as much, so that you won't have to defecate so frequently.

Most guys scream to get out after the second or third day--they scream that they'll repent. And if you don't, they keep you in there for the maximum time. And, of course, I would not repent. So, I started doing exercises and I would do them when I heard the keys of the police coming. I did it to break their will. So every time they opened the door, they'd see me doing

exercises instead of begging to be let out. I would be happily doing exercises and they would close up again.

I found a problem that I'd never faced before in my life: the human organism needs to be bombarded by outside stimuli, and when it isn't, everything starts to whirl. To stop this, I would think about the happier experiences outside. It takes a certain art to slow my thoughts down. I finally mastered the concepts of speed. I started suspending myself in time as they do in Buddhist rituals. When I got tired of that, I started doing exercises. Even now, I only sleep about two hours a day. After my first experience, I was prepared for solitary when I went back in 1967. The punishment is to take everything away from you that you need in order to exist. So, if you overcome that, what have you done? You've overpowered them. You can exist without those things. If you can do that, then you're not as dependent as they think. When I was in state prison, they were always very puzzled.

Q: What is your reaction to the recent acquittal of Angela Davis?

COMRADE HUEY: We're happy that she was acquitted.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

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PEOPLE'S PETITION

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



WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR 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.

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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.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

WHY THE VIETNAMESE ARE WINNING

"PEOPLE'S WAR GROWS UP IN EVERY HOUSE, IN EVERY HAMLET, IN EVERY VILLAGE."

PART IV

The following is Part IV in a series, outlining the concrete ways in which our Vietnamese Brothers and Sisters are warding off genocide, while struggling for self-determination of their homeland. This very complete report was gathered by Tom Hayden, anti-war activist, writer and one-time co-defendant of Chairman Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party during the "Chicago Trials". We would like to thank both Tom Hayden and Ramparts Magazine (from which the article was extracted) for allowing us permission to print this valuable information.

The fortitude and political/military brilliance of the liberation forces is almost impossible for Americans to understand, much less accept. Even the proud Cuban government, early in the offensive, described the Vietnamese resistance struggle as having already reached "a legendary level." Of course, the main reason for America's failure to anticipate the offensive, despite all of the government's sophisticated intelligence machinery, lies in the consistent overestimation of technology and underestimation of popular will, typical in the thinking of Western countries. The strategy of people's war is entirely different in principle from Western military strategy, with its emphasis on technology, artillery and bombs. The technology of people's war in the beginning consists almost entirely of weapons stolen from the enemy or makeshift ones forged out of wood and stone.

Technology never develops ahead of the people, making them dependent on it for survival, but only as a tool for the people as their forces grow. The important thing about the tanks used in the present offensive, for example, is how they arrive in areas like Binh Long, the Central Highlands, Quang Tri--hundreds of miles below the DMZ--without being detected. Conceivably they were driven under jungle canopy, with guerrillas sweeping away the tracks behind them. Another possibility was the technique used in preparation for the siege against Dien Bien



"From one generation to the next, masses of people provide the new armed forces."

Phu. The French then believed that their base could not be seriously attacked because the Vietminh supply lines supposedly ran 500 kilometers back to the Hanoi area--too far to move artillery or trucks or heavy weapons of any kind. But the Vietminh solved the supply problem, which in Western armies is considered to be a purely technical and logistical one, through the involvement of human beings by the thousands. These people carried dismantled parts of heavy weapons, fed and supported the passing troops, and then constructed a giant "factory" in the forest outside of Dien Bien Phu, where the big guns were reassembled for final use--all of this without the knowledge of French intelligence or aerial reconnaissance crews.

It is also nonsense to believe the American press reports that "Hanoi has committed virtually all of its divisions," its entire regular army, to the Southern battlefield (as American planners will see if they pursue the adventurist policy of invading North Vietnam above the demilitarized zone). The folly of this view is again a West-

ern one, based on the notion that people's war consist of the regular army rather than on the people themselves in their dispersed villages and provinces. In other words, even if the U.S. claim were true, that all of North Vietnam's army is outside of Vietnam (and it must be said that there is no reliable source whatever for this report), it would still be a profound mistake to assume that North Vietnam is therefore undefended and exposed. People's war grows up in every house, in every hamlet, in every village. Local defense units grow into district and province level defense units before they become regular or mobile units. From one generation to the next, masses of people provide the new armed forces of the nation--the younger units beginning with the accumulated wisdom of their predecessors--and therefore each new generation of fighters is enriched, not like an American army with its base of conscripts, its high turnover rate, its resulting inexperience at the rank and file level.

END OF PART IV TO BE CONTINUED

"NO COMMENT!"

BLACK REPORTER EARL CALDWELL HONORED
FOR REFUSING TO TESTIFY AGAINST DAVID HILLIARD

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

the U.S. - the protectors of the ruling class in Black robes - stepped in and upheld the original conviction by bringing "new interpretation" to the First Amendment.

In voiding the First Amendment, the State thought that it could force Caldwell into testifying against David Hilliard, but Earl Caldwell has remained true to his original position, he would not be the government's tool for repression.

Because of Earl Caldwell's steadfast stand in support of David Hilliard and the Black Panther Party, he recently received, on August 9th, 1972 an award from Third World Media News, at Columbia University's School of Journalism in New York. Chuck Moore, Executive Director of Third World Media News, in a recently released radio commentary detailed why Earl Caldwell was chosen as Black Communicator of the Year. His statement is as follows:

"On August 9th, Third World Media News honored Earl Caldwell, a Black reporter for the New York

Times, as their outstanding Black Communicator of the Year. We paid tribute to this Brother because of his determination not to be used as a tool in a government case concerning David Hilliard and the Black Panther Party. The government asked the Brother to be the Judas goat for them and lead the Black Panthers to further slaughter, to which he refused under his constitutional rights, and the First Amendment. Brother Earl won his case under the protection of the First Amendment only to have it overturned by the United States Supreme Court. No laws or amendments were changed in the case of those involved in the Pentagon Papers. No laws or amendments were changed in the spy case of Judith Cope-man. No laws or amendments have worked to the fullest extent for Black folk. Now that Brother Earl had it working for him, it was changed.

Third World Media News proudly supports Brother Earl Caldwell, and the New York Times for their stand, and we call upon all Third World peo-

ple to do the same. Whenever any news agency asks the government for aid or grants, they are quickly advised (that for them) to do so would be a conflict of interests, and they are refused. But yet the government wants reporters to snoop for them. We at Third World Media News charge (that) this is a conflict of interests. William H. Rehnquist was one of the United States Attorney Generals who sought to get Earl to give information on the Panthers, and he is the very same William H. Rehnquist who was a Supreme Court Judge who cast the deciding vote to overturn Earl Caldwell's not guilty verdict. If this is not a conflict of interest then what is? The complainant in the case now sits as Judge on the case.

You can show your concern for Brother Earl Caldwell by sending your letters of support to: Earl Caldwell, care of Third World Media News, 475 Riverside Drive, Room #1935, New York 10027, New York.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

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.



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"WE HAVE TO ATTEND TO OUR PEOPLE"

AN INTERVIEW WITH
COMRADE HUEY P. NEWTON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Q: Does that give you any faith at all in the judicial system?

COMRADE HUEY: No, it doesn't. We can't be misled about the whole racist system in America simply because you had some honest white people on the jury. Just because 12 white people acquitted Angela, we can't think that it's just for a Black person to be tried by 12 white people. Minorities should have representation in every area, including juries. The Angela Davis trial was a whole racist set-up. The Black Panthers never said that there weren't just and fair white people in this country. I'm just saying that it was racist for Angela to be tried by an all-white jury. The composition of that jury implies that there were no minority group members--Black or other minorities--qualified for the jury. Collectively, the jury was a racist structure.

But it proved to be a jury that was very fair and just. We were happy, and we respect the people on that jury. But we accuse the system.

Q: Is it true that the Black Panther Party is now working more within the community and has retreated from its violent revolutionary stance?

COMRADE HUEY: I think the Panthers have to participate in every community institution. We believe in intercommunalism--the relatedness of all people. We want to be part of the whole. That's what gives motion to matter, and you can't very well drop out of the system without dropping out of the universe. So you contradict the system while you are in it until it's transformed into a new system. And that's why those who don't understand the dialectical process as a reality of nature think in terms of in or out of the system, picking up the gun or laying down the gun, or

putting down the gun and picking up the Bible. They're thinking in absolute terms and that's foreign to me at this point. I only think in terms of how we can make things better by analyzing the process. That's why they keep writing about how the Panthers are now in the system. I wasn't in the system ever, except when I was in the penitentiary. We believe that if you think in the dialectical way, you realize that if you want to change the part you must affect the whole.

Q: Many observers have said that the split between you and Eldridge Cleaver has caused the destruction of the Black Panther Party. In fact, when Eldridge Cleaver's wife, Kathleen, toured the country some months ago, she said that the Party is dead. Is the Party alive?

COMRADE HUEY: The Party is certainly alive. We have approximately 38 chapters, including groups in probably every major metropolitan city, even in the southern areas. All the state chapters have to include statewide community programs and political education classes because that's how we organize the people.

Q: What is the total membership of the Black Panther Party?

COMRADE HUEY: We don't ever give the numerical membership. We don't think it's important; we depend on the people, not professional organizers. Our membership comes from the community itself. Many thousands participate in our programs. The Party's really on two levels: the regular Party and the community workers. The community workers give their time when they want to and they work with various other factions. We view these people with more pride because these are the community people we are attempting to organize. And we're very happy with our progress.

Q: What kind of programs do the Panthers offer?

COMRADE HUEY: One of them is our aid to the people on welfare. It's a small thing but I think it's helpful. Usually welfare recipients run out of money before their next check comes. So anyone can come to us and we'll give him money for food or clothing.

We have the George Jackson Free Health Clinic where we have doctors, medics and others whom we train to work in the Oakland community. We have a free analyst service. Our comrades run a free shoe factory and free clothing factory. We have a free plumbing service and a free

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busing program for parents who want to visit prisons. That's one of the greatest problems--loneliness in prisons. They put you far away from your relatives, who can't come to see you.

We have a free breakfast program and a free school for the community's children--the Samuel Napier Youth Intercommunal Institute in East Oakland, an accredited school. It's not a parochial school because we don't believe in that. The kids might become isolated. So they graduate out of our school into high school, according to what they've learned. Black children are not taught basic skills in public schools so we send our children to the Institute. We take special interest in those children who are constantly expelled and suspended from public schools and may be sent to the juvenile authorities, so we've got to admit that our school is overcrowded now.

What's really interesting about our school is that in addition to learning the basic skills from accredited teachers, they learn political awareness. When we send them to other schools after they graduate they do well because we've equipped them; they will

be the political organizers of the future. They make students in the other schools aware.

Q: I understand the Party is sponsoring voter registration conferences in Oakland.

COMRADE HUEY: We registered 11,000 community people in a period of three days and 16,000 in the next week. The purpose of the conference, at which we gave a free bag of groceries to every person, was survival. We feel it is necessary to be concerned about the day-to-day needs of our people, and survival is a very broad kind of concept. Of course, to eat is to survive to register to vote, so we gave away free bags of groceries. And it's a survival tactic--I don't care how many people you feed, you've got to take the fear out of them before they're no longer oppressed. With the registration, we have developed a bloc of voters. And we have developed a food program that even the local media applaud. We have to attend to our people. We try to get the people to register to vote and we give them everything we can at that time.

Q: Has the Party endorsed political candidates for office?

COMRADE HUEY: We endorsed Shirley Chisholm for President and I did

much work on her campaign. We also endorsed Panther Chairman Bobby Seale for mayor of Oakland and Elaine Brown for councilwoman of Oakland. We did this not because our program is a scheme to get into office, but because it is an attempt to tell the people that we care a lot about them. It's to tell them that we have to develop a strong voting bloc so that the people will have a voice in spending tax money and in the employment practices of various financial institutions and the city administration. We're very optimistic about Bobby Seale becoming mayor of Oakland. Oakland has (300,000 people and 40 percent are Black). There are no Blacks on the city council and I can't remember when there ever has been one and I've been here since 1943. But the rise of Blacks here is important and we're prepared to take over the city government. There is an extreme interest in local politics at this point. Our first victory was to elect four persons to the Model Cities Program, the anti-poverty program. Of course, as soon as we got involved in it, there started to be a lot of FBI investigation.

**TO BE CONCLUDED
NEXT WEEK**

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"

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Huey P. Newton

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OLYMPICS 1972: RACIST RHODESIA OUSTED

WORLDWIDE BLACK PROTEST EXPELS RHODESIA FROM OLYMPIC GAMES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

ple, we note that the 1972 Munich games are being tagged the most expensive in history. The Olympic village; a complex of buildings, playing fields and lagoons appears so futuristic in its design that it seems to have been lifted out of a Buck Rogers comic strip. The cost of staging what Willi Daume, President of the West German Olympic Committee, calls "a show of moderation and tact"

will be over 600 million dollars; money that could have been used to buy food, clothing, shelter and medicine for the suffering masses of the world.

The '72 games have not broken the tradition of controversy. The I.O.C. decided last year to admit Rhodesia to the games. Rhodesia, is one of the South African countries which practices apartheid (segregation). A former British colony, Rhodesia declared its independence from Britain in 1965

when a plan was introduced that would have eventually given the Black majority control of the country under the rule of the racist Prime Minister, Ian Smith. Even though the United Nations declared an economic boycott on this country, it became virtually meaningless when the Chase Manhattan Bank and other large capitalist corporations continued to pour money into the Ian Smith régime. Apartheid, in reality, is modern slavery. Its doctrines call for strict separation of the races into groups: White, Non-White, Colored and Black. Only the whites enjoy the most basic of human rights. The laws governing the Non-White, Colored and Black people are much like the codes that were used to control our people in the days of chattel slavery. (Under Apartheid, for instance, a Black person entering the white section of the country must show a 'pass' for entry). The Black African countries served the I.O.C. advance notice that they would withdraw if the Rhodesian team was allowed to compete. A withdrawal by Black African and Black American athletes would have rendered the Olympics meaningless since African teams dominated the track and field events at former games. Avery Brundage, a Chicago millionaire and until last week President of the I.O.C., staunchly defended Rhodesia, hiding behind the shield of Olympic 'idealism and purity' he insisted that the

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"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."

HERE ARE TRIAL TRANSCRIPTS IN BOOK FORM
OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY TRIALS THAT MADE
HEADLINES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS.

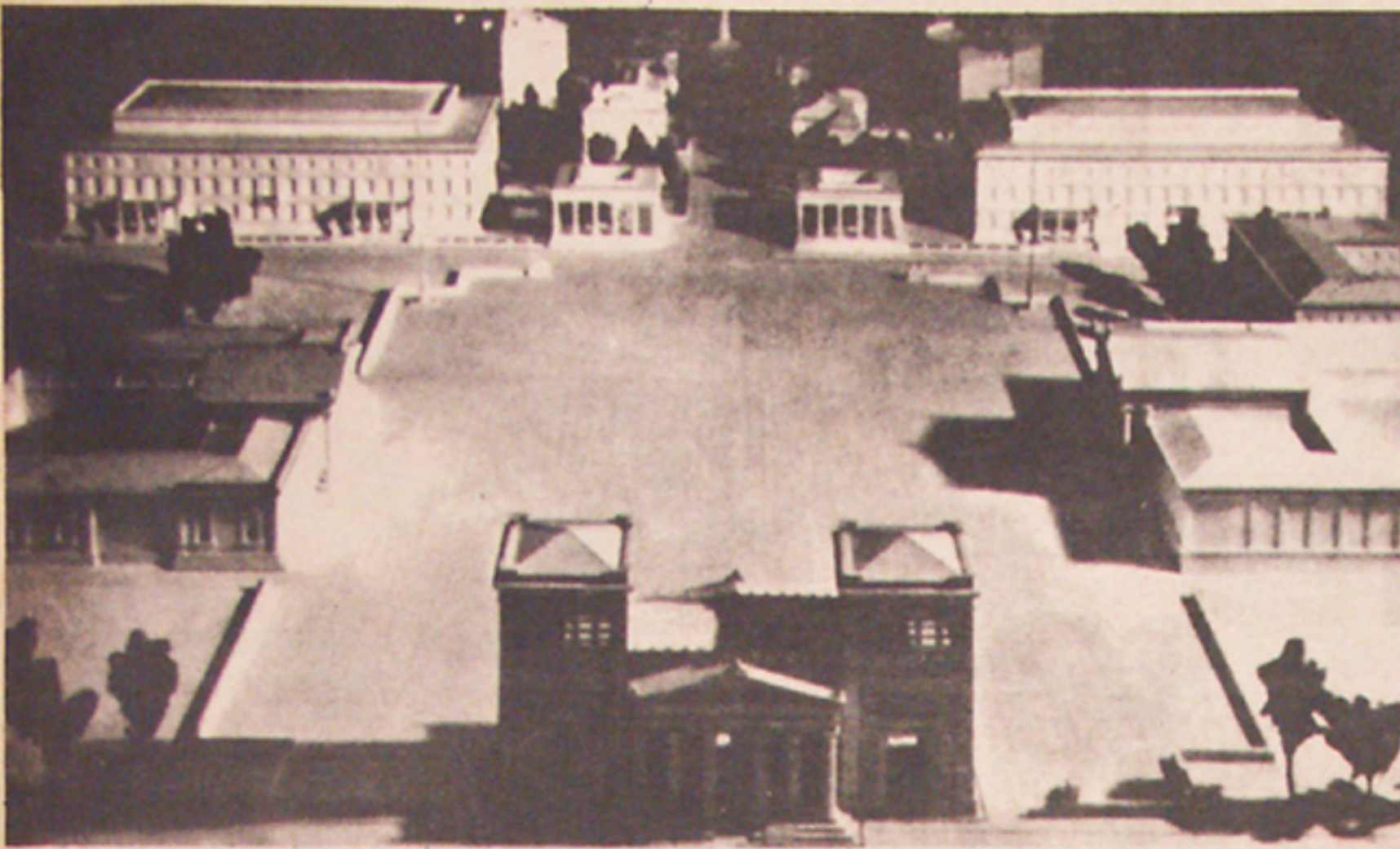
"... THE VIOLENCE THEY REVEAL IS LEGALIZED
VIOLENCE - A RACISM THAT FUNCTIONS WITHIN
THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF JUSTICE."

THE BOOK...

WHITE JUSTICE

(EDITED BY SARA BLACKBURN-
FORWARD BY HAYWOOD BURNS)

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These buildings were destroyed in World War II. This was the site of the Nazi Headquarters in Munich, Germany; it is now the location of the 1972 Olympics.

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principles of the Olympic movement be upheld. The I.O.C. met in a secret session and for the first time in twenty years they voted against Brundage. On August 22, 1972, the decision was 36 to 31 to withdraw the Rhodesian invitation.

Black African and Black American athletes who had been prepared to leave announced that they would

remain and compete. Later, Brundage appeared at a press conference and called the African demand "a blatant intrusion of politics". In tears he claimed that, "It was blackmail, political blackmail and we gave in."

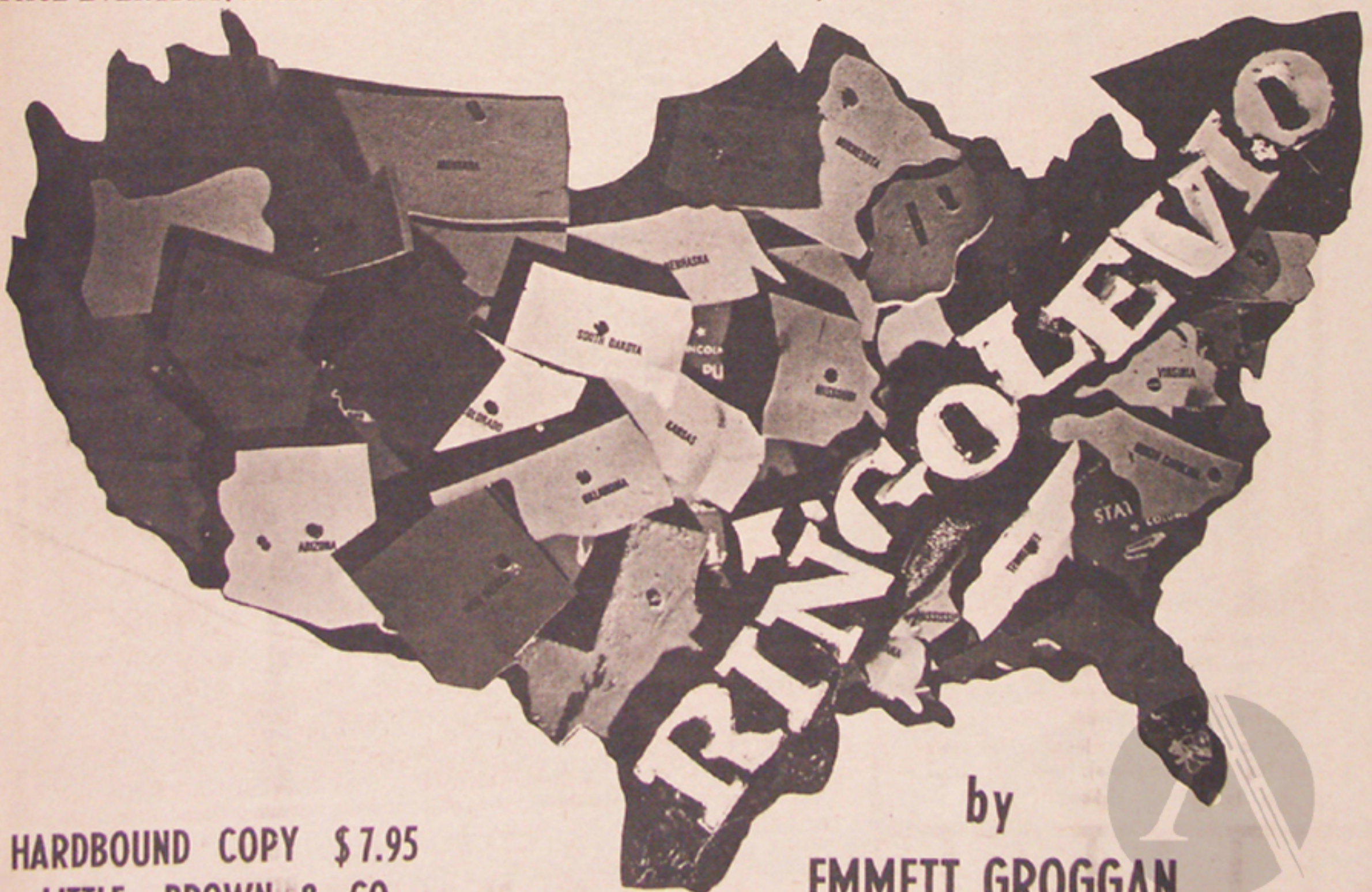
The threatened boycott by Black People before Rhodesia's expulsion from the games was to have been a protest against Rhodesia's racist policies at home. Athletes from Kenya, Ethiopia, Guyana, Ghana, Liberia, Egypt

and Nigeria voiced their support for the walk-out. Black American athletes supporting the move included Lee Evans, Vince Matthews, Wayne Collet, John Smith, Ray Robinson, Larry Barton, Art Walker, Tommie Lee White, Fred Newhouse and many others.

Rhodesia was ousted and the Olympics will continue; however, we must look at the real significance of these events. We commend and give our support to the Black African athletes, the Black American athletes, the Jamaican squad of athletes and others who supported the walk-out. Their discipline and love for our people left them no choice but to refuse to compete against a team representing the country, which, like America, slaughters its people at home while playing games abroad. The important fact, even though Rhodesia can no longer play games at the Olympics, is that until we declare a boycott on the country itself, stop its functions and the existence of Apartheid in general, until then the Ian Smith regime will continue to play games with the lives of our African Brothers and Sisters.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

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WHEN WE'RE HUNGRY WE HAVE NOT ENOUGH FOOD;
BUT WHEN WE COME TOGETHER FOR OUR SURVIVAL,
WE WILL HAVE FREEDOM - AMEN! AMEN! AMEN!



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