## THE BLACK PANTHER

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by Huey P. Newto

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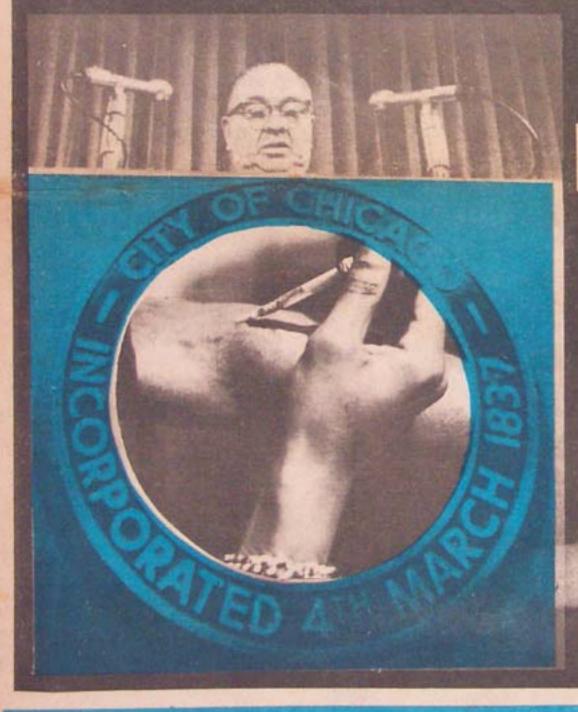
PUBLISHE

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MUNISTRY OF INFORMATION BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE



## DALEY'S DOPE DEALING



CHICAGO
MAYOR DALEY'S
POLICE LINKED
WITH DRUG
"EXECUTION
SQUAD".

SEE ARTICLE INSIDE ON PAGE 2

ALSO: SEE SUPPLEMENT ON ANTI-WAR, AFRICAN LIBERATION, VOTER REGISTRATION,
SURVIVAL CONFERENCE, CENTER PAGES A-H.

VOTE FOR SURVIVAL

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR
OF OAKLAND



# DALEY'S DEALING CHICAGO MAYOR DALEY'S POLICE LINKED WITH DRUG "EXECUTION SQUAD".

It takes a lot of patience to tolerate the insults that are constantly thrown into the faces of Black people in America, In December of 1969, Edward Hanrahan, Illinois State's Attorney, sent a squad of murderers to the home of Brother Fred Hampton to carry out the assassinations of Fred Hampton and others in his home. In a hail of machine-gun bullets, Chicago special agents took the lives of Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman of the Illinois State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, and Comrade Mark Clark, wounding others and arresting the survivors, Recently, Black people have been expected to believe that this same racist dog, who has been working all along with the chief pigs in the country, the FBI, is shocked at FBI "findings" regarding the murderers of six Black men in Chicago.

The FBI claims it is investigating these murders, all of which occurred between September of last year and February of this year, in its continued, alleged effort to close in on narcotics racketeers. They have shocked many by turning up 5 Chicago policemen. With valiant cries that many more will be charged, the FBI is presently holding 5 Black policemen.

Stories filtering through the press and the community seem to imply given a little weight. They are upset because no where was it expected that their long-standing treachery in dealing drugs would be exposed. Nor had



Can BROTHER O. C. STEAN, father of murdered RICHARD STEAN, and Richard's young wife, Barbara, find consolation in the fact that the FBI is investigating Daley's pigs?

that the victims were in some way connected with heroin traffic in Chicago and near-by Gary, Indiana. The FBI has reported the motive for the murders to be that each of the victims was already working with the suspected police, in local drug distribution and had threatened to expose the police rather than continue payoffs. It is believed by these varieties of sources that the policemen used their stop-and-frisk procedure to capture their victims and execute them.

In a mafia-controlled, gang-land run town like Chicago, with Richard Daley, its cheapie version of the Godfather, for mayor, the absurdity of Hanrahan's shock - as well as Daley's "surprise" - at discovering police connection with drug traffic is only beat by the fact that accused "executioners" and victims are all Black. Thestories even go so far as to tie everything into the so-called "Black nationalist" movement, implicating that drug dividends were being used to finance certain Black nationalist endeavors. Of course, that part is left very vague. The fact is that Daley and Hanrahan and the rest of The Family are only shocked that the long-standing warnings of Brother Russell Meek, of Chicago's Search for Truth organization, have been

Daley and Hanrahan expected to be again challenged, by a united Black community, with people like Brother Ralph Metcalfe (Black U.S. Congressman) leading the assault. Yet, here it was, an ever-so-slight hint that they have been fully involved in, at least, the local distribution of heroin. They very well know that although five Black policemen are taking the scapegoat charges, at present, this could open the Chicago drug world's Pandora's box. As Brother Meek indicated, "When all the laundry comes out of the wash, just take a look at the color of the rinse water."

All the Brothers murdered were found shot in the head and left in local waterways, the Chicago River or Canal. They were: 28-year old Richard Stean; 21-year old Lee Wilson, Jr.; 47-year old Albert Shorter; 31-year old William A. Thomas; 25-year old Vernell Lollar; and 37-year old Lieutenant Scott. So far, no evidence has been even mentioned that would, in fact, connect any of these Brothers in local, Chicago-Gary drug traffic.

What, however, are the real implications of the entire affair: that Black men and Black police were engaged in an ill-fated partnership in trafficking heroin; that racists Hanrahan and Daley have been trying to keep the Chicago streets free of drugs, and are shocked that some of their hired hands have been accused of not only drug distribution but murder; or that, by bringing even these "shocking" facts to the fore, drug traffic will be dealt a serious blow? If it were not for the fact that six, hundreds before them, Black men lay

## THE BLACK PANTHER

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## A MEMORIAL FOR JOE DELL

"If we must die let it not be like hogs, hunted and pinned in an inglorious spot, while around us bark the mad and hungry dogs making their mock at our accursed lot; If we must die then let us nobly die, so that our precious blood may not be shed in vain. Then even the monsters we defy shall be constrained to honor us though dead.

We kinsmen must meet the common foe, though far outnumbered, let us show us brave, and for their thousand blows, deal one death blow.

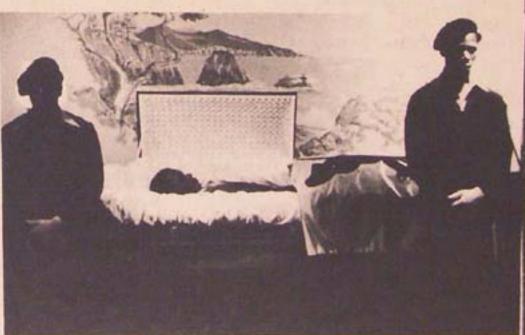
What though before us lies the open grave, like men we'll face the murderous pack, pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back."

-- Claude McKay



COMRADE JOSEPH WADDELL, SECTION LEADER OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS MURDERED ON JUNE 13, 1972. HE FELL BEHIND THE WALLS OF CENTRAL PRISON, RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA. THEY SAID IT WAS A HEART ATTACK, COMRADE JOSEPH WADDELL WAS 21 YEARS OLD. COMRADE JOE DELL WAS MURDERED AT CENTRAL PRISON.









## TAXATION WITHOUT REPARATION

"...THE GOVERNMENT HAS SUPPOSEDLY ACCEPTED THAT WE ARE NO LONGER SLAVES, BUT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT COMPENSATED US THE DEBT OF SLAVERY...WE ARE STILL SLAVES, EVENTHO WE HAVE PAID TAXES IN GOOD FAITH." LASAUNDERS HUDSON



BROTHER LASAUNDERS HUDSON (left), with the defense of his attorney, Brother Walter Bailey (right), must now face a fascist court, because he stood up, a man before dogs, and declared, in all our name, that his manhood, his humanity could not be bartered with.

Last week's issue of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service brought to the attention of the people the courageous acts of Brother La-Saunders Hudson, a Black dry cleaners owner in Memphis, Tennessee, who on June 7th, 1972, had taken a progressive stand against the racist U.S. government and its Internal Revenue Service.

Four armed tax agents, three white and one Black, had come to LaSaunders Hudson's place of business, B.H.K. Cleaners, and demanded "tribute" in the form of \$197.00, which they claimed LaSaunders owed the government, in back taxes. The four tax agents claimed a check he had given them earlier that day had "bounced". What followed in the B.H.K. Cleaners was no doubt the result of Brother LaSaunders' righteous indignation over the gall of the government to tax Black and oppressed people, who find it difficult enough to obtain the barest of necessities.

Armed with these ideas, Brother

LaSaunders Hudson disarmed the four tax agents who had come to his store that day, ordered three of them to strip completely naked and leave his business premises. Brother LaSaunders kept one agent inside, telling the three naked ones that their partner would be released only when the Governor of Tennessee, Winfield Dunn, came to see him.

During the time the agents had been inside B.H.K. Cleaners, well over 2,000 Black people had gathered outside the cleaners to show their support for LaSaunders Hudson, When the three naked tax agents came out into the streets, they were surprisingly met by several thousand Black people, who applauded LaSaunders and jeered the tax agents. Memphis police arrived quickly and dressed the three in gunney sacks and speedily removed them from the scene. After racist Governor Winfield Dunn flew into Memphis from Nashville and talked with LaSaunders Hudson (who had to be driven to meet Dunn at a suburban hotel), he immediately ordered

LaSaunders' arrest.

There is much evidence that the Internal Revenue Service, along with the entire State power structure of racist Tennessee, had planned all along to incarcerate Brother Hudson and his partner Wesley Benn, On April 1st, 1972, LaSaunders Hudson and Wesley Benn (then Chairman of the Youth Division of the Minority Organization of the Republican Party of Shelby County) wrote a letter to Governor Dunn and all local Black elected officials. In this letter, the Brothers stated, "Dear Sir: It is evident that the State of Tennessee willfully refuses to deal with the needs of the Black citizens of the State of Tennessee. It is further/impossible for Black citizens of the state of Tennessee and of America to be on par with the other citizens of America, with a history of slavery without reparation, that is just compensation. As owners of the B.H.K. cleaners and Chairman of the Youth Division of the Minority

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

## HAVE WE FORGOTTEN THE SIX?

The following statement was released to all "underground" press by Comrade Luis Talamantez, one of the San Quentin Six. Its righteous anger must make us all put into action people's power, to really free all political prisoners.

STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE AND THE LAWYERS

June 21, 1972

Today was a very bad day for us in the Adjustment Center. It was a very bad day for the San Quentin 6, Ruchell Magee, the San Quentin 2 and for all other convicts in the AC under the sick oppression which presently exists.

Today Comrades Johnson, Tate and Spain were lured from their cells to take part in a legal conference among the San Quentin 6 and while chained and shackled they were set upon by the AC pig crew, including Sergeant Butler, Thorpe (who is a key prosecution witness in the San Quentin 6 prosecution), Proffer, Chaney and other racist pigs. The Comrades were abused, mistreated and brutalized by these pigs. They were thrown on the ground and forced to endure physical abuse and verbal taunting while their hair was cut from their heads.

While Comrade Tate was isolated and being set upon, Sgt. Butler, a little Okie racist, told him that he wanted to kill all "niggers and Mexicans" in the AC. He said that the only reason he had taken the AC job in the first place was so that he would have the opportunity to "kill some niggers and Mexicans"

It has become plain now, to us as well as to the pigs, that our support by the People on the streets has dwindled and that the lawyers who are supposed to be concerned are indeed so concerned that they take vacations and leave us to be brutalized by the pigs. They have failed to give us support in our daily oppression and for this reason the pigs have felt free to abuse and attack us at their will.





The sufferings of COMRADES LUIS TALAMANTEZ AND JOHNNY SPAIN will continue, unless we, the People, unite with them.



How much do they care about six more men's lives? How much do WE care?

## DALEY'S DOPE DEALING

CHICAGO MAYOR DALEY'S POLICE LINKED WITH DRUG "EXECUTION SQUAD".

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

dead now, these city and state and federal government implications would be almost humorous.

We know, of course, that Chicago, without doubt, like most major U.S. cities, is a haven for the flow of narcotics. We know that Black communities have been the prime distribution centers for heroin; Chicago is certainly no exception. However, are we expected to believe that the gangster Daley machinery, particularly, or the gangster U.S. government, in general, are going to cut off one of their biggest money-making ventures? It is common knowledge that heroin and other drugs come into Black communities under the direct auspices of the U.S. government, It is just as familiar to Black people that the chief dealers in dope are the same rich, white businessmen, who control the rest of the country's economy.

The six Black policemen charged may, in fact, have pulled the trigger on men marked for death. The very fact of their being Chicago policemen



BROTHER RICHARD STEAN - whose victim?

indicates their general allegiance. However, in the words of the mother, Mrs. Ida Lollar, of one of the Brothers murdered, "... you'd better believe that if Black policemen were involved with dope and all that money,

somebody white above knew about it

and was probably in on it, too," Mrs. Lollar, like the relatives of most of the Brothers killed, denies any knowledge of her son's involvement in drugs or drug sales. This factor, alone, makes the whole situation even more confused. Even the rumors of the FBI indicate that, at least, 2 of the men were victims of mistaken identity. It must be also noted that Brother Richard Stean, one of the murder victims, was a partner in the Stean Family's T.V. Repair and Appliance Shop, which has donated to Black Panther Party Community Survival Programs.

With Black men and women being murdered daily on the streets of Chicago, and elsewhere, by pigs of all types and drugs of all types, what the FBI has "uncovered" is, in the words of Russell Meek, only the "tip of the iceberg". It will require a united Black community to rid ourselves of the real murderers, dope peddlers, the rulers of the U.S. and their U.S. government.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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

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

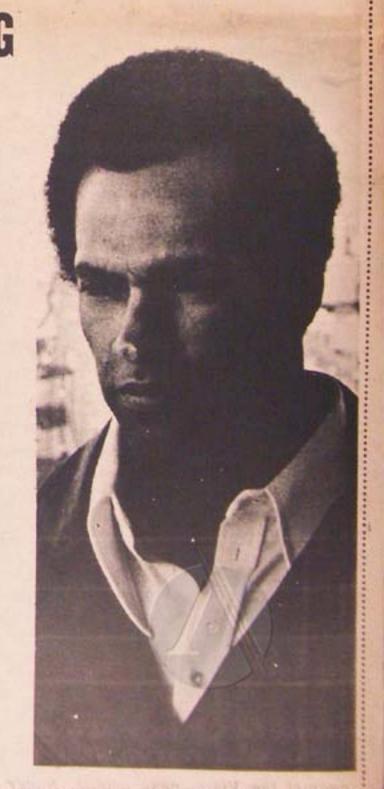
## TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

The Writings of

## Huey P. Newton

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## HAVE WE FORGOTTEN THE SIX?

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

We now demand that the People take a position not only for us but against those oppressing us and those who passively sit by watching this happen.

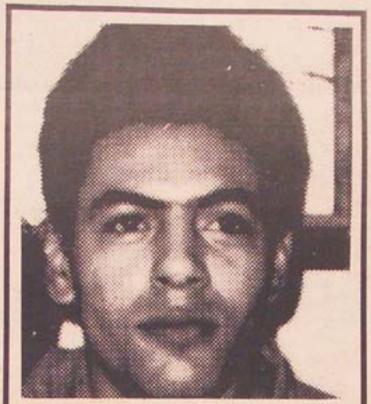
We ask and demand that those attorneys who have assured time and time again that they are with us, now show us that this is the case and to stop talking and start acting.

We ask and demand that there be an immediate investigation of the San Quentin Adjustment Center and the racist pigs who run it.

We ask and demand that law suits in State and Federal courts be immediately brought on our behalf, in order to stop the harassment and brutality that has become common-place.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION

RENEWAL



COMRADE HUGO PINELL must not stand alone.

We ask that the lawyers champion us in our need or else to fall back into the role of collaborators in the great conspiracy - against political prisoners - that presently weighs us down.

We ask the People to confront the lawyer class with the legal redress we need or we are prepared to stand alone. We as revolutionaries realize that we must continue to struggle regardless of the numbers that are for or against us.

All Power to the People

Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, CA 94126

All Powerto Oppressed Prisoners

Comrade Luis, on behalf of the oppressed prisoners of the AC

## 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.

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## TAXATION WITHOUT REPARATION

## CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Organization of the G.O.P., we have resolved to refuse to pay taxes to the State of Tennessee... We are requesting that the Black Caucus of the State set up the necessary channels to receive and dispense tax revenues that are taken out of the Black community. At this point, we will begin to pay our taxes to that body. We have one personal request, that at least a portion of the revenues collected be allocated to the Black Panther Party for defense because we feel that this organization is sincerely involved in dealing with the needs of the community."

Three days after this letter was sent out, a member of the Minority Division of the Shelby County Republican Party, by the name of Clarence Harris, came to Wesley Benn and asked if he had written the letter. Brother Benn replied that he had; and Clarence Harris left. By May 4th, Wesley Benn received a letter

from Harrel C. Moore, President of the Minority Division of the Shelby County Republican Party, which stated that Brother Benn was thereby fired from his position as Chairman of the Youth Division of the G.O.P. Minority Organization, Brothers Benn and Hudson also received another letter, along with Harrel C. Moore's. from the State of Tennessee Department of Revenue. This letter said. in part, in answer to their request for tax deductions due to previous conditions of servitude, "A search of Tennessee Code Annotated fails to disclose that any exemption has been granted because of previous conditions of servitude. Therefore your claim for exempt status must be denied."

Brother LaSaunders Hudson has been released on bail - \$2,000. He faces trial on the false charge of assault with the intent to commit murder. Brother LaSaunders Hudson is innocent, innocent of any crime against the People. Whatever decision the fascist courts of Tennessee reach will be of no consequence to the masses of Black and poor and working people in this country, for there was a moment in his life, when LaSaunders Hudson did a most human thing. He stood up, a man before dogs, and declared, in all our name, that his manhood, his humanity could not be bartered with. In his own words, "We have a slave history and have experienced jim crowism, second class citizenship and are still experiencing oppression. We are made to be responsible to the state as if we are free people and as if we have always been free. We pay the same rate of taxes that every free man in America who has always been free.

"And we have never fully benefitted from any taxes we have paid, because the government has not given us the benefit of the taxes we have paid. Also the government has supposedly accepted that we are no longer slaves but the government has not compensated us the debt of slavery.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



"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...



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The family of Brother LaSaunders Hudson, as well as the people, know he has committed no crime, for there was a moment in his life when LaSaunders Hudson had done a most human thing.

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"Thus, we are still slaves, even though we have paid taxes in good faith. The same government uses those same taxes we pay and enforces dis-

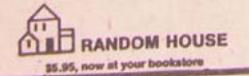
crimination against us. Black businesses are forced to become agents of the state because they are forced to levy and collect taxes for the State from their customers. We feel that these things are unjust and for

these reasons WE TRIED TO BE HEARD." What a powerful voice has Brother LaSaunders Hudson.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

## Let this be his epitaph.

# Blood George



(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.

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE

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 COM-MUNITIES.

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.

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

CONTRACTOR DE LA CONTRA

Color Paraly

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 inprisoned 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. Eur, 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.

## SURVIVAL ON WORLD BATTLEFIELDS

THOUSANDS GATHER AT ANTI-WAR, AFRICAN LIBERATION, VOTER REGISTRATION, SURVIVAL CONFERENCE.



Ten thousand bags of groceries delivered the most concrete message, that the power to determine the destinies of our communities belongs to the people, in Oakland, in New York, in Vietnam, in Mozambique, throughout the world.

On June 24th, many thousands of Black and poor people came to the Oakland Auditorium, to once again participate in a Black Panther Party Survival Conference. Once again, there were free full bags of groceries, 10,000 bags, with a dozen grade AA eggs in every bag. Once again, there were 10,000 free Sickle Cell Anemia tests, and there was voter registration. There were 2,500 pairs of brand new women's shoes, also free.

Many of the people had come to other conferences and survival gatherings. However, the atmosphere on June 24th had transformed, maybe only slightly at first glance. To the thousands there, the survival of Black and poor people was not only concretely expressed in food and shoes, but in the real understanding that our struggle for survival was no different than many other people's struggles. This conference was saying that just as Black and poor people in the United States want to eat, to have decent housing, clothing, medical care, community control of our institutions, the oppressed people of the world want the same things. For the first time, then, thousands of Black people had gathered, at the Black Panther Party Anti-War, African Liberation, Voter Registration, Survival Conference, to say we not only denounce the U.S. war of aggression against the innocent Vietnamese people, we not only support the liberation struggles being waged in Africa, we say that these are our struggles.

Never before, in the history of anti-war rallies in the United States had so many Black and poor people come together to denounce the U.S. government's vicious war against the Vietnamese people. Never before in America had so many said that we are the poor in America, but

Vietnam, Southern Africa, the rest of the world's communities that struggle against oppression are also our battlefields.

The messages came pouring in, in many varied ways: from the Vietnamese in Paris; from Brother Ron Dellums (U.S. Congressman); from Reverend Cecil Williams (of Glide Memorial Church, in San Francisco); from Rev. Frank Pinkard and Rev. Howard Bryant; in song, from Bro. John Lee Hooker, the Sisters Love, and the Tower of Power. The messages shouled and sang that power belongs to the people, the people in Oakland, in New York, in Vietnam, in Mozambique, throughout the world, the power to determine the destinies of our world communities belongs to the people.

At the end of the program, the beginning of a new program for the people was officially announced, when the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, announced his candidacy for the Mayor's seat in the City of Oakland. The people understood that with organized effort, with unity, this first step could be taken, a real people's candidate, Chairman Bobby Seale, could win the election and through this office the people could begin to transform the community to serve our interests and desires. From one community to the next, Black people, poor people in the United States, could begin to liberate this territory and join the world struggle for an end to exploitation and oppression and for true peace and freedom.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



## SURVIVAL ON WORLD BATTLE-FIELDS

THOUSANDS GATHER AT

ANTI-WAR,

AFRICAN LIBERATION,

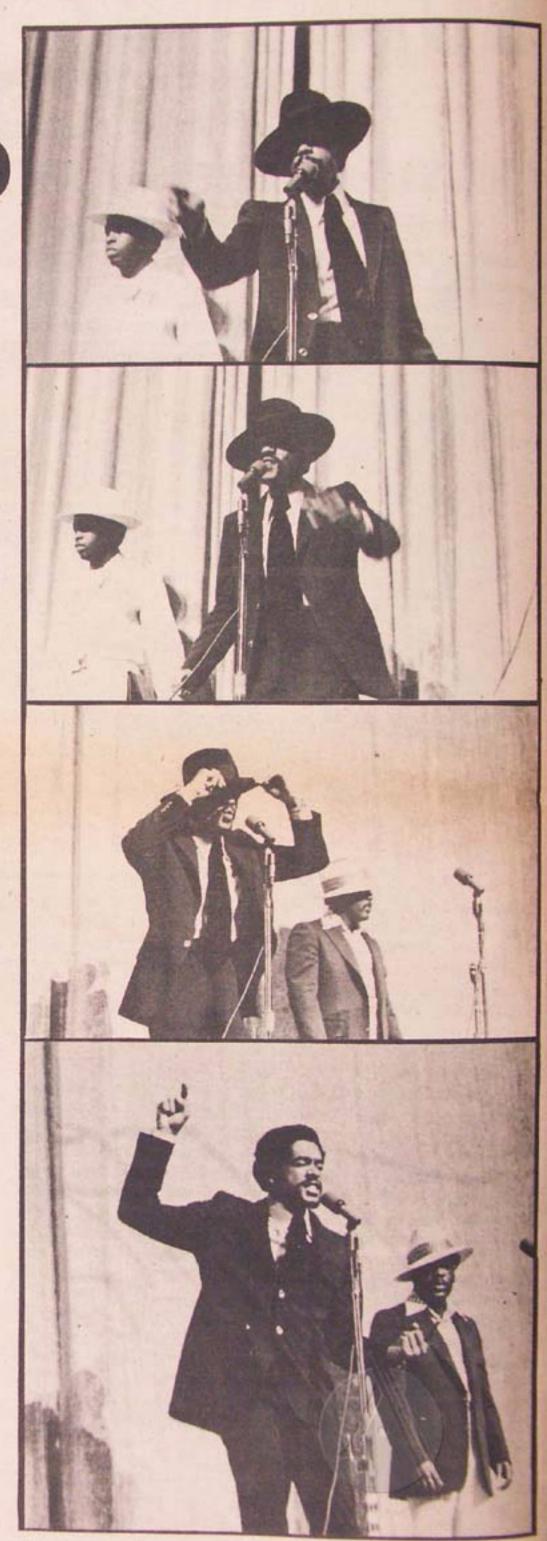
VOTER REGISTRATION,

SURVIVAL CONFERENCE.

## STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! You know that we're getting together today, in this country, like Black People have never gotten together before. We're organizing community unity like it's never been done before. We are talking about, Brothers and Sisters, People and Human beings alike, for the first time in the history of America, we are talking about organizing and taking over the whole city of Oakland. We're talking about taking over the whole city of Oakland. We're talking about kicking every racist out of the Police Department, even talking about kicking every racist out of every agency that refuses to recognize the People's basic desires and needs. We are talking about moving on every jive exploiter; we are talking about moving on every businessman that sells us rotten meat; we are talking about moving on the total power structure and giving the power structure to the people, because the Mayor's seat is not the Mayor's seat. The Mayor's seat is the People's seat! (Shouts of "Right on!")

We're talking about running for Mayor of Oakland, I'm not going to sit up here and promise you that, over night, all of it's going to be over with. But I'm going to say this, that we've got a three-year plan. They're going to run four seats in April of 1973, and you, the People, can take those seats with some righteous candidates, starting with myself (and they've got five seats in '75). That means we want to take a majority of the whole city council. We want to take over the whole city government. But I'm starting it off by announcing that fact, and throwing my hat into the political arena, to let the people know that from here on in, we are going to move in such a unified fashion ... They call me the chief organizer. Well, I'm going to organize 10,000 of you, 20,000 of you, the first day I'm in the Mayor's seat; and bring all of you down, invite all of you down to the city council, and wa're



"All I'm going to say, right now, is that I'm going to throw my hat into the political arena, for you, the People..."

The SISTERS LOVE sang with love and clearly demonstrated their support of the people's survival programs.





BROTHER JOHN LEE HOOKER sang the familiar sounds of the people; while people's representative BROTHER RON DELLUMS spelled out the concrete program.



The Black Church is returning home, as Reverend Brothers FRANK PINKARD, CECIL WILLIAMS AND HOWARD BRYANT made clear.

## CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

going to raise the roof, ten - twenty thousand strong, on the whole City of Oakland Government! (Audience cheers.)

All I'm going to say, right now, is that I'm going to throw my hat into the political arena, for you, the People, because the Mayor's seat belongs to the People! (Chairman tosses his hat to the People.) All Power to the People! We're going to have it together! We're going to move! We're going to get down to the nitty gritty!... We're not going to be moving in a fashion where we're not organized. We are talking about, now, making sure that we start taking political power and control. In the City of Oakland, Black People are 50% of the population. In the City of Oakland, Black People, Chicano People, can take this city; and I say that we've got to do it... because, in 1969, two jive racist candidates ran for city council, unopposed. No one ran against them. We voted for them; and we were 49, 48% Black, back then, If we want to

keep that unity together, we have to relate to what's happening in the world. We have to relate to the fact

that the billions of dollars that're being used to bomb and murder, People and Brothers and Sisters, that're being used for oppression in Vietnam, these billions of dollars are taken out of the People's pockets and used to murder People in Vietnam. These billions are used to murder and colonize our African Brothers; and the same tax money, the same tax money that they take out of your pocket, is used to pay some racist, low-lifed policeman to beat and murder our own people right here at home. We've got to relate to that and understand that, right here in Oakland.

What they call the Port of Oakland, the Port of Oakland has a budget larger than the City of Oakland; and they're discriminating in employment throughout the Port of Oakland. They will not hire Black people; or, you're the last hired. We're so used to that, However, there are so many of us who are unemployables. We've got to move on up. What we're going to do is we're going to relate

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## SURVIVAL ON WORLD BATTLEFIELDS

THOUSANDS GATHER AT ANTI-WAR, AFRICAN LIBERATION, VOTER REGISTRATION, SURVIVAL CONFERENCE.









"It is not only out of our love for you that we here pledge to work to end the devastating war in your country, but out of our recognition that your struggle is our struggle, your battlefield is our battlefield..."

The thousands of Black and poor people gathered at the Black Panther Party's Anti-War, African Liberation, Voter Registration, Survival Conference in Oakland were able to directly exchange messages of solidarity with our Vietnamese Comrades via a telephone conversation, broadcasted live inside the auditorium, from Paris, France, with Comrade Le Mai of the South Vietnam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People. The following is the text of that historic conversation:

MESSAGE TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FROM THE BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE GATHERED AT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY'S ANTI-WAR, AFRICAN LIBERATION, VOTER REGISTRATION, SURVIVAL CONFERENCE.

We here in Oakland, California, at the Black Panther Party Anti-War, African Liberation, Voter Registration, Survival Conference, we thousands of Black and poor and oppressed people of the U.S., representing millions more, would like to express our militant solidarity with our Brothers and Sisters in Vietnam and our firm support of the 7-Point Proposal for Peace of the Promisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. It is not only out of our love for you that we here pledge to work to end the devastating war in your country, but out of our recognition that your struggle is our struggle, your battlefield is our battlefield, your enemies,

the U.S. imperialists, are our enemies, and your certain victory shall be ours.

MESSAGE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAM PEOPLE'S COM-MITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE AMERICAN PEO-PLE TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE PEOPLE'S GATHER-ING, OAKLAND, JUNE 24, 1972.

Dear Friends, first of all, we wish to extend to all the participants in the People's gathering against the war operations and poverty the greetings of solidarity from the South Vietnamese people. Fully understanding the sufferings of the Black people in the United States, we hope that your struggle against racism and poverty is a part and parcel of the common struggle of the oppressed peoples throughout the world for peace, democracy and social progress.

Our people greatly admire the great cause of Dr. Martin Luther King; the sacrifice of George Jackson; the indomitable will of Angela Davis; as well as appreciate the contributions of tens of millions of the Black people in the United States, for peace and justice. The South Vietnamese people, who are fighting against U.S. aggression, fully sympathize with and unreservedly support the struggle of the Black people in the United States and are inspired by it. We wish to take this opportunity to

express our sincere thanks for the Black American people's activities against the criminal war waged by the U.S. government in Vietnam. At a time when millions of the poor people in the United States, especially the Black people, are in great need of housing, education and medical care, the Nixon administration is spending every day more than 20 million dollars in the bombing in Vietnam to kill and maim the innocent civilians, women and children, and to destroy churches, schools and hospitals.

Mr. Nixon has not only refused to negotiate to settle peacefully the Vietnam problem, but he has also stepped up the war to the highest level of intensity ever seen, in disregard of the vigorous protest of the American people and the public opinion in the world, wasting more lives and property of the American people. As a matter of fact, the South Vietnamese people have no other desire than to live in peace and independence, so as to be able to reconstruct their heavily destroyed country. As is found in the 7-Point Peace Plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, we only want the United States to stop all its war activities against the Vietnamese people, set a date for the withdrawal of all American forces from South Vietnam and discontinue imposing the dictatorial and war-minded Nguyen Van Thieu administration, which has been installed by the United States, In so doing, the American troops will be able to withdraw instantly; all the American GI's held captive will be

able to return to their families soon; and favorable conditions will be created for the establishment of new and better relations between Vietnam and the United States.

Mr. Nixon feels obliged to continue the course of war, though his policy of Vietnamization of the war has been defeated by the current offensive and uprising of the South Vietnamese people. He still hopes to use violence to impose the U.S. domination upon our people, exactly like he has hoped to crush the struggle of the Black people in the United States, with bloody repression. The more Mr. Nixon nourishes this illusion, the heavier will be his defeat. The Vietnamese people are determined to fight, due to the achievement of independence and the general right to self-determination, Facing the present critical situation, we earnestly call upon you to take further actions to stop Mr. Nixon's gruesome acts of war and demand that the Nixon administration stop immediately the war of extermination against South and North Vietnam, discontinue its acts of sabotage against the Paris Conference on Vietnam and respond seriously to the reasonable and logical peace proposal we have set forth.

Peace and justice will win, Colonialism and racism will surely be defeated by the oppressed people, Warmest regards and wishes of good luck to you all.

## SURVIVAL ON WORLD BATTLE-FIELDS

THOUSANDS GATHER AT ANTI-WAR,
AFRICAN LIBERATION,
VOTER REGISTRATION,
SURVIVAL CONFERENCE.



"At a time when millions of poor people in the United States, especially the Black people, are in great need of housing, education and medical care, the Nixon administration is spending every day more than 20 million dollars in the bombing in Vietnam..."

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to the fact that while we're moving on the City of Oakland, all these businessmen, who've been exploiting us, white-owned businesses in the Black community, a lot of those white-owned businesses, which are refusing to donate to these Survival Programs, we, the People in the community, can boycott every white-owned business by: one, shopping at Black-owned businesses; and, we can run every other white-owned business out of business. If he doesn't donate, we will run him out. He's going to donate to these Survival Programs; we're going to survive. We, the People, are going to have to survive, whether they like it or not.

We're saying this, we're saying this, we're saying that monies and funds that are allocated to big-time white contractors, it's got to be stopped, in the city

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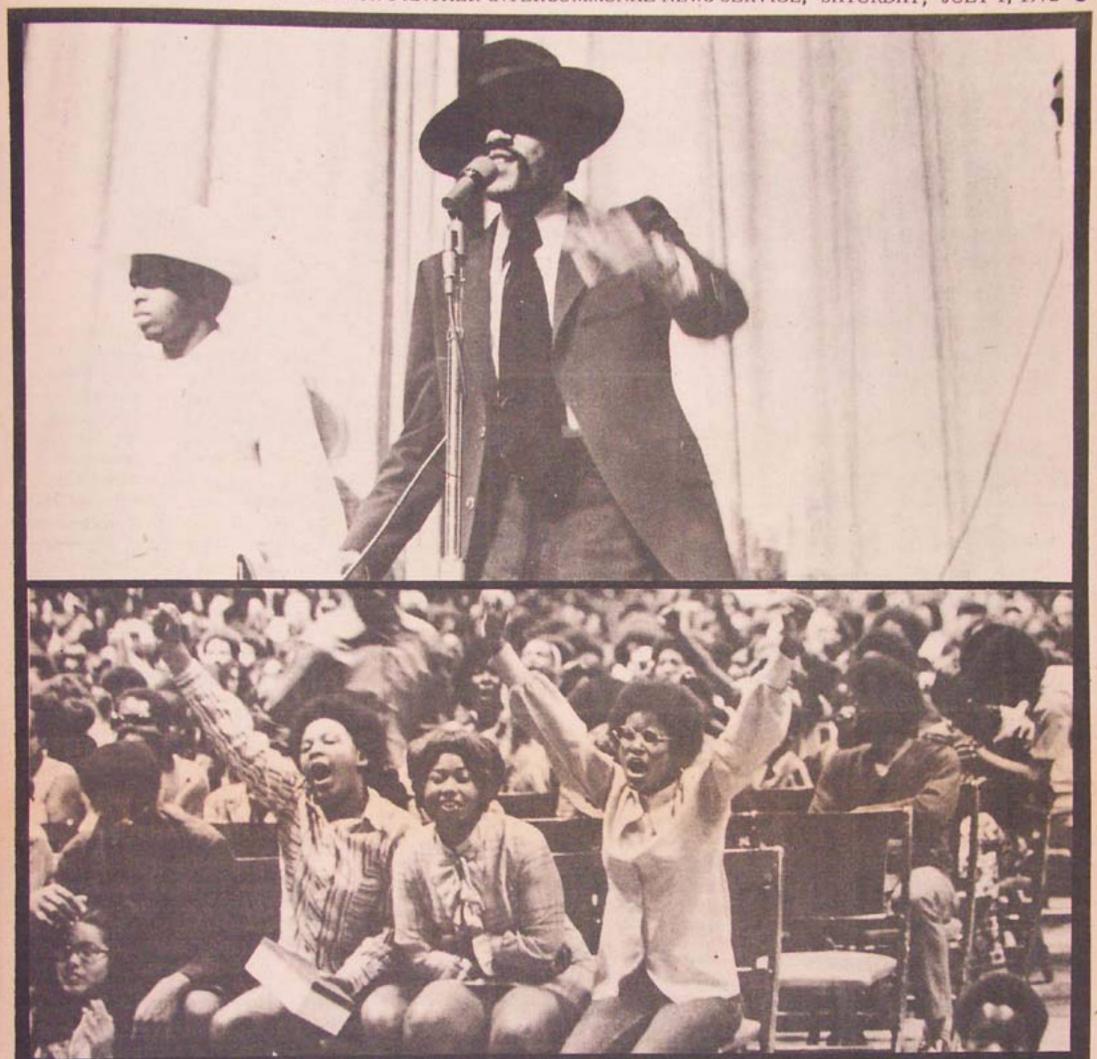
government, so we can take those funds and turn them around. We're saying that if they're using millions of dollars to run a police department, to beat our heads and murder us in the community, then we've got to cut that police budget in half. We'll take the other half of the billions of dollars and put it back into the community and build concrete Survival Programs. We've got to do it!

Now, we've got another problem. We advertised the "Anti-War, African Liberation, Voter Registration, Survival Conference." We could have had twelve-and-a-half or thirteen thousand bags of groceries, more than the 10,000 that we have tonight, if KDIA Radio Station hade't charged us thousands of dollars, just to announce your right to come and get this food. They charged us thousands of dollars; they should have given the time free. Black people listen to that radio station, don't they? It's supposed to be a Black People's radio station; but, it's white-owned. I'm letting you know that, tonight, that KDIA radio station is white-owned; and we're going to start, tonight, to tell KDIA, "Do not charge the Black Panther Party any more money for announcing to us to come out here, or we're going to boycott every business you advertise on that radio station!" (Whole audience rises with shouts and power salutes!) That means we want that, every time we have a Survival Conference. We're trying to build up to the point at which in the future we can give away 50,000 full bags of groceries at one time. That's what we're trying to build up to. We're going to tell KDIA, we the People, that every time the Panthers come there, for radio time, we want full oneminute spots and we want one hundred prime spots, because we're the Black community. White man, you own the station; not only will we boycott the supermarkets if they don't donate to the Survival Programs, but while we will listen to the music, which is the music of our Black Brothers, we won't buy from all those jive white businesses who are advertised on KDIA, because they're always selling us jive, cheap furniture. Those white businessmen sell us all kinds of rotten meat and lie to you about a sale on this, and a sale on that;

Well, the Black Panther Party isn't lying to any of you. When we say full bags of groceries, it's full bags of groceries. When we say a dozen eggs in every bag, there're a dozen eggs and potatoes in every bag. When we say John Lee Hooker and the Sisters Love and the Tower of Power, that's what it is. When we say we're going to defend ourselves from any racist police, who might attack our Survival Programs, that's what we mean. So, it's you, the People, who are also saying, today, that: we want the whole city government of Oakland, it belongs to us, we've been here too long; we've been oppressed too long; we want to implement every Survival Program we've got; we want to get rid of all the unemployment in the community; and will move on every white business around. We will boycott! All you have to do is sit home just don't go to his store. We can hurt him. Everything from the big downtown stores, you know, you're the ones shopping down there. I hope, I hope you know the 10th Street Market. My Mother shopped there. She fed me, she raised me, trying to shop there. In fact, I hope, today, that most of you who might have been on your way to 10th Street Market decided, "What do I need to go down to 10th Street Market for. I'm going on down to the Oakland Auditorium, down there, and get some of those shoes, and some of those groceries, and later for white-owned 10th Street and Swann's Market," Today, I hope that happened today.

Remember this, Brothers and Sisters, People and Human beings alike, we've got to get ready and get moving, so we can give these groceries away. We've got 10,000 bags here, I want you to follow the directions of the Bro-

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"... We are talking about moving on the total power structure and giving the power to the people, because the Mayor's seat is not the Mayor's seat. The Mayor's seat is the People's seat?' CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

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ther who's going to direct you how to proceed in an orderly fashion to get the groceries. Do not rush the stage or the tables, And, remember this, African Liberation is one thing and we stand, we've got to stand in unity with that - and I know you do - in unity against that rotten, corrupt war in Vietnam. We've got to stand in unity with all our African Brothers, who are trying to liberate themselves in the Southern parts of the continent, and take over those areas for their liberation; and, we have to stand in unity for our survival. We've got to be able to go forth and be able to take the City of Oakland seats. We are the People. Politics is supposed to be unifying and organizing the People, around their basic desires and needs, seeing to it that the institutions serve the People's basic desires and needs. Now, we've got to move in that fashion, because we're moving for our own unity. We're moving for our own survival, We're talking about doing a lot of things in the community. We're talking about thousands of People coming here today. There're. probably 1,500 outside who haven't even come in here

yet ... We're talking about unifying on such a level that this type of election that's going to go down in Oakland, it's going to be the most polarized election that the white racists, who've been running the government, have ever

We're going to have to go forth, and not let the vote get divided, because they just might put some money behind another Uncle Tom type dude, and say he's the best candidate ... Just remember one thing, the Mayor's seat is the People's seat. We want some unity in the community. We need to survive ... I'm not going to hold you here much longer, because we've got to deal with these groceries now ... The exploitation of Africa has got to stop by the monopoly capitalists; the exploitation and the oppression that Black People are subjected to has got to stop, by those same monopoly capitalists who back up that war in Vietnam, Let's all stand in unity for some Power to the People! Come on! Power to the people! Today, Power to the People! Thank you very much,



At the Conference, BROTHER PERCY STEELE, Executive Director of the Bay Area Urban League, presented an award to the Black Panther Party for vanguard work in the Free Breakfast for Children Program, back in 1969.

## 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

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.

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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 CHIEFOFSTAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

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

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

YES, I'M AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM, I'M FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION, VOTER REGIST RATION AND THE PEOPLE'S SURVIVAL!



MIXED MEDIA DRAWING: GRAPHITE PENCIL, PHOTO CUT-OUTS, FELT TIP PEN