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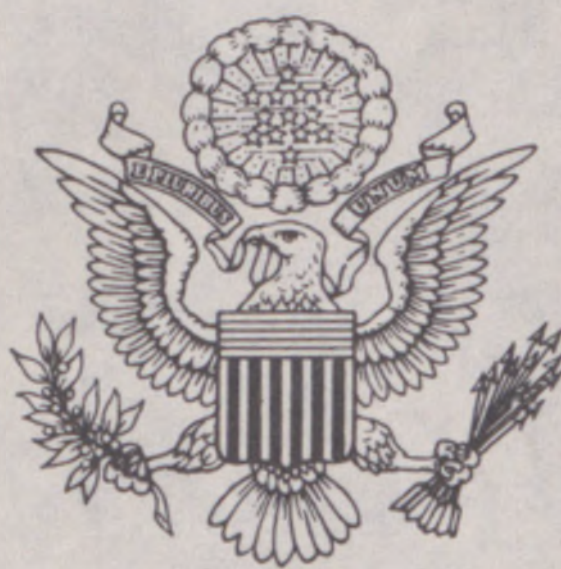
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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT AS REFLECTED
IN ITS OFFICIAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER
THE BLACK PANTHER
BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE

STAFF STUDY

BY THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION



(OCTOBER 6, 1970)

(INCLUDING INDEX)

Prepared and released by the Committee on Internal Security

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WASHINGTON : 1970

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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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(Special acknowledgment is given to Alma D. Pfaff, research analyst, for the preparation of this study.)

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The House Committee on Internal Security is a standing committee of the House of Representatives, constituted as such by the rules of the House, adopted pursuant to Article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 91ST CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 3, 1969, as amended by House Resolution 89,
February 18, 1969

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the 91st Congress * * *

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(k) Committee on Internal Security, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

11. Committee on Internal Security.

(a) Communist and other subversive activities affecting the internal security of the United States.

(b) The Committee on Internal Security, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make investigations from time to time of (1) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, whether of foreign or domestic origin, their members, agents, and affiliates, which seek to establish, or assist in the establishment of, a totalitarian dictatorship within the United States, or to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or alteration of, the form of government of the United States or of any State thereof, by force, violence, treachery, espionage, sabotage, insurrection, or any unlawful means, (2) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, which incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means, to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States, and (3) all other questions, including the administration and execution of any law of the United States, or any portion of law, relating to the foregoing that would aid the Congress or any committee of the House in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Internal Security shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Internal Security, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has

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adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

28. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

* * * * *

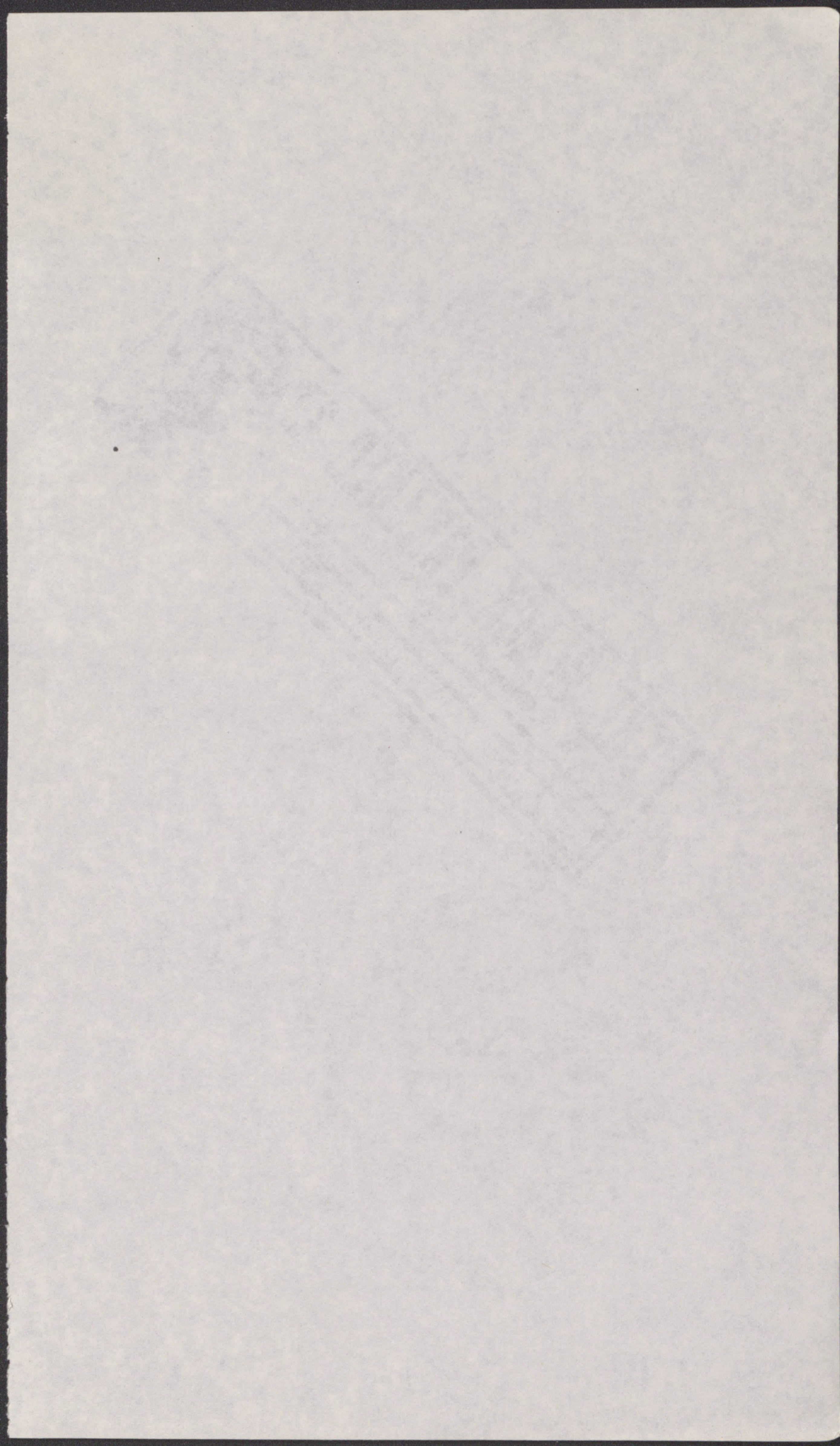
PREFACE

On October 8, 1969, the Committee on Internal Security adopted a resolution authorizing an investigation of the Black Panther Party to determine its origin, history, organization, character, objectives, and activities with particular reference to certain aspects set forth specifically in the resolution in relationship to the committee mandate. After extensive staff study and investigation, the full committee, chaired by Hon. Richard H. Ichord, commenced hearings on March 4, 1970. On April 15 Chairman Ichord duly appointed a subcommittee, consisting of Hon. Richardson Preyer as subcommittee chairman, Hon. John M. Ashbrook, and himself, to conduct inquiries and hear further testimony in connection with the investigation of the Black Panther Party. Numerous witnesses have been heard during the inquiry, and many documents have been accepted for the record. In the course of a public hearing on October 6, 1970, Committee Exhibit No. 4 was introduced as a staff study and accepted for the record by Subcommittee Chairman Preyer. The exhibit, which is reproduced hereafter in entirety, is a compilation of selected information which has appeared in the pages of *The Black Panther*, official publication of the Black Panther Party, headquartered in Oakland, Calif.

This does not present the complete history of activities of the Black Panther Party. It is a single, but important, source for such information. The compilation covers issues of *The Black Panther* published between June 1967 and September 1970.

The items selected for inclusion are limited to those which are pertinent to the subjects of inquiry set out in the House Committee on Internal Security resolution dated October 8, 1969, concerning the Black Panther Party.

Selected cartoons which have appeared in *The Black Panther* were placed in the record at the committee hearings held on July 21-24, 1970, and are reproduced in appendix II.





The Black Panther Party, Its Origin and Development as Reflected in Its Official Weekly Newspaper, *The Black Panther*, *Black Community News Service*

I. Publication and Subscription Data

The Black Panther is a weekly tabloid type newspaper which has been published in San Francisco by the Black Panther Party since April 1967. It is further described in the masthead as the "Black Community News Service." Its publication was intermittent until April 1969, when a weekly publication schedule was established. The subscription rate is \$7.50 per year, and a form provided in each issue of the paper asks that checks be made to the order of the Ministry of Information, Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, California. A second address listed for the newspaper has been 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

EDITORIAL STAFF

The paper showed frequent staff changes from the time it first listed its members in the November 23, 1967, issue until May 1969. In the ensuing year few changes were made.

One of the first persons identified as a member of the editorial staff of the party's newspaper was Audry Hudson. The young woman's photograph was published in the July 3, 1967, issue of *The Black Panther*, together with an article in tribute to her work as secretary of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and a "member of the editorial staff of the Black Panther newspaper." (p. 4)

The November 23, 1967, issue listed the following editorial staff:

Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton (Oakland County Jail)

Chairman, Bobby Seale (Santa Rita Prison Farm)

Editor, Minister of Information (Underground)

Assistant Editor, Kathleen Neal [Cleaver]

Revolutionary Artist-Layout, Emory [Douglas] (p. 11)

Cartoons by Revolutionary Artist Emory Douglas—also the Panther's minister of culture—have been a regular and continuing feature in *The Black Panther*.

In March 1969, Emory Douglas was credited with having "thrown himself with full force into the world liberation movement," and according to Frank Jones, the then managing editor of *The Black Panther*, Douglas "has done so with consummate skill and highly developed revolutionary concepts. His combination of ability and ideology makes him a complete revolutionary man."

Jones also revealed that were "it not for the directness of Emory's work, many of the ideas of the revolutionary movement would have escaped the attention and awareness of a large number of active revolutionary advocates." (*The Black Panther*, March 16, 1969 :9)

The September 14, 1968, issue of *The Black Panther* revealed that the Editor and Minister of Information—previously listed as “underground” was Eldridge Cleaver. At this time Raymond Lewis was identified as the newspaper’s managing editor and deputy minister of information. (p. 5)

The editorial staff was expanded in the October 26, 1968, issue. Seven newcomers added to the list included:

Assistant Revolutionary Artist, Matilaba [Joan Lewis]
 Political Editor, Jay White
 Editorial Assistance, Unda Boston
 Student Editor (BSU, Berkeley, H.S.), Iris Wyse
 Staff Writers, Bill Sherman, Frank Jones, Hosea Mills
 (p. 11).

Unda Boston was listed in the post of “Editorial Assistance” less than a month. Her name was dropped from the November 16, 1968, issue. Bill Sherman, formerly listed as a “staff writer,” replaced her. Two new positions added at that time were student editor of BSU, [Black Student Union], Oakland Technical H.S. held by Greg Harrison, and circulation manager, held by Virtual Murrell. Frank Jones and Hosea Mills were dropped from the list of staff writers, without explanation.

In the December 7, 1968, issue, Brenda Presley was listed as an editorial assistant, Virtual Murrell as distribution manager, and Sam Napier as circulation manager, a post he still held as of June 30, 1970. Student Editor Iris Wyse was no longer listed.

Brenda Presley was dropped from the list of staff members in the January 15, 1969, issue. Revolutionary Artist Matilaba [Joan Lewis] and Student Editor Gregory Harrison were not listed as members of the staff in the February 2, 1969, issue. At the same time Frank Jones was again included on the staff list. He replaced Raymond Lewis as managing editor and deputy minister of information.

“Big Man” Elbert Howard, and Bobby Herron were named as co-editors of *The Black Panther* in the March 9, 1969, issue, and Distribution Manager Virtual Murrell’s name was dropped. In the March 16 issue Andrew Austin was named distribution manager and John Seale was appointed to the post of layout assistant. Both Austin and Seale had retained those posts as of June 30, 1970.

The March 31, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther* revealed that “Big Man” Elbert Howard had replaced Frank Jones as managing editor. Jones continued to be listed as a co-editor until the May 4, issue when his name was dropped without explanation. Co-editor Bobby Herron was also dropped in the March 31, 1969, issue.

The editorial staff of *The Black Panther* newspaper was listed as follows as of June 6, 1970: “Political prisoner: Minister of Defense Huey Newton; Chairman Bobby Seale; Editor, Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver; Managing Editor, Deputy Minister of Information “Big Man.” [Elbert Howard]; Revolutionary Artist and Layout, Minister of Culture Emory Douglas; Production Manager, John Seale; Co-Editors—vacant, Distribution Manager Andrew Austin, Circulation Sam Napier.”

II. Organization of the Black Panther Party

HEADQUARTERS

The Black Panther Party was organized in 1966 by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton under the title "Black Panther Party for Self Defense." The title of the organization was later shortened to "Black Panther Party" because, according to Huey P. Newton, they wanted to make it clear that the party was recognized as a "political organization" and not merely a para military group, or an organization of body guards. (*The Black Panther*, March 16, 1968:4)

The BPP listed its address as 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif., and P. O. Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, from its inception until the spring of 1970 when it announced that the National Headquarters and Ministry of Information of the BPP had moved to a new location at 1048 Peralta St., West Oakland, Calif. Telephone numbers were (415) 465-5047, 465-5048 and 465-5049. (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1970:10)

NATIONAL COMMITTEES TO COMBAT FASCISM COMMUNITY INFORMATION CENTERS

In addition to the various chapters of the Black Panther Party which exist throughout the country, the Panthers have an "organizing bureau" which operates under the title "National Committees to Combat Fascism" (NCCF). (*The Black Panther*, May 19, 1970:14) The national headquarters of the NCCF has been listed as 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif.

In early 1970 the Panther newspaper referred to Community Centers and Community Information Centers, without further identification. However, the May 31, 1970 issue carried reports from the East Oakland, Calif., Jersey City, and Atlantic City, N.J., Community Information Centers.

According to the East Oakland Community Information Center report:

The purpose of opening the community information centers is that we realize that in order to be close to the people in the community it is necessary that we locate ourselves among the masses. The centers will be able to reach more people and bring the Black Panther Party closer to the people.

The Community centers are set up primarily as a base in the community for the people to identify with, work, and claim as their own.

The National Committee to Combat Fascism's specific task is to raise the political level of the people, to educate them to the facts of how decadent, racist, exploitative this system really is and what must be done in order to change it. The Community Information Center will pull people closer to the Black Panther Party, then and only then will we be able to truly unite and organize against the U.S. fascism in America, and world imperialism in order to destroy it wholly and resolutely.

Programs scheduled to emanate from the Community Centers include:

- A) Breakfast program for the children
- B) Liberation school
- C) Community political education classes
- D) Petition for community control of police
- E) Voter registration
- F) Community news reporter
- G) Legal aid and advice
- H) Community pig watch
- I) Student action committee

The people working out of the community centers are community workers and newspaper reporters for the community center's newsletter and the Black Panther Black Community News Service. . . .

The purpose of the community worker is to arm themselves with the ideology of the Black Panther Party and to arm themselves politically and militarily.

LOCATIONS OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY GROUPS

A "Black Panther Party List of All Recognized Chapters, Branches, and N.C.C.F.'s" first appeared in the May 9, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther*.

According to that list, the Kansas City Chapter was "DISBANDED". The most recent list dated June 20, 1970 appears below.

LIST OF RECOGNIZED CHAPTERS AND BRANCHES AND NCCFS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

National Hdqs.: Ministry of Information, 1048 Peralta St., W. Oakland, Ca., 415/465-5047, 5048, 5049.
 Berkeley Office: 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Ca., 415/845-0103, 0104, 0773.
 San Francisco: National Distribution, 1336 Fillmore St., San Francisco, Ca., 415/922-0095, 6322, 6415; Community Centers—2777 Pine Street, San Francisco, Ca., 415/346-4013; 135 Kiska Rd. Apt. 304, San Francisco, Ca., 415/822-8471.
 Oakland: Community Centers—1321 99th Ave., E. Oakland, Ca., 415/636-0944; 1690 Tenth Street, W. Oakland, Ca., 415/465-7089.
 Richmond: 520 Bissell Street, Richmond, Ca., 415/237-6305.
 Boston: 23 Winthrop St., Roxbury, Mass., 617/427-9693, 422-0100
 Chicago: 2350 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill., 312/738-0778; Medical Clinic, 213/233-7044.
 New Haven: 35 Sylvan Ave., New Haven, Conn., 203/562-746, 8557.
 New York: Ministry of Information, 1370 Boston Road, Bronx, N.Y., 212/328-9911, 9009; Harlem Branch, 2026 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y., 212/864-8951, 666-3603; Brooklyn Branch, 180 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y., 212/342-2791, 458-7538, 342-6886; Community Centers—45-B East 3rd. St., Mt. Vernon, N.Y., 914/667-9419; Corona, 101-16 Northern Blvd., 212/779-0550, 0551, 0552; Jamaica, E. Coast Distribution, 108-60 New York, N.Y. 212/523-9866.
 Philadelphia: 1928 W. Columbia Ave., Philadelphia, Pa., 215/235-5738.
 Seattle: 173 20th Ave., Seattle, Wash., 206/324-8818.
 Baltimore: 1202 N. Gay St., Baltimore, Md.
 Denver: 1224 L. 22nd Ave., Denver, Colo., 303/244-8353; Community Center—3123 Franklin St., Denver, Colo., 303/534-4010.
 Indianapolis: 133 W. 30th St., Indianapolis, Ind., 317/925-5172; Community Center—414 E. 23rd St., Indianapolis, Ind., 317/925-0157.
 Jersey City: 93 Summit Ave., Jersey City, N.J., 201/333-7200, 7201.
 Los Angeles: 2043 Stockwell St., Los Angeles, Ca., 213/635-2586, 9382; Community Centers—334 W. 55th St., Los Angeles, Ca., 213/779-4518; 2136 113th St., Los Angeles, Ca., 213/564-2728.

Cleveland, Ohio : 2783 E. 79th St., Rear South Upper, 216/881-5055.
 Detroit : 2219 Indiandale, Detroit, Mich., 313/868-9836.
 Milwaukee : 2121 North 1st. St., Milwaukee Wisc., 414/374-5481.
 Omaha : 3508 N. 24th St., Omaha, Nebraska, 402/455-7065.
 Portland : 3619 N.E. Union, Portland, Oregon, 503/282-5115; Health Clinic—
 503/288-7279; Dental Clinic—503/287-6513.
 Washington, D.C. : 2627 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 202/265-4418, 4419.
 Winston Salem : 1225 E. 18th St. # 5, Winston Salem, North Carolina, 919/722-
 4097.
 Atlantic City Comm. Center : 915 Virginia Pl., Atlantic City, N.J.
 Cambridge Mass. : 2662 Western Ave., 617/491-2430.
 Bridgeport : 470 Broad St., 203/367-0893.
 Hartford : 135 Barbour St., 203/347-7518.
 Riverside People's Comm. Center : 4046 Dwight Ave., Riverside, Cal., 714/784-
 2215.
 Teere Comm. Center : 1511 153rd. St., Compton, Cal., 213/774-5733.

INTERNATIONAL SECTION

The Panther paper has referred to its "international section" under the title "WORKERS AND FUNDS NEEDED." *The Black Panther* announced:

The Black Panther is now in the process of developing an international staff for the international section of the Black Panther Party. We are in need of enthusiastic workers. We need people with skills in filing systems, typing, printing, shipping and receiving. We are also in need of people who can speak French and Arabic. We need people who can function on a diplomatic level in all languages, because at this stage in our struggle we see the need to develop diplomatic machinery for the American revolution.

We have to deal with the same things that other diplomatic machinery have to deal with. The international section of the Black Panther Party is also in need of funds in which to be able to operate. All people wishing to send funds to support the international section of the Black Panther Party can send it to:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Boite Postal 118
 Grande Poste
 Alger, Algeria
 Telephone: 579-469
 Alger, Algeria
 (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 28, 1970 : 22)

BLACK PANTHER LABOR CAUCUSES

Party organization in the labor movement appears to have been limited to Black Panther Caucuses under the leadership of Kenny Horston.

Dubbing itself "the Vanguard of Labor" the Black Panther Caucus has set for itself the following tasks:

We must educate the working people to the political impact that the U.A.W. and other unions have on their social and economic lives.

We must gather the masses in a revolution to throw out the bogus leaders—by democratic elections or any means necessary.

We have allowed ourselves to become part and parcel to the exploitation of non-working people by simply remaining quiet and passive. We must, after dealing with the pigs, give all the power to the people as stipulated in the International By-Laws and local by—of UAW and other unions. To the pigs, go the swill!

KENNY HORSTON, Director BPC
UAW, Local 1364

Fremont, Calif. (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 2, 1969:16)

NATIONAL LEADERS¹ CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Huey P. Newton and Bobby G. Seale, organizers of the Black Panther Party have held the titles of minister of defense and chairman, respectively, since its inception in 1966. In August 1970, Newton assumed an additional title "Supreme Commander" of the Black Panther Party. (*The Black Panther*, August 21, 1970:12) Other national officials of the party have included:

Minister of Information: Eldridge Cleaver—that post was designated "underground" until the September 14, 1968, issue of *The Black Panther* revealed that Eldridge Cleaver held that title. He continues to be listed in that capacity.

Chief of Staff: David Hilliard—Hilliard originally operated under the title of National Headquarters captain, and as such was listed as a member of the Central Committee. However, in the September 14, 1968, issue he was listed as chief of staff. He continued to be listed in that capacity as of June 30, 1970.

Field Marshals: Were designated "Underground" until the January 24, 1970, issue of *The Black Panther* listed Don Cox in the field marshal position. He had been identified as such in the text of various articles in earlier issues of the publication, but January 1970 was the first listing of Cox as a member of the Central Committee.

Minister of Education: Two Panthers have held this post. George Mason Murray was listed as minister of education until the July 12, 1969, issue when Raymond "Masai" Hewitt replaced him in that office. Hewitt, however, had been identified as a member of the Central Committee in the May 31, 1969, issue in a report on its travel through the Scandinavian countries with Bobby Seale.

Minister of Finance: Melvin Newton held this post from October 28, 1968, when the Panthers first started publishing the list of its Central Committee members until the May 25, 1969, issue when his name was dropped without comment or explanation. The post was still vacant as of June 30, 1970.

Minister of Foreign Affairs: James Forman was identified as minister of foreign affairs, but not as a member of the Central Committee.

Minister of Justice: H. Rap Brown was identified as minister of justice in the May 4, 1968, issue of *The Black Panther*. From November 1968 to June 30, 1970, the post was vacant.

Prime Minister: Stokely Carmichael was the first and only prime minister of the Black Panther Party. He was first "drafted" into the

¹ Photographs of national leaders appear in Appendix III.

party by Huey Newton in the defense minister's Executive Mandate No. 2, issued June 29, 1967. It invested Carmichael with the rank of field marshal and delegated to him the following:

"To establish revolutionary law, order, and justice in the territory lying between the Continental Divide east to the Atlantic Ocean; North of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Canadian Border; South of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Gulf of Mexico." (*The Black Panther*, July 3, 1967:6)

In its March 16, 1968, issue *The Black Panther* announced that Stokely Carmichael had been appointed and had accepted the office of Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party. Carmichael's name was dropped in the June 14, 1969, issue without comment or explanation. Carmichael had, however, been charged with serious "deviations" from the party line by Raymond "Masai" Hewitt in an interview published in *The Black Panther* on May 31, 1969. Masai reported at that time that in investigation of Carmichael's deviations was "taking place."

Communications Secretary: Kathleen Cleaver, nee Neal, has been listed as the party's communications secretary since the list of officials was first published in October, 1968.

Minister of Culture: Emory Douglas has been listed in that capacity since 1968 and as revolutionary artist since 1967.

The following persons have been identified as national leaders but not as members of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party:

National Coordinator of the Free Breakfast for Children Programs, Randolph Albury (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969:15)

Deputy Communications Secretary, Judi Douglas (Mrs. Emory Douglas) (*The Black Panther*, January 31, 1970:10-11)

Assistant Chief of Staff, Roosevelt "June" Hilliard (*The Black Panther*, February 7, 1970:8)

Connie Matthews was identified as the international coordinator of the Black Panther Party in 1970. (*The Black Panther*, May 9, 1970:15)

LOCAL LEADERS

The listing below shows that an individual was identified in *The Black Panther* as holding a particular leadership position.

THE BLACK PANTHER

Name and position	Chapter	Date of issue
CALIFORNIA		
Bobby Bowen, defense captain	Richmond	Aug. 16, 1969
Elaine Brown, deputy minister of information	Southern California	Nov. 22, 1969
Charles Brunson, defense captain	Sacramento	Mar. 3, 1969
Charles Bursey, captain	San Francisco Bay Area	May 11, 1969
Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, deputy minister of defense	Southern California	Feb. 2, 1969
Mark Comfort, organizer	East Oakland	May 15, 1967
Jerry Davis, lieutenant of defense	Sacramento	Mar. 3, 1969
Frank Digs, captain	Los Angeles	Jan. 15, 1969
George Dowell, captain	Richmond	May 15, 1967
John Huggins, deputy minister of information	Southern California	Nov. 16, 1968
Joan Kelley, communications secretary	do	July 5, 1969
James Mott, lieutenant of education	Sacramento	Mar. 3, 1969
Mike Pennywell, Panther spokesman	Los Angeles	Jan. 15, 1969
Geronimo (Elmer Pratt), deputy minister of defense	Southern California	Jan. 10, 1970
Jymbo Sudan, lieutenant of information	Vallejo	Mar. 31, 1969
Warren Tucker, captain	California	May 15, 1969
DeWayne A. Williams, lieutenant of information	Fresno	June 21, 1969
Dexter Woods, captain	San Francisco	Mar. 23, 1969

THE BLACK PANTHER—Continued

Name and position	Chapter	Date of issue
COLORADO		
Gray Adams, deputy minister of information	Denver	Mar. 31, 1969
Ronnell Stewart, deputy minister of information	do	Jan. 4, 1969
Lauren Watson, chairman	do	Jan. 15, 1969
Landon Williams, a leader	do	Dec. 27, 1969
James Young, a Panther leader	do	Jan. 15, 1969
CONNECTICUT		
Verna Hampton, communications secretary	New Haven	Jan. 31, 1970
Ericka Huggins, political education instructor	do	May 31, 1969
Warren Kimbro, ² Party spokesman	do	May 25, 1969
Doug Miranda, defense captain	do	Oct. 25, 1969
Cappy Pinderhughes, lieutenant of information	do	Dec. 6, 1969
Robert E. Webb, field lieutenant	do	Nov. 8, 1969
ILLINOIS		
Wilmer Angrum, deputy minister of education	Chicago	June 28, 1969
Harold Bell, captain of defense	Rockford	Mar. 21, 1970
Billy "Che" Brooks, education minister	Chicago	May 31, 1969
Robert Bruce, captain	do	June 28, 1969
Fred Bursey, communications lieutenant	do	Aug. 23, 1969
Ann Campbell, communications secretary	do	May 31, 1969
Eugene Charles, lieutenant of information	do	June 21, 1969
Carletta Fields, reporter	do	May 19, 1969
Stephanle Finker, officer staff	do	June 21, 1969
Fred Hampton, deputy chairman	do	June 28, 1969
Yvonne King, field secretary; former minister of labor	do	May 31, 1969
Bobby Lee, field secretary	do	Sept. 20, 1969
Chuckles May, minister of education	do	June 28, 1969
Harvey Merrill, captain	do	Do.
Nathaniel Junior, field secretary of defense	do	July 19, 1969
William O'Neal, head of security department	do	Feb. 17, 1969
William O'Neal, deputy minister of defense	do	June 28, 1969
Richard Powell, section leader	do	Do.
Bob Rush, deputy minister of defense	do	Feb. 17, 1969
Barbara Sankey, breakfast program coordinator	do	May 31, 1969
Donald "Doc" Satchel, deputy minister for health	do	Do.
Alvino Shinn, captain	do	Feb. 17, 1969
David Valentine, lieutenant of information	do	June 28, 1969
Rufus "Chaka" Walls, deputy minister of information	do	May 31, 1969
James White, section leader	do	June 28, 1969
INDIANA		
Donald Campbell, defense captain	Indianapolis	Mar. 7, 1970
Donald Campbell, deputy minister of health	do	Mar. 31, 1969
Donald Campbell, deputy minister of information	do	May 19, 1969
Fred Crawford, deputy chairman	do	June 14, 1969
Joe Martin, deputy minister of information	do	Jan. 15, 1969
Marvin McCurdy, chairman of revolutionary black caucus	do	May 19, 1969
Lawrence C. Roberts, deputy minister of finance	do	Jan. 15, 1969
Abram Sharrief, circulation manager	do	May 19, 1969
Will Sharrief, defense captain	do	Apr. 20, 1969
Nathan Wimberly, co-chairman of revolutionary black caucus	do	May 19, 1969
IOWA		
Steve Green, lieutenant, head of distribution	Des Moines	May 11, 1969
Charles Knox, leader	do	Jan. 15, 1969
Charles Knox, deputy minister of education	do	May 11, 1969
Archie Simmons, deputy minister of labor	do	Aug. 23, 1969
MARYLAND		
Zeke Boyd, lieutenant	Baltimore	Feb. 17, 1969
Warren Hart, captain	do	Aug. 23, 1969
Mahonne Kebe, defense captain	do	Do.
Chaka Masai (Steve), lieutenant of information	do	Jan. 17, 1970
Reeva Dinez White, communications secretary	do	Aug. 23, 1969
MASSACHUSETTS		
Cheetum, lieutenant of information	Boston	Aug. 23, 1969
Michael Farrar, deputy minister of defense	do	Feb. 2, 1969
Andrea Jones, acting area captain	do	Dec. 6, 1969
Eugene Jones, lieutenant of information	do	July 12, 1969
Douglas Miranda, defense captain	do	Aug. 23, 1969
James Young, free clothing program coordinator	do	Jan. 31, 1970

² See footnote at end of table.

THE BLACK PANTHER—Continued

Name and position	Chapter	Date of Issue
MISSOURI		
Phillp Crayton, deputy minister of information	Kansas City	Mar. 15, 1970
Henry Finley, captain	do	Aug. 30, 1969
Keith Hinch, deputy minister of education	do	Oct. 25, 1969
Charlotte O'Neal, deputy minister of finance	do	Apr. 6, 1970
Pete O'Neal, deputy chairman	do	Mar. 3, 1969
Billie R. Robinson, deputy minister of information	do	June 14, 1969
Tommy Robinson, deputy minister of labor	do	Jan. 14, 1969
J. C. Sams, captain	do	Apr. 6, 1969
André Weatherby, communications secretary	do	June 21, 1969
Bill Whitfield, deputy minister of information	do	Mar. 3, 1969
NEW JERSEY		
David Williams, lieutenant of information	Jersey City	Aug. 30, 1969
Jimmy York, chairman	do	Sept. 13, 1969
NEW YORK		
Rashid Al Fatal, section leader	Harlem, N.Y.	Apr. 20, 1969
Ed Balogum, acting defense captain	White Plains	July 5, 1969
Eddy Bolton (Omar), lieutenant of education	Peekskill	Do.
Vernon Bowen, lieutenant of information	Albany	Aug. 2, 1969
David Brothers, captain	Brooklyn	Jan. 15, 1969
David Brothers, chairman	New York State	Apr. 20, 1969
Doris Bush, staff secretary	Corona-East Elmhurst	July 26, 1969
Al Carroll, captain of defense	Harlem	Aug. 9, 1969
Sonny Collins, defense captain	Staten Island	Aug. 16, 1969
Anaye Dharuba, acting field secretary	New York State	May 19, 1969
Joudon Ford, captain	New York City	Jan. 15, 1969
Jackee Harper, branch secretary	Albany	Dec. 6, 1969
Eddie Hull, defense captain	Mt. Vernon	Dec. 27, 1969
Diahnne Jenkins, lieutenant of health	Corona Branch	Nov. 1, 1969
Sahani Malik, lieutenant of education	Peekskill	May 19, 1969
Glendora (Ife) Massey, lieutenant of information	do	July 5, 1969
Tom McCreary, section leader	Brooklyn	Jan. 15, 1969
Beth Mitchell, minister of information	Harlem	Aug. 16, 1969
Beth Mitchell, communications secretary	do	Dec. 6, 1969
Charles Roberts, field lieutenant	Staten Island	Aug. 30, 1969
Charles Scott, in charge of literature	Corona-East Elmhurst	July 26, 1969
Zayd-Malik Shakur, area captain	New York State	Apr. 20, 1969
Zayd-Malik Shakur, acting deputy minister of information	do	June 7, 1969
Carlton Yearwood, field director	Corona-East Elmhurst	July 26, 1969
OREGON		
Howard Anderson, defense captain	Oregon	June 7, 1969
Julius Hurst, lieutenant of information	Eugene	Mar. 31, 1969
Julius Hurst, deputy minister of information	do	June 7, 1969
PENNSYLVANIA		
West Cook, communications secretary	Philadelphia	Aug. 9, 1969
Roland Montae, breakfast coordinator	do	Dec. 6, 1969
Muma X, lieutenant of information	do	July 19, 1969
Reggie Schell, defense captain	do	Aug. 16, 1969
WASHINGTON		
Aaron Dixon, captain	Seattle	Nov. 16, 1968
Elmer Dixon, field marshal	do	May 4, 1969
Curtis R. Harris, lieutenant of defense	do	Jan. 15, 1969
Raymond Lewis, deputy minister of information	do	Nov. 16, 1968
Bobby White, lieutenant of information	do	Do.
Buddy Yates, section leader	do	Do.
WISCONSIN		
DarkIn, Gentry, captain of defense	Milwaukee	July 5, 1969
Felix Welch, acting field lieutenant	do	June 21, 1969
Felix Welch, field lieutenant	do	July 5, 1969

Connecticut Panther leader Warren Kimbro was denounced as a "pig" in an article entitled "New Haven Panther Case: Pressure on Defendants." The Panthers' Mar. 7, 1970, issue described him as a "provisional member of the Panther Party at the time of his arrest last spring." Kimbro had been described as the Black Panther "Party spokesman" in the May 25, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther*. According to the 1970 article, Kimbro was "pressured" into becoming a witness for the prosecution in the trial of Panthers charged with the murder of fellow Panther, Alex Rackley. (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 7, 1970: 5.)

III. The Black Panther on Violent Revolution

STATEMENTS BY KEY LEADERS

HUEY NEWTON:

Twenty-three armed members of the BPP for Self-Defense demonstrated at the California State legislature in Sacramento, California, on May 2, 1967. Huey P. Newton, BPP minister of defense, prepared a statement which was delivered at the state capitol by Bobby Seale, chairman of the BPP. The following are excerpts from the statement: "The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California legislature which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the black people disarmed and powerless. . . . At the same time that the American Government is waging a racist war in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War Two are being expanded. . . . These concentration camps are being prepared for black people who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. . . . The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late." (*The Black Panther*, May 15, 1967)

In an article entitled "In Defense of Self Defense," Huey P. Newton denounced the United States Government as an "oppressor" and declared that "black people must move now. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetrated against them by the armed racist power structure . . . black people were forced to build America and if forced to we will tear it down." (*The Black Panther*, June 20, 1967:4)

"An unarmed people are slaves or subject to slavery at any given time" is a slogan attributed to Huey P. Newton. (*The Black Panther*, January 2, 1970)

The following statement is attributed to Huey P. Newton: "Army 45 will stop all jive—Buckshots will down the cops—P38 will open prison gates—Carbine will stop the war machine—.357 will win us heaven—and if you don't believe in lead, you are already dead." (*The Black Panther*, February 28, 1970:15)

"The heirs of Malcom X have picked up the gun and are moving for their total freedom" Huey P. Newton, minister of defense. (*The Black Panther*, March 7, 1970:6)

"The Correct Handling of a Revolution" is the title of an essay by Huey Newton in which he stated: "The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. . . . When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers and when they see the advantage in the activities of guerrilla warfare methods, they will quickly follow this example. . . . When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses

hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's, but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about a revolution." (*The Black Panther*, May 4, 1968:6)

"Quotations from Huey" contained the following comments: "The Black Panther Party is a vanguard group leading the revolutionary struggle, playing a part in it, because this is world revolution: all colonized people are now resisting. To work as one of the administrators of this revolutionary action, you have to view yourself as oxen to be ridden by the people. This is what the Black Panther Party teaches—that we should all carry the weight, and those who have extreme abilities will have to carry extremely heavy loads. . . . When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation—the gun. . . . The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundation of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be perpetual peace for all mankind." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 17, 1969:4)

Huey Newton delivered the eulogy at the funeral of Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas [killed during a gun battle on August 7 during an escape attempt which ended in the deaths of Superior Court Judge Harold J. Haley, two convicts, and their accomplices. Christmas was one of the convicts, Jonathan Jackson had "supplied the weapons for the attempted escape of three convicts from a trial in a Marin Civic Center Courtroom" (*Evening Star*, August 15, 1970: A-1].

The Panther leader declared that "There are no laws that the oppressor makes that the oppressed are bound to respect." Black people, he said "have suffered too long and we must draw the line somewhere. There is a big difference between thirty million unarmed Black people and thirty million Black people armed to the teeth."

"We are not alone," Newton stated. "We have allies everywhere. . . . People all over the world are rising up, the high tide of revolution is about to sweep the shores of America—sweeping away the evil gentry and corrupt officials." (*The Black Panther*, August 21, 1970).

BOBBY SEALE:

In an address to "200 black brothers and sisters ranging in age from 14 to 30" BPP Chairman Bobby Seale declared: "Now if we want to exercise Black Power, we do not go out and have a lay-in. . . . The only thing that we can do now, brothers and sisters, is to get our guns organized, forget the 'ins' and shoot it out." (*The Black Panther*, July 20, 1967:4, 15)

An article entitled "Montreal: Bobby Seale—Panthers Take Control" revealed that Bobby Seale in a speech at the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, stated: "The Black Panther Party was formed to resist police brutality and the murder of black people in the same manner that the Vietnamese people were resisting U.S. imperialist aggression—by violence if necessary!" (*The Black Panther*, December 21, 1968)

In an interview with a representative of *The Movement* Bobby Seale made the following comments in answer to a question concerning criticism of the BPP by "cultural nationalists":

"The cultural nationalists have accused the Black Panther party of being . . . a front for white radicals and of course we are not a front for white radicals. We are an organization that represents black people and many white radicals relate to this and understand that the Black Panther Party is a righteous revolutionary front against this racist decadent, capitalistic system. Our organization doesn't have any white people as members. If a white man in a radical group wants to give me some guns, I'll take them. I'm not going to refuse them because he's white." (*The Black Panther*, March 3, 1969:10,11)

The following statement was attributed to Bobby Seale, and BPP members George Sams and Cleveland Brooks. The statement which appeared in an article entitled "Reactionary Paper Tigers" is as follows: "This is a class struggle. To all those lackeys, opportunists, rotten ferocious, diseased —, we will not stop until we have destroyed and committed destruction on capitalism. You must understand that the revolutionary struggle has yet to continue. So let there be bloodshed because these racist — have to go check it out in Vietnam. . . . So you see, people, as brother Mao Tse-tung puts it, 'We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war. And in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun.'" (*The Black Panther*, May 25, 1969:4)

"Revolutionary Action on Campus and Community" is the title of an appeal from prison by Bobby Seale directed to "Black students." He called for black students to "understand the need to move out and be more a part of the community, to educate the masses of people. . . . Students," he said, "must understand what fascism is and must educate our community to the fact that our community is significantly related to the world people's struggle."

According to Seale, "Black Students, BSU's and Black Studies programs must understand that the only way to get a clear understanding of what the ideology of the revolutionary movement is today is to understand the history of the Black Panther Party, the history of the BSU, the history of the Black People, all historical experience; all of this, the history of the party, the history of the struggle, the movement, presently in terms of the Black Panther Party, of the historical events of Black people being translated by way of Marxist-Leninism."

"Using this philosophy that the Chinese are using, using this same philosophy that the African Liberation Front in Mozambique and Angola and other places are using, is the direction that I see here for us. . . . To understand the historical experience of Black people translated by way of Marxist-Leninism is the direction that BSU's and Black studies must take on college campuses." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 10, 1970:10,11)

"To be a Revolutionary is to be an Enemy of the state. To be arrested for this struggle is to be a Political Prisoner." Bobby Seale—"Political Prisoner." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 10, 1970:1)

An interview between Bobby Seale and the Redding, Calif., *Record-Searchlight* was reprinted in *The Black Panther*, Feb. 7, 1970. Seale

was being held at the San Francisco Hall of Justice, where he was awaiting extradition to New Haven, Conn., to face a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. His lawyer, Charles R. Garry, was present during the interview. Robert Martin, "a black reporter" for KGO-TV Channel 7 in San Francisco, a television cameraman and two young reporters representing "what's commonly called the 'underground press'" were also present.

Seale is quoted as having stated: " 'When we say revolution we mean changing the system.' . . . We mean changing it for real and very concrete. . . . And we prefer nonantagonistic contradictions, you see."

In response to a question concerning carrying weapons, Seale stated:

" 'We don't carry guns unless we are authorized to, and we would only authorize it in a matter that's related to self-defense. Where somebody is being unjustly attacked, brutalized, murdered or killed by fascists, racists, or racist bigots, and even racist policemen who're trying to murder us.' "

"Is there a restriction against a Panther using aggression against someone?"

" 'We have a rule in the Party that you cannot—cannot!—cuss, swear or strike at the people—nobody! You dig?' "

" 'You will not shoot, fire or use a weapon against anyone except—get my words correct—the attacking enemy. When a racist and bigot attack you, he is an enemy. And that's the only way it is.' "

Seale also offered the opinion that "all cops aren't pigs."

" 'Policeman who actually respects a person's constitutional rights and don't be murdering and unjustly beating is not a pig,' Seale said." He said: " 'If you want to point a pig out and be specific about it, you'll see he's one that violates the constitutional rights of a person.' "

Among police who wouldn't be considered pigs, Seale said, are members of the "Afro-amerikkkan Patrolman's League in Chicago and Officers for Justice in San Francisco because 'they're speaking out in behalf of the people.' These groups oppose police brutality, police murder and racism," he said.

Seale also denied that the Black Panther Party is a "separatist movement."

"We're not Black separatists, we don't believe in abstract notions of integration and abstract notions of separation." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 7, 1970:3)

An article by Bobby Seale entitled "One Less Oppressor" applauds the murder of patrolman Bernard Bennett who was shot and killed at 10:30 p.m. on May 9th at 35th St., and 4th Ave., in Sacramento, Calif.

The article stated: "The people have now come to realize that the only way to deal with the oppressor is to deal on our own terms and this was done. Around 10:30 that evening 4 or 5 shots rang out to find their marks lodged in the brain of a pig; color him dead!!!" (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1970:2)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER:

Eldridge Cleaver, BPP minister of information, denounced the Chief of Police Charles R. Gain in Oakland, California, and other police in general. He declared that the black community is keeping a list of names of policemen who "are going to be hunted down like the dogs they are and will receive the justice that Adolf Eichman got . . ." (*The Black Panther*, June 10, 1968:6)

The featured article entitled "Revolution and Education," written from abroad by Eldridge Cleaver reminded the BPP that: "... We're not reformists, we're not in the movement to reform the curriculum of a given university. . . . We are revolutionaries, and as revolutionaries, our goal is the transformation of the American social order. In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the United States, we have to overthrow the government . . . we say we will do this by any means necessary . . . and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class." (*The Black Panther*, June 28, 1969:12-14)

The Illinois Chapter of the BPP attributed the following statement to Eldridge Cleaver: "We must stop the capitalist corporate structure from killing us, teasing us, dividing us, and ruling us. . . . The time has come to fall the system. It only uses us to perpetuate itself. To serve the system is treason. Smash the State." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969:16)

"On Meeting the Needs of the People" is the caption of an article by Eldridge Cleaver which was reprinted from *Ramparts* magazine. In this article, the BPP minister of information in exile set forth a definition of revolution as follows, "Revolution, in its essence, means precisely the rearrangement of a system. Many people think of revolution only as overt violence. . . . This is only one phase of the revolutionary process, and the violence is not an end in itself but only the means through which the necessary power is seized. . . . It is the means for expropriating the land, the natural resources, the machines, all the means of production. . . . We must make it clear in our minds that we will shoot anyone who uses a gun, or causes others to use guns, to defend the system. . . . We must face the fact that we are at war in America. Not everyone realizes that there is a war going on. . . . The principles that have been learned from our experience with the People's Park and the Breakfast for Children program. . . . Will take root in the minds of radicals all over the United States. Myself, I'm tired of using the term 'radicals' and 'militants,' and I prefer to use the term 'revolutionaries,' because if we are not involved in a revolution, and if we don't understand ourselves to be revolutionaries, then there is very little we can hope to do." (*The Black Panther* Aug. 16, 1969:4)

Eldridge Cleaver issued a treatise on "Black Capitalism" in which he stated, "Black people in the United States are now being subjected to neo-colonial policy under the Warden Nixon Administration called black capitalism. Using the slogan of 'Black Power' as a mask for this treacherous policy, Warden Nixon tries to torpedo the black liberation struggle by buying off the black bourgeoisie and other black opportunists and cultural nationalists who are satisfied with crumbs from the master's table. The interest of Black people and the interest of all oppressed people lies in continuing the struggle against capitalism, imperialism and racism to the bitter end." (*The Black Panther*, August 23, 1969:5)

In September 1969, Eldridge Cleaver "led a delegation of the Black Panther Party, USA, to the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in their Fight Against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism," which was held in Pyongyang, North

Korea. The Panther delegation which reportedly consisted of Cleaver and Byron Booth, a deputy minister of defense, arrived in Korea on September 11, for the conference which lasted from September 18th through the 24th. In his address to the Conference on September 22nd, Eldridge Cleaver stated: "The revolutionary forces inside the United States must be supported by the revolutionary people of the whole world, because whereas the peoples outside of the United States will slice off the tentacles of the hedious (sic) octopus of the U.S. oppression, the revolutionaries inside the United States will cut its wicked heart and give the decisive death blow to U.S. fascism and imperialism." Cleaver then declared that it "is time for the revolution to explode inside the imperialist nations themselves." This will be done, he stated, "by stepping up of revolutionary activity inside of the imperialist nations—particularly the United States of America. (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 25, 1969: 12)

"Eldridge on Weatherman" is the caption of an article in which Cleaver stated: "A dead pig is desirable, but a paralyzed pig is preferable to a mobile pig. And a determined revolutionary doesn't require an authorization from a Central Committee before offing a pig. As a matter of fact, when the need arises a true revolutionary will off the Central Committee. In order to stop the slaughter of the people we must accelerate the slaughter of the pigs. Those who can't stand the sight of blood, especially their own, should stay home and pray for those who come outside to move, to do it, and pray for victory and not an end to the slaughter." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 22, 1969: 5)

A press release issued March 2, 1970, by the "International Section, B.P.P., Alger, Algeria," signed Eldridge Cleaver, posed the question: "Is America going to have a Class War or a Race War? The fascists have already declared war upon the people. Will the people as a whole rise up to meet this challenge with a righteous People's War against these fascist pigs, or will Black people have to go it alone, thus transforming a dream of interracial solidarity into the nightmare of a Race War?"

According to Cleaver, "We, Black people, if we are forced to go it alone, must be prepared to unleash the ultimate political consequence upon this racist nation. The ultimate political consequence which Black people have in their power to unleash is RACE WAR."

A race war, Cleaver stated "will mean the end of our dreams for the Class War which America needs and the beginning of the Race War which America cannot endure. This is the political consequence which America faces because of this unspeakably evil attempt to murder Chairman Bobby Seale in the Electric Chair." (*The Black Panther*, March 7, 1970: 10-11)

A poster size cartoon type photo of Bobby Seale strapped to a chair and a statement by Eldridge Cleaver with the headline "MANIFESTO" was distributed with the March 28, 1970, issue of *The Black Panther*. He announced that the "Primary Task of the American Revolution, at this point in our history, is to defeat the Number One maneuver of the fascist power structure, which is to make an example of Bobby Seale by putting him to death in the Electric Chair in the state of Connecticut."

Cleaver posed the question: "Is America going to have a Class War or a Race War? The fascists have already declared war upon the people. Will the people as a whole rise up to meet this challenge with a righteous People's War against the fascist pigs, or will Black people have to go it alone, thus transforming a dream of interracial solidarity into the nightmare of a Race War?"

"... We, Black people, if we are forced to go it alone, must be prepared to unleash the ultimate political consequences upon this racist nation. The ultimate political consequence which Black people have in their power to unleash is RACE WAR. . . . So, if the so-called freedom loving White people of America do not stand up now, while there are still a few moments of time left, and put an end to the persecution of Chairman Bobby Seale, the Black people will have to go it alone and step forward alone. This will mean the end of our dreams for the Class War which America needs and the beginning of the Race War which America cannot endure."

Eldridge Cleaver was interviewed by John McGrath in Algiers in February 1970. His interview was published in *The Black Panther* in the April 11, 1970, issue, pages 10-13 and 17. In response to questions by McGrath, Cleaver stated:

"We are in the process of establishing here (in Algiers) an information centre: to deal with the struggle on an international level, make contacts, find out who our allies are, locate sources of mutual support."

"We think that people are going to have to organize and take up arms and fight a war to overthrow the system. I think that that process will increase and out of it, just as in other countries, a people's army will develop. This is what we constantly try to bring about."

John McGrath later posed the question: "Do you foresee a stage where you'll need to adopt a more traditional liberation front approach? For example, the F.L.N. in Algiers used to strike and disappear and there are the traditional Maoist Guerrilla tactics—" To which Cleaver replied: "We know that you cannot overthrow the government through mass demonstrations and pickets but we also know that part of the correct revolutionary approach is to utilize both the legal and the illegal approach, both the above ground and the underground approach. Definitely we are going to have to resort to the tactics you referred to."

When asked if he was "aiming to overthrow Washington" Cleaver replied: "Washington, Washington, D.C. Because that's where the seat of power is. That's where the country is controlled from. Actually we're aiming for Long Island—Long Island controls New York, New York controls the country and the country controls the world." (*The Black Panther*, April 11, 1970:10-13, 17)

In an article entitled "METHOD, TIME, AND REVOLUTION" Eldridge Cleaver reviewed the history of the Black Panther Party, reaffirmed his belief in the 10 point platform and program and declared: "People are right when they say that Black people are not in a position to face down the pigs on their level. But we are in a position to implement head-up murder. We can guarantee the total destruction of Babylon—with a form of struggle that pigs will call madness." (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1970:18, 19)

According to Eldridge Cleaver—"The Lumpen Has No Choice But To Manifest It's Rebellion In the Universities of The Streets." (*The Black Panther*, June 27, 1970:4)

DAVID HILLIARD:

A statement by BPP official David Hilliard concerning police review boards was reported as follows: "We cannot waste time talking about community police review boards because a community review board will not act as a shield for a .357 magnum bullet. We know that the only way to stop these ——— is by picking up the guns and killing those ——— before they get a chance to kill us." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969:3)

A centerfold of *The Black Panther* is devoted to a speech by David Hilliard, BPP chief of staff. During his speech Hilliard stated, "The history of the Black Panther Party is nothing more than the historical experiences of Black People in this country translated by way of Hilliard, BPP chief of staff. During his speech Hilliard stated, "The Marxism-Leninism. Because we recognize that Marxism-Leninism is not a philosophy for Russians, it is not a philosophy for Chinese but it's a philosophy for any people that's moving against an oppressive power structure such as the capitalistic fascist system of the American society. And we have adopted that. And we're putting it into practice because it is proven beyond a doubt that it's truly in the service of the proletariat. . . . We say down with the American fascist society. Later for Richard Millhouse Nixon, the ——— we will kill Richard Nixon. We will kill any ——— that stands in the way of our freedom." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 22, 1969:1)

In an interview with Jeff Gerth, David Hilliard stated that "350 Panthers have been arrested on major charges, though hardly any of them have been convicted of anything."

The Black Panther newspaper, he states, is "not only a national but also an international newspaper and," according to Hilliard, "people who can read our newspaper can stay tuned to what's happening with regard to the Black Panther Party in particular."

Directing his attention to revolution, Hilliard announced: "We recognize our role in this revolution and we're a part of the link in the chain of worldwide revolution and it's our duty to spell out the reactionaries from the revolutionaries. We want to make it very clear that we support all those who are actively engaged in the struggle against U.S. Imperialism and Zionism, which means to us racial supremacy." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 17, 1970:4)

DON COX:

Don Cox, field marshall of the Black Panther Party, stated in an article entitled "Counter Attack" that "it is time to intensify the struggle. We must broaden our self-defense tactics and COUNTER-ATTACK," he stated.

According to the article, "We must destroy the machinery that is enslaving the world. The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or by night. Our Chief of Staff was perfectly right in saying, we will kill anyone who stands in the way of our liberation and this goes for Richard Nixon and his mama."

"If we are not willing to COUNTER-ATTACK, to kill and to possibly die, then we must accept whatever fate the racist, fascist U.S. power structure decides to bestow upon us."

Cox reiterated the following Panther motto:

"We are the advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war. But war can only be abolished through war. In order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun. Our leader comrade Huey P. Newton says: '. . . When a people move for liberation they must have the basic tool of liberation; the GUN. Only with the power of the GUN can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetrated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the GUN can the whole world be transformed into the 'earthly paradise' dreamed of by the people from time immemorial.'"
(*The Black Panther*, Jan. 10, 1970:9)

Cox was credited with the series of articles "Organizing Self-Defense Groups" which pertain to guerrilla warfare tactics, the care and use of weapons and the manufacture of home-made bombs. They are summarized under the heading "On Firearms and Bombs."

EMORY DOUGLAS:

Emory Douglas, revolutionary artist and BPP minister of culture, declared in a speech to a rally that the BPP needs guns and organization in order to "get rid of the police." He stated that if "we kill a few of them, we'll have a little satisfaction, but if we kill some more, we'll have some more satisfaction, but if we kill all of them, we'll have complete satisfaction. All power to the people!" (*The Black Panther*, April 20, 1969:5)

In an article "On Revolutionary Art", Douglas stated that such art "gives the people the correct picture of our struggle whereas the revolutionary ideology gives the people the correct political understanding of our struggle."

According to Emory, the revolutionary artist "must feel what the people feel who throw rocks and bottles at the oppressor when he draws about it—so that he can raise their level of consciousness to hand-grenades and dynamite to be launched at the oppressor."

"Revolutionary art is an extension and interpretation for the masses in the most simple and obvious form. Without being committed to the struggle for liberation, the artist could not express revolutionary art at all." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 24, 1970:5)

"The only way to make this racist U.S. Govt. administer justice to the people who it is oppressing, is through the resistance of those people. By taking up arms against this racist U.S. Govt. killing the officials of the Govt. until the reactionary forces in America who take it upon themselves to brutalize, murder and enslave black people because of the color of our skin are dead and those who are left, plead guilty to crimes that they have committed against black people. By turning their weapons of destruction upon their superiors, in the name of suffering humanity. Thereby passing revolutionary judgment against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U.S. Govt.—Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture, BPP." (*The Black Panther*, April 25, 1970:back cover)

In the first part of a "continuous revolutionary art class," Minister of Culture Emory Douglas made the following statements:

"The Black Panther Party calls upon you to unite with the revolutionary forces of the world so that the final blow can be struck in the heart of the fascist U.S. Government."

"The real benefit at this time would be for all progressive artists to take up their paints, and brushes in one hand and their gun in the other, attacking the foul depraved U.S. Government."

". . . our pictures must show fascist judges, lawyers, generals, pig policemen, firemen, senators, congressmen, governors, presidents, etc., being punished for their criminal act against the American people and the struggling people of the world. Their bridges, buildings, electric plants, pipe-lines, all of the fascist American empire must be blown up in our picture."

"Our art must show youth who will make the revolution. . . . We must condemn the genocidal war that the fascist U.S. Government is carrying on in Asia, and praise the NLF of Vietnam, the revolutionaries of South America and Africa."

". . . we must praise our revolutionary comrades here in America, those who stand in the vanguard, the Black Panther Party, the Weathermen, and all the political prisoners of war across the country."

"The progressive White artist in the oppressor country should inflame the progressive elements in the White community to taking the lives of the corrupt government officials."

"So comrades, these were just a few suggestions I project to you."
(*The Black Panther*, August 29, 1970:20)

JUDI DOUGLAS:

Judi Douglas (Mrs. Emory Douglas) deputy communications secretary, BPP is author of an article entitled: "Black People Must Incorporate The Idea of 'Juche'—'Standing Firmly On Our Principle of Self Reliance, We Must Advance Confidently, Creating A New Society From Our Victory.'"

"Each revolution," she said, "is unique and different; We must have revolutionary theory—Marxism-Leninism—but we must be able to apply that theory to our own situation. It is precisely because of this need to solve our problems, to find our own answers to questions arising within our struggle, to develop feasible plans for revolutionary action that the concept of 'juche', advanced by Comrade Kim Il Sung of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, is so vitally important to our struggle and should be understood by all revolutionary forces. 'The establishment of "juche" means holding fast to the principle of solving for oneself all the problems of the revolution and construction in conformity with the actual conditions at home, and mainly by one's own efforts.

"The Black Panther Party recognizes the merits of contributions to the body of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory made by Stalin and Mao, for example, but we also realize that what they said applied to their situations specifically, so we cannot profit from everything gained through their experiences." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 24, 1970:5)

Judi Douglas articles have become a frequent feature of the party publication. One of her offerings was entitled "Four Pigs were Offed This Week . . . A Victory For The People." It concerns the death of four police officers killed by "two men trying to escape capture for another crime they had supposedly already committed."

Mrs. Douglas stated that it would "have been a great event if we could attribute this act to some brothers who righteously got down and went out to deal with the oppressor's troops in the community."

In conclusion she stated: "four pigs dead! All Power To The People Take The Struggle To the Streets." (*The Black Panther*, April 11, 1970:2)

GEORGE MASON MURRAY:

"For a Revolutionary Culture" is the title of an article by George Murray, in which he declared, ". . . we need change, we need freedom, we need black power and political power comes through the barrel of guns . . . black men, black people, colored prisoners of America, revolt everywhere. Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pig everywhere." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 2, 1969:7)

BPP Minister of Education George Mason Murray stated in a speech delivered at the Huey P. Newton Birthday Benefit Celebration held on February 16, 1969: "We cannot look to the National Liberation Front of Vietnam or our Cuban brothers or the brothers that are fighting on the various fronts in Africa to wage the struggle and bring about the changes that have to be brought about here in the United States. It is up to us to make the revolution, to break the system, to smash it, shatter it, and destroy it, as brother Lenin said, and to liberate the people. And this can only be done through actions based upon some of the principles that we chose to fight upon at San Francisco State, which we were taught about the Black Panther Party, those principles being: fight to the death to end 'white supremacy' and racism—fight to the death to make sure that all the peoples . . . have a right to determine their . . . destiny." (*The Black Panther*, March 9, 1969:2)

An article captioned "The Necessity of Black Revolution" is the text of a speech delivered at Fresno State College by George Murray, BPP Minister of Education, who made the following comments: "Recently we were talking to some people and told them that the American flag is a piece of toilet paper and that they should burn it to a crisp because it is a lie. And we also said that all American institutions represent a lie." Toward the end of his speech, Murray, noting that Huey Newton was in prison "because he acted on principle," stated, "we maintain that political power comes through the barrel of a gun. And if you want campus autonomy, if the students want to run the college, if the cracker administrators don't go for it, then you control it with a gun. . . . So what we're saying can be reduced to one simple sentence . . . very simple, very common, one that can be understood by everybody . . . we are slaves, and the only way to become free is to kill all the slave master." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 16, 1968:13, 24)

STATEMENTS BY LOCAL LEADERS

CHARLES BURSEY:

A poem entitled "Tears of Joy" by Charles Bursey, a BPP captain in the San Francisco area contained the following statement: "The revolution and total destruction of this racist decadent imperialist American Society is my battle cry." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 16, 1968:15)

"OBATUNDE"

"No Jive Revolution" is the caption of an article by Obatunde. In the article, Obatunde described the seriousness of a revolutionary struggle and listed several precautions which should be taken. According to Obatunde, "All members should at least take part in liberating money necessary to finance the revolution. Revolution overturns everything that gets in its way. Revolution destroys everything that gets in its way . . . if you are going to move on some money, move on some money. Think big, act bad, and be deadly. Strike as much terror in the white boy's heart as possible." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 16, 1968:16)

"DYNAMITE"

"Open Warfare in Berkeley" by Dynamite stated that: "The oppressed people of the world are waiting for revolution to occur within the mother country. The Black Panther Party is making the revolution. The red guard is trying to follow the correct example, and the brown community is moving. We see that the white mother country radical is willing to lay down a life. We ask, is he willing to pick up the gun?" (*The Black Panther*, May 25, 1969:6)

ELAINE BROWN:

The following statement was attributed to Elaine Brown, deputy minister of information of the Southern California Chapter, BPP:

"You're a man, you see And a man must be Whatever he'll be or he Won't be free. If he's bound up tight He'll hold back the night And there won't be no light For day."

"We'll then, believe it my friend That this silence will end We'll just have to get guns and be men." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 10, 1970:20)

FRED HAMPTON:

In an article entitled "All Power to the People," Fred Hampton, deputy chairman of the BPP's Illinois Chapter made the following statement concerning "shoot outs" with the police: "If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing em all and getting complete satisfaction." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969:7)

EUGENE R. CHARLES:

In an article captioned "Tools of Fascism in America" Eugene R. Charles, lieutenant of information of the BPP Chicago Chapter, declared: "In order to abolish the injustice of an element of the state

machinery (in this case the courts), it is necessary to abolish the entire state (capitalism). If the masses of people are to get justice in America, then there must be revolution in Babylon." (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969:18)

ERICKA HUGGINS:

"Ericka's Poem" by Ericka Huggins, political education instructor of the New Haven, Conn. branch of the BPP stated in part:

"This is . . . the year of the Panther. This is the beginning . . . of revolutionary struggle . . . the world of guns and political direction . . . we will dare to struggle and dare to win . . . and This is the dawning of the age of revolution! guns! bloodshed!" (*Black Panther*, May 25, 1969:3)

BETH MITCHELL:

An article by Beth Mitchell, minister of information, Harlem Branch, BPP, entitled "Revolution is Inevitable" stated: "The Black Panther Party is an armed body for carrying out the political task of the revolution. We realize that it is going to take a revolution for Black People to attain freedom. . . . The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns not merely for the sake of defending itself, but to organize the people, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power." (*The Black Panther*, August 16, 1969:12)

ANDRÉ WEATHERBY:

A communication from Sister André Weatherby, deputy minister of health, Kansas City, Mo., branch of the BPP, to BPP national headquarters stated: "The people of Kansas City are in an ecstatic state today following the execution of a pig. Three unknown heroic brothers had the pleasure of 'offing a pig.'" She also declared: "Let all the oppressors of the people beware. Dacy (the murdered police officer) was an off-duty pig; the next pig may be on-duty. As Huey mentioned (in correct handling of a revolution) the pig may well be sitting at a counter drinking a cup of coffee and come up missing." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969:15)

ELMER PRATT:

Elmer Pratt, also known as Geronimo, deputy minister of defense of the Southern California chapter of the Black Panther Party stated in a message to the "brothers and sisters":

"All the nickle and dime games that you play on other oppressed people must stop. All the red devils, trues, and drugs must go. Those El Dorados will have to turn into tanks, and those bad rags, into guns and ammo. You must understand that you're the ones that're going to be on the front lines, whether you like it or not. Every black man is a dangerous suspect in the eyesight of the oppressor. You know that as well as I do. So right on, Brothers and Sisters." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 10, 1970:2)

"There is no government for the people so we have to lay the foundations for the people to form a government that is truly representative of the people.

"And we will kill anyone that stands in the way of our self-determination, be it the U.S. imperialists or their lackeys, or the moon-men. We will defend the people's freedom, because we know that without self-defense, there can be no Salvation.

"Dare To Struggle, Dare to Win. . . . Lets Free Ourselves." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 31, 1970:4)

JOHN L. CLARK:

The December 13, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contains an article by John L. Clark, identified as a Black Panther. In the article, Clark made the following comments: ". . . we have every right there is to rise up in arms and free ourselves from this present state of bondage. We have in no way asked for these conditions, they have been forced on us against our will and our only out is 'revolution'—a people's war, an insurrection, an act of violence, in which the slave takes the head of the slavemaster. This is the only way we will be able to obtain total freedom, there must be blood shed . . . tear down the walls of capitalism, making way for the bright future of socialism."

March 15, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther* contained an article headed "Total Emancipation" by John L. Clark of the Baltimore Chapter which states:

"The power to destroy is ours and if it takes leveling Babylon to the ground for the sake of humanity, then this must be done. . . . The gun plays a very important role in this because it is the gun that is being used to silence the voices that cry out for freedom. Therefore the masses of oppressed people have the right to pick up the gun and defend these voices and themselves at all cost." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 15, 1970:9)

An article entitled "The Role of the Black Panther Party—Reviewed," by "Big Man" Elbert Howard, stated:

". . . we're revolutionary and you are the enemy, you are part of the problem and we have nothing to say to you, except WE WILL KILL ANYONE WHO STANDS IN THE WAY OF OUR FREEDOM." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 28, 1970:11)

UNATTRIBUTED STATEMENTS

An editorial statement entitled "The Roots of the Party" which appeared in the May 25, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* made the following declaration:

"The Black Panther Party is for the people, by the people and of the people. This is the crucial difference between our Party and many other black organizations."

"Other black organizations preach integration, capitalism and support of this decadent American society."

"They didn't answer the needs of the people so Huey and Bobby formed the Black Panther Party composed of black people who were the real people in America. They weren't middle class toms but 'black niggers' who were fed up with America and were ready for action."

"Organize now around the 10-point Platform and Program It will mean hard work, jail and death. . . . Isn't it better to fight and die for a just cause instead of continuing to live in this racist Babylon? . . . This is an international struggle of poor against rich, the oppressed against the oppressor. We must have international allies in order to succeed."

"There must be a revolution in the white mother country, led by white radicals and poor whites, and national liberation in the black and third world colony here in America. We can't triumph in the colony alone because that is just like cutting one finger off a hand. It still functions, you dig it. No, when we deal with monster we just deal with it totally. . . ."

The Black Panthers claim to be a "permanent, serious attempt to organize a revolutionary party to serve and protect the black community and in coalition with other groupings to overthrow capitalism by force if necessary." (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1969:4)

An article "GIs and Revolution" which appeared in the September 27, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther* appealed to Vietnam veterans to join the BPP. The article noted "Today in order to wage a stronger struggle against this fascist pig-government, we the people and the Black Panther Party need the continued support from brothers who have served in the fascist military machine. We need the skills, the technical know-how you possess. We need technical equipment. Technical equipment includes everything from weapons to medical supplies, doctors, etc. In the Liberation Army all the skills and knowledge you possess will be utilized against this fascist big power structure, and for the people."

In a feature article entitled "The Most Crucial Question Facing Black People Today Is To Be or Not To Be" the Panthers made the following statement:

"So we say right on to the broghts [sic] and sisters who have picked up guns to lie in wait for those who've murdered and maimed us for centuries; right on to Black men and women who snipe at marauding gestapo pig cars; right on to Black people—any people—who are bombing courthouses and banks and jails or any strongholds of the oppressor; right on to Black families who are arming to protect their homes against vicious attacks by foreign occupation troops. We encourage that. And we will continue to say that WE WILL KILL—WE MUST KILL—ANYONE WHO STANDS IN THE WAY OF OUR FREEDOM!" (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 25, 1970:3)

The Black Panther Party issued the following "WARNING TO AMERICA" as part of a "Message to America, Delivered on the 107th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation at Washington, D.C., Capitol of Babylon, World Racism, and Imperialism, June 19, 1970":

"We are from 25 to 30 million strong, and we are armed. And we are conscious of our situation. And we are determined to change it. And we are unafraid. Because we have our guarantee. If the American people, as a whole, do not rise up, reverse the present course of this nation, which, if unchecked, holds out only facist repression and genocide for Black people, then, we Black people, will be forced to respond with a form of War of Salvation that in the chaos of carrying it out and the attempt to repress it, will gut this country and utterly destroy it. Before we accept Genocide, we will inflict Total Destruction upon Babylon.

"It had best be understood, now, that the power we rely upon ultimately, as our only guarantee against Genocide at the hands of the Fascist Majority, is our strategic ability to lay this country in ruins, from the bottom to the top. If forced to resort to this guarantee, we will not hesitate to do so.

"FOR THE SALVATION, LIBERATION, AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO EITHER KILL OR DIE!

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE."

(*The Black Panther*, June 20, 1970 :13)

ON FIREARMS AND BOMBS

Huey Newton's Executive Mandate No. 1, which was delivered on May 2, 1967 at Sacramento, California State Capitol Building declared that the Black Panther Party "believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves."

Huey P. Newton, BPP minister of defense, in a statement issued in July, 1967 recommended the following weapons for the BPP:

Army 45—"Army 45 will stop all jive"

Carbine—"Carbine will stop a war machine"

12 Gauge magnum shotguns with 18" barrel. "Buckshots will down the cops"

357 Magnum pistol—"357 will win us heaven"

P38—"P38 will open prison gates"

M16—"And if you don't believe in lead, you are already dead"

(*The Black Panther*, July 3, 1967 :7)

Newton issued his "Executive Mandate No. 3" on March 1, 1968 which was a "general order to all members of the Black Panther Party" to acquire guns—which he called "the technical equipment to defend their homes" from the police. Newton warned that any "member of the Party having such technical equipment who fails to defend his threshold shall be expelled from the Party for life."

An article entitled "*Grenades and Bombs: Anti-Property and Anti-Personnel*" provided detailed, step by step instructions for making small hand grenades and fire bombs. The article explained the "Effectiveness and Uses of Firebombs" and gave the directions for making a "self-igniting molotov cocktail".

A second article lists 20 "Revolutionary Medical Supplies" and the amounts needed of each item. (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 16, 1968 :22)

In March 1970, the first of a series of articles concerning the home manufacture of bombs and grenades, the types, care and use of firearms, and guerrilla tactics was published in *The Black Panther*. The series under the byline of Field Marshal D.C. (Don Cox), was entitled: "Organizing Self Defense Groups."

Part of the series concerned the structure of the "self-defense groups" and stated that they should be organized throughout the nation. It further stated that the first priority of each group is "to be armed ideologically."

The article advised that each group "should have no more than four to six members." The Panthers called for such groups to be organized "all across Babylon, North, South, East and West." The groups "must work autonomously," the article warned. "Under no circumstances should any group seek out and try to make contact with another group." Such tactics are necessary in order to provide greater security, because, according to the article, "if a member of a group is captured he or she will only be able to give up information on one group, their own." (*The Black Panther*, March 28, 1970 :8)

"Organizing Self Defense Groups—Part II" carried a photograph of Don Cox and his title of field marshal of the Black Panther Party. It presented photographs of four hand weapons and five rifles. The following statement was set forth in large italic type:

"... Only by taking up arms can we seize power. Without taking up arms we cannot attain power... In order to seize power we should wage an armed struggle; It is impossible to seize power by playing elections." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 6, 1970:14)

"Organizing Self-Defense Groups—Part 3 Training" concerns the care and operation of a gun. Diagrams show how to clean, and store a gun. The text of the article describes how to use it. Don Cox concludes Part 3 with the statement: "The basic thing in the training of a self defense group is to know how to handle fire arms of all types, hand guns, rifles, shotguns, machine guns, etc."

PART 4 of the series pertains to "recipes" for a "self igniting molotov cocktail," and a "people's hand grenade." Both "recipes" are accompanied with diagrams of the bombs.

In the text of the article preceding the "recipes," Don Cox made the following statement:

"So for us to talk about survival we must talk about self-defense against this brutality and murder that is defined by the racist power structure as justifiable homicide. So when a self-defense group moves against this oppressive system, by executing a pig by any means, sniping, stabbing, bombing, etc., in defense against the 400 years of racist brutality and murder this can only be defined correctly as self defense." Cox then quoted a statement by the Brazilian guerrilla leader Carlos Marighella:

"Today to be an assailant or terrorist is a quality that enobles any honorable man because it is an act worthy of a revolutionary engaged in armed struggle against the shameful military dictatorship and its monstrosities."

"So with that, I say this, all self-defense groups must strike blows against the slavemaster until we have secured our survival as a people and if this takes shooting every pig and blowing up every pig sty then let's get on up."

At the end of the article, 25 books on armaments, guerilla warfare, training and explosives are listed with the address of a firm from which they may be purchased. (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 18, 1970:7)

Part 5 of the series reveals how the Panthers hope to combat what they call "C.M.I." C.M.I., the article stated, stands for "communications, mobility and information", assets which the police possess.

In order to combat CMI the article calls for the use of the principal of "Juche" as clarified by Eldridge Cleaver. That is defined as 'Use what you got to get what you need,' and the Panthers have "What, When and How (W.W.H.)—the element of surprise. The pigs have C.M.I. and self-defense groups have W.W.H."

The article further stated that to "consider a self-defense operation successful is not to just plan and execute but to plan, execute AND escape. . . . The slogan must be Maximum Damage to the Enemy, Minimum Damage to Us." (*The Black Panther*, May 9, 1970:16)

Part 6 of the series concerns revolvers and ammunition. A nomenclature of a revolver and bullet are presented together with eleven photographs which demonstrate the use and care of the weapon. In addition, a diagram on sight alignment is included with three photographs of firing positions.

The information in the article is attributed to the "Methods Handbook, Use and Care of Revolvers, A publication of the Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. 20260. (*Ibid.* 16-18)

Two "basic assault" rifles are the subject of Part 7 of the series. This article, as have previous parts of the series, presented photographs of the weapon with its parts described in detail.

The AR-15/16 rifle, is described as the "latest development in combat weaponry" and very like the M-16 rifle. The article stated the weapon was developed to replace the M-14—for use by the United States Army in Vietnam. The M-14 is the second "basic assault" rifle described in the article.

The characteristics and potential of both weapons are also described.

The information in the article is attributed to "The Guide Book for Marines—Publisher: Leatherneck Assoc., Washington, D.C. July 1967." (*The Black Panther*, May 19, 1970:7)

"Organizing Self-Defense Groups"—a correction was made in the diagram for the manufacture of a "people's hand grenade" which had appeared in the April 18 issue of *The Black Panther*. At this time the article also included directions for making a pipe bomb. Directions and diagram for the pipe bomb were attributed to "Explosives and Bomb Disposal Guide by Robert R. Lenz, Explosive Ordinance Consultant, Charles C. Thomas, publishers, Springfield, Ill., USA." (*The Black Panther*, May 2, 1970:17)

A "recipe" which is described as the "People's Antidote for Tear Gas" is published in large type, set off in a border. (*The Black Panther*, May 9, 1970:15)

"Care and Cleaning of your Weapon" is the title of an article which claims the seventy percent of the "stoppages that occur on a modern automatic or semi-automatic weapon can be traced back to improper cleaning." After explaining the necessary procedures involved to properly clean a weapon, the Panthers attribute the information to the Guidebook for Marines—11th Revised Edition First Print—July 1, 1967 Published by Leatherneck Assoc., Inc., Washington, D.C. (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1970:12)

An additional but unnumbered article on "Organizing Self Defense Groups" was published in the June 27, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther*. It concerned seven basic positions which every "good guerrilla" should know in order to properly fire a rifle, or any shoulder fired weapon.

The article included 8 photographs "taken from the U.S. Garrand Rifles M-1, MIC and MOD copyright 1966 by Donald McLean., The Combat Bookshelf, Normount Armament Co., Forest Grove, Oregon, U.S.A. Riot Control."

CONFISCATIONS OF FIREARMS

In a December, 1968, raid on the headquarters of the Denver, Colorado chapter of the BPP, police reportedly captured four guns. (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 15, 1969:11)

In a June, 1969, raid on the headquarters of the New Haven, Connecticut chapter of the BPP, the New Haven Police Department combined with county, state, and FBI, confiscated weapons including rifles. The following individuals were arrested on the charge of murder and conspiracy to commit murder: Warren Kimbro, Sylvia Kimbro, Ericka Huggins, George Edwards, Rose Smith, Jeannie Wilson, Maude Francis, Frances Carter and Peggy Hudgins. (*The Black Panther*, June 7, 1969:8)

On May 22, 1969, Julius Hurst, BPP deputy minister of information in Eugene, Oregon, was arrested and arraigned for draft evasion. At the time of his arrest, Hurst had in his possession a 12-gauge pump shotgun. (*The Black Panther*, June 7, 1969:15)

In June, 1969, raid on BPP office in Chicago, police and FBI agents arrested eight persons and seized thirteen guns along with a supply of ammunition. (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969:20)

In June, 1969, eleven members of the BPP in Chicago were arrested outside their Madison Street office, Sandra Rich, one of the eleven, was reportedly injured in the encounter with the police. The police announced that they had found in the car "marijuana, a hypodermic needle and materials to make explosives." (*The Black Panther*, June 28, 1969:18)

According to reports in *The Black Panther* newspaper of July 5, 1969, the following members of the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, chapter of the BPP were arrested and charged with carrying concealed weapons: Nate Bellamy, lieutenant of information, James Johnson, Jessie White, Raymond Owens, Leslie Mays, and Allen Crawford. (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969:10)

Ed Balogum in a report appearing in the July 5, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* newspaper stated that he had been questioned by FBI agents about his recent purchase of a rifle. Balogum ended his report with a quotation from page 83 of Mao Tse-tung's "little red book" which states:

Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weaknesses, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing the extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.

On July 14, 1969, a raid on the BPP branch in San Diego, California, by the police resulted in the confiscation of weapons which were in the BPP office. (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969:3)

On July 15, 1969, BPP members Jimmy Johnson, Ronald Freeman, Otis Moran and Gloria Shields were arrested in San Diego, California, and charged with "concealed weapons and grand auto theft." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969:19)

In August, 1969, San Diego, California, police obtained a warrant to search BPP headquarters in San Diego, for a Thompson sub-machine gun which was reportedly used during a "rebellion" at Mountain View Park which had resulted in the death of at least two policemen and the wounding of an unknown number. . . . Although the police failed to find the sub-machine gun, they confiscated a shotgun. (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 8, 1969:17)

On July 24, 1969, BPP Defense Captain Mahonne Kebe, of the BPP chapter in Baltimore, Maryland, was arrested and charged with carrying a deadly and dangerous concealed weapon (machete). He was subsequently found innocent of this charge. (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 23, 1969:6)

ARRESTS

"Gestapo Tactics" is the title of an article in the March 16, 1968, issue of *The Black Panther*. In this article, Bobby Seale, chairman of the BPP, reported on his arrest as well as the arrest of his wife, Artie, and BPP members Audrey Hudson, David Hilliard, Brother Coltrane and Brother Carter, on the night of February 28, 1968. According to Seale, they were all charged with conspiracy to commit murder and were released on bail.

"Nationwide Harassment of Panthers by Pig Power Structure" was subject of article in the January 15, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*. The article contained the following comments:

New York BPP section leader Tom McCreary and David Brothers, chairman of the New York Chapter of the BPP, were among those arrested during a police raid in September, 1968.

About 100 police officers in Des Moines, Iowa, along with FBI agents stormed BPP headquarters and arrested two individuals on charges of suspected arson.³

In Indianapolis, Indiana, Federal Marshals and local police raided Panthers' headquarters. L. C. Roberts, the BPP minister of finance, was arrested outside the headquarters and charged with disorderly conduct.⁴

An article captioned "Denver Pigs Incite Riot" was published in the January 15, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther*. The article written by Lauren R. Watson, chairman of the Denver BPP Chapter, is a report of a police raid on BPP headquarters which was also Watson's residence. Watson and other members of the BPP were arrested. Watson was charged with conspiracy to incite arson and conspiracy to incite destruction of life and property.⁵ (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 15, 1969:8,9)

In March 1969, the Panthers revealed that their Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, had been jailed as a "probation violator" when he was stopped by police and taken into custody when a gun was found in his car. According to the Panthers, Murray was a "Political Prisoner." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 9, 1969:2 and Mar. 23, 1969:15)

³ December 1968

⁴ December 1968

⁵ October 1968

The June 14, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther* includes "Profiles of the New York 21", members of the BPP in New York who were arrested and were awaiting trial on charges of conspiring to blow up several buildings during the busy Easter season in New York City. The 21 BPP members were listed as follows:

(1) Lumumba Abdul Shakur, former supervisor and community worker of the Elsmere Tenants Council.

(2) Richard Moore, better known as Anaye Dharuba, age 24, was active with Project Rescue.

(3) William King, also known as Kwando Kinshasa, age 30, civil servant for the transit authority.

(4) Mike Tabor, also known as Cetewayo, age 22, instrumental in opening Harlem schools during the UFT strike.

(5) Dr. Curtis Powell, age 32, bio-chemist at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital.

(6) Robert S. Collier, age 32, candidate for Manhattan Borough President, director of the Tompkins Square Community Center.

(7) Afeni Shakur, age 22, and wife of Lumumba Shakur, helped start breakfast program.

(8) Alex McKiever, also known as Catarra, age 17, high school student.

(9) Eddie, Joseph, also known as Jamal Baltimore, age 17, high school student.

(10) Thomas Berry, also known as Mshina, age 25, an Elsmere Tenants Council Worker.

(11) Lonnie Epps, age 17, student at Long Island City High School.

(12) Clark Squire, age 32.

(13) Richard Harris, age 31.

(14) Donald Weems, age 23 poet and playwright—has been in jail for three months.

(15) Nathaniel Bruns, age 24, organizer of Black Panther Party in New York City.

(16) Joan Bird, age 19, student at Bronx Community College.

(17) Lee Ropper, age 22, organized workers at Lincoln and Harlem Hospitals.

(18) Walter Johnson, age 28.

(19) Larry Mack, age 25, organizer, Queens branch of the Black Panther Party.

(20) Ali Bey Hasson, organizer, active in Bronx community.

The article also included profiles of four women which were described as "Black Freedom Fighters:"

Rosemary Byrd, age 21, worker for community during hospital and school crisis.

Delores Patterson, active in welfare rights and a candidate for the Clients Advisory Board.

Rosalind Bennett.

Sharon Williams, age 22, worker in Free Breakfast Program.

The July 12, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contained an article reprinted from the *Washington Post* captioned "Panther Leadership Hit by Sweeping FBI Raids" which reported that since the end of last year, scores of Panthers have been arrested throughout the country on charges ranging from "possession of concealed weapons to arson and armed robbery."

The article noted that in New York on April 2, 1969, 21 Panthers were indicted; six weeks later, eight Panthers were arrested in New Haven, Conn.; the June 4 raid in Chicago resulted in the arrest of eight persons; a raid in Washington, D.C. on June 6 led to the arrest of Jean Hughes, who was charged with possession of a stolen rifle; in Salt Lake City, FBI agents charged Lonnie McLucas, of New Haven, Conn., of being a fugitive from justice; in Denver, Colo., Rory Hithe and Landon Robert Williams were charged with unlawful flight to avoid prosecution. In Indianapolis, Ind., police raided the Panther office on June 7; 15 Panthers were arrested. Eight days later in Sacramento, Calif., the Panther offices were raided by the police.

The article further noted that the Panthers have instituted two devices in what is called a "counterattack." It has formed a national lawyers council to coordinate Panther legal defenses nationwide, headed by attorneys William M. Kunstler and Charles Garry. An additional article concerning action by the police against 21 New York Panthers suspected of plotting to bomb several buildings in New York City appeared in the April 20, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*. This article noted that Rashid Al Fatal, BPP section leader for Harlem, in reporting on the April 3, 1969 hearing given the 21 Panthers stated that BPP attorney William Kunstler compared the arrests with the Reichstag Fire in Germany in 1934. Kunstler reportedly said that Nazis used this as an excuse to wipe out all opposition, and in turn the "pigs in this racist decadent society were using this indictment to wipe out the Black Panther Party in New York City." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 20, 1969: 10, 11)

"Seventy-Eight Pigs to Capture Panthers" is an account of the arrest of three Chicago Panthers. The account noted that the Panthers were charged with conspiring to obtain automatic weapons in violation of Federal law. The three Panthers arrested were Merrill Harbey, Michael White and Nathaniel Junior, the Chicago Panthers' field secretary.⁶ (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 27, 1969: 6)

An article concerning the arrest of the Panther leadership in New Haven, Connecticut, on a charge of murder of another Panther, Alex Rackley, contained a statement of the New York Chapter of the BPP. The statement declared that the "Connecticut 8 were framed on trumped up charges" and termed "a naked lie" reports that Rackley was no longer a trusted member of the BPP. The statement, noting that Rackley was a "member in good standing" pointed out that all Panthers know according to the "little red book" that "compulsion and force are permissible when dealing with the enemy, but absolutely impermissible when dealing with comrades or friends."⁷ (*The Black Panther*, June 7, 1969: 11)

An article entitled "Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton Taken Political Prisoner" pertains to the 2-5 year sentence meted out to Hampton for a robbery conviction. Hampton, deputy chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, reportedly stated "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail a revolution." (*The Black Panther*, June 7, 1969: 6)⁸

⁶ April 1969

⁷ May 1969

⁸ May 1969

An article protesting the arrest of Tommy Robinson, Kansas City deputy minister of labor, on charges of "extortion and two counts of robbery," argued that Robinson's requests for donations for the Breakfast for School Children Program were "misconstrued" and made to appear that the Panther leader was demanding money from the businesses involved.⁹ (*The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969: 8)

An article entitled "Deputy Chairman Indiana Chapter Arrested on Assault and Battery Charge" reviewed events leading to the arrest of Fred Crawford, deputy chairman of the Indiana Chapter of the BPP. According to the article, the confrontation with police came when Crawford's car was ticketed by a meter maid and Crawford attempted to remove the ticket from the windshield of his car. The BPP deputy minister of information and deputy minister of finance for the Indiana BPP Chapter, wanted to execute Executive Mandate No. 3 (promulgated by Huey P. Newton, BPP minister of defense on March 1, 1968, which mandated as a general order to all members of the BPP that all members must acquire the "technical equipment" to defend their homes and their dependents and shall do so. Any member of the BPP having such technical equipment who fails to defend his threshold is to be expelled from the BPP for life.) However, Crawford denied the request stating that the charge was not enough to warrant a shoot out.¹⁰ (*The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969: 9)

"Harassment of Illinois Panthers" reported that police and FBI agents "vamped" on Panther headquarters in Chicago and arrested Patrick Keen, Bruce Allen Dixon, Larry Roberson, Andrea Graves, Georgia Washington, Harvey Holt, Jessie Ward, Lockett Bibbs.¹¹ (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969: 7)

Another article in this same issue concerns the arrest on the charges of "possession of marijuana" which were made of Frederick Allen Hampton, William M. O'Neal, Richard Powel, James White and David Valentine.¹² (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969: 7)

"Fascist Action Against the People of Sacramento" is the caption of an article which concerns a police raid on Panther headquarters in Sacramento, Calif. James E. Mott, minister of education of the Sacramento branch of the BPP, deplored the raid as "gestapo tactics against us in an attempt to wipe us out." According to Mott, the police "opened up fire on the people, but some of the people started shooting back."¹³ (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969: 12)

An article entitled "Pig Harassment—7 Panthers Busted" relates to the arrest of seven members of the Milwaukee chapter of the BPP. The article charged the police with trying to "bust as many people as they possibly can." Among those arrested in a 4-day period were: Howard "Doc Apples" Harrelson, Felix Welch, field lieutenant, and Gene Epps. Nate Bellamy, lieutenant of information, was charged with carrying a concealed weapon. James Johnson was also charged with carrying a concealed weapon.¹⁴ (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969: 10)

⁹ May 1969

¹⁰ June 1969

¹¹ June 1969

¹² June 1969

¹³ June 1969

¹⁴ June 1969

In an article captioned "Not Guilty! The Santa Ana 1" it was noted that Daniel Michael Lynem of the Santa Ana branch of the BPP, had been indicted for the murder of a police officer in Santa Ana, Calif., and his trial was set for July 21, 1969.¹⁵ (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969: 14)

The July 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* reported information submitted by Mumia X, lieutenant of information of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Chapter of the BPP, who indicated that BPP members Milton McGriff, Elijah Graham and Eugene Wells were arrested on July 4, 1969 in Atlantic City, N.J., for "conducting propaganda work among the people."¹⁶ (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969: 17)

Another article in this same issue captioned "What Really Happened in Chicago From an Interview with Bobby Rush" disclosed that the Panthers claim to have wounded five police officers in a shootout. It was stated that "when the Panthers ran out of ammunition," the police broke into the Panther office and arrested BPP members Pete Haymon, Alvin Jeffries and Larry White and charged them with attempted murder.¹⁷ (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969: 20)

"Fascist Pigs Deny Freedom of the Press" is an account of the arrest of BPP members Gail Noldon and Sharla Hampton who were arrested while selling *The Black Panther* newspaper at the San Francisco bus terminal.¹⁸ (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 16, 1969: 13)

An article entitled "Conn. Fascist Pigs Vamp on Panthers" concerns the arrest of five Panthers in New Haven, Conn., after a "Free Huey Newton rally". All those arrested were from the Boston (Mass.) BPP chapter and they were identified as Defense Captain Douglas Miranda, Sister Ida Walton, Lieutenant of Information John Cheetum, Dave Quick and William Jackson. The charges were stealing a car, interstate transportation of a stolen car and conspiracy to steal the car.¹⁹ (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 23, 1969: 7)

In a story headlined "Baltimore Bust," the arrest of four Panthers for resisting arrest was reported. The Panthers were identified as Sherrie Brown, John Clark, Steve McCutchin and Malik Jones. The incident occurred when the Panthers tried to prevent questioning of a suspect who was not a Panther. They were held in lieu of \$500 bond.²⁰ (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 13, 1969: 8)

In September 1969 the Panthers reported that Larry Roberson died on September 4, 1969, from wounds suffered in a gunfight with police on July 11, 1969. It was reported that Larry had wounded two police officers before "they got him."²¹ (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 20, 1969: 5)

An article in the October 4, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* revealed that a raid was led by FBI Agents assisted by the Philadelphia Police Department on the Black Panther Party chapter in Philadelphia, Pa. Among those arrested were Defense Captain Richard Reggie Schell; Officer of the Day and Candidate for City Council Craig Williams;

¹⁵ June 1969

¹⁶ July 1969

¹⁷ July 1969

¹⁸ August 1969

¹⁹ August 1969

²⁰ September 1969

²¹ July 1969

Acting Officer of the Day Rene Johnson; Lieutenant of Finance Clarence Peterson; Branch Secretary West Cook; and Breakfast Coordinator Rolando Montae Hearn. Schell and Hearn were held but the others released. Schell was held for possession of stolen government property, M-14 rifle, and Hearn for contempt of court on an old robbery charge.²² (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 4, 1969: 4)

An article in this same issue reported that John Brown, a San Francisco Panther, on February 20, 1969, was arrested for assault and battery, trespassing and loitering. Brown was involved in a dispute at Balboa High School. He had been invited by the students to speak on Malcolm X's birthday but didn't bother to get clearance from school officials. (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 4, 1969: 4)

"Fascism Escalates" is the title of an article which reveals that six Panthers from the Southern California chapter of the BPP were arrested. They were identified as Arthur League, charged with murder of a policeman in Santa Ana, Calif.; Paul Cross and Roger Lewis, charged together with the murder of an unidentified person in Los Angeles; Robert Williams and Luxey Irwin, Los Angeles, charged with ten counts each of a variety of charges including murder, felonious assault, robbery and kidnapping. Article also mentions that Wayne Green is scheduled for trial before Judge Robert Dieden on charges of firebombing a California Highway Patrolman. The Judge is described in the article as follows: "Judge Robert Dieden is synonymous to the bowel-breath stinch-ridden fascist judge across the cesspool of Babylon, also known as Amerika, that are determined to railroad all black people into the pig pen. Judge 'Hog' Dieden is clearly playing up to his rotten character of 'hanging judge' for he is the same pig that railroaded Panthers Charles Bursey and Warren Wells into jail."²³ (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 1, 1969: 8)

"D.C. Victim of Fascist Frameup" is the caption of an article which revealed that BPP Field Marshal Don Cox was arrested on November 7, 1969, and charged with "possession of deadly firearms." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 15, 1969: 15)

"Pigs Vamp on People" headlines an article which describes a police search at the Brooklyn branch of the BPP on November 15, 1969 for suspects of an unspecified crime. (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 29, 1969: 6)

Jake Winters, a member of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, was killed in a shootout with the police on November 13, 1969 during a battle in which one Panther was reportedly wounded, three policemen killed and seven wounded. (*The Black Panther*, Dec. 6, 1969: 7)

An article in the December 6, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* revealed that on November 19, 1969, "Brothers William Cook and Cedric Herndon, who hold the respected positions of Panthers in Training, were vamped on by a 'nigger pig.'" It was reported that the police officer had arrested the two BPP members for soliciting funds without a license and for loitering. The article acknowledged that William Cook was asking merchants for contributions. (*The Black Panther*, Dec. 6, 1969: 9)

²² September 1969.

²³ June 1969.

On December 8th the Los Angeles police had raided the Southern California Chapter headquarters of the BPP. During the raid it was reported that three policemen were wounded, one critically, and three Panthers were wounded. Twenty-four Panthers were reportedly arrested. (*The Black Panther*, Dec. 13, 1969)

"Pigs Attempt To Destroy Jersey City Panther Office" is a report that the Jersey City Police raided the Black Panther Party office located at 384 Pacific Ave. The Panthers claim that the police were responsible for setting fire to the offices.²⁴ (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 7, 1970: 6)

"The Black Panther Newspaper Faces Conspiracy Frame-Up" is the title of an article which reported that on January 14, "three Black Panthers, Raymond 'Masai' Hewitt managing editor of the Black Panther newspaper, John Seale, the paper's production manager and brother of BPP Chairman Bobby Seale, and Samuel Napier, the paper's circulation manager, were called before the Grand Jury to testify on their activities in publishing the Panther's weekly newspaper." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 21, 1970: 28)

That same issue of the Panther's newspaper, pages 2 through 27, listed the names of a large number of Panthers who have been arrested since May 2, 1967, the city and state, charge and disposition of charges brought against those arrested. In some instances, the information gives the number of Panthers arrested without naming them. Photographs of leaders of the Black Panther Party are scattered throughout the publication.

In the centerfold pages, 16-17, are photographs of 20 Panthers who have been the victims of violent deaths. These Panthers were all claimed to be victims of rival organizations or the police. Alex Rackley is included in the 20.

In its June 10, 1970 issue, *The Black Panther* listed the following so called "Political Prisoners of the U.S. Gov't., Black Panther Party and N.C.C.F."

²⁴ January 1970.

HUEY PERCY NEWTON --- California Men's Colony, Los Padres,
San Louis Obispo, Calif.

BOBBY SEALE ----- Montville State Correction Center, Montville
Conn.

LOUIS RANDOLPH WILLIAMS ----- 1225 Fallon St. Oakland, Calif.

CHARLES BURSEY ----- B22804 P.O. Box 2210 Susanville, Calif.
96130

CLEVELAND BROOKS ----- P.O. Box B23220 Tamal, Calif.
(San Quentin)

LANCE BELL ----- No. D3 6918443 Cook County Jail, 2600
South Calif. St. Chicago, Ill.

RANDALL ROLLINS ----- Tier E-3 6911697 Cook County Jail,
2600 South Calif. St. Chicago, Ill.

ROBERT WHITE ----- No. 123999 4000 Cooper St. Jackson, Mich.

RORY HITHE ----- Denver County Jail Box 1108 Denver, Colorado

LANDON WILLIAMS ----- Denver County Jail Box 1108 Denver, Colorado

VICTOR PEREZ ----- Hudson County Jail Povonia Ave. Jersey City

CHARLES HICKS ----- Hudson County Jail, Povonia Ave., Jersey City

RONALD FREEMAN ----- Book No. 321-930 P.O. Box 54320
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

ROGER LEWIS ----- Book No. 195-636 P.O. Box 54320
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

BRUCE RICHARDS ----- Book No. 236-352 P.O. Box 54320
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

ROBERT WILLIAMS ----- Book No. 899-386 P.O. Box 54320
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

GEORGE YOUNG ----- Book No. 271-898 P.O. Box 54320
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

LEMUEL JAMES ----- Book No. 435-529 P.O. Box 54320
Terminal Annex, L.A. 90054

LUXEY IRWIN ----- Calif. Institute for Men P.O. Box 128 Chino,
Calif. 91710

LONNIE McLUCAS ----- Litchfield State Jail, Litchfield, Conn.

GEORGE EDWARDS ----- Bridgeport State Jail, Bridgeport, Conn.
 ERICKA HUGGINS ----- Niantic State Farm for Women, Niantic, Conn.
 ROSE SMITH ----- Niantic State Farm for Women, Niantic, Conn.
 FRANCES CARTER ----- Niantic State Farm for Women, Niantic, Conn.
 PEGGY HUDGINS ----- Niantic State Farm for Women, Niantic, Conn.
 ALIBEY HASSAN ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens N.Y.
 LUMUMBA SHAKUR ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 LEE ROPER ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 WILLIAM KING ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 ALEX McKIEVER ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 WALTER JOHNSON --> 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 MICHAEL TABOR ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 CLARK SQUIRE ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 ROBERT COLLIER ----- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 DR. CURTIS POWELL -- 1 Court Square, Long Island City, Queens, N.Y.
 JOAN BIRD ----- 10 Greenwich Ave. 6th Floor, N.Y. City, N.Y.
 ROMAINE FITZGERALD -- Box 27527 San Quentin Prison, Tamal, Calif.
 (death roll)
 CARLTON RAY EDWARDS - Y.A. Boys Camp 150th Ave., San Leandro,
 California
 WILLIE BRAZIER ---- McNiel Island, Federal Penitentiary Seattle, Wash.
 BUDDY YATES ----- Walla Walla State Prison, Walla Walla, Wash.
 LOUIS JACKSON ----- Lompoc Federal Correction Institution, Lompoc,
 Calif.
 AUTHUR LEAGUE ----- 590 North Flower Street, Santa Ana, Calif.
 LARRY WALLACE ----- 401 East Eager Street, Baltimore Maryland ■
 IRVING YOUNG ----- 401 East Eager Street, Baltimore, Maryland
 MARSHALL CONWAY ---- 401 East Eager Street, Baltimore, Maryland
 JESSIE WHITE ----- 8885 South 68th St., Franklin, Wisconsin
 BOOKER COLLINS ----- 8885 South 68th St., Franklin, Wisconsin
 EARL LEVERETTE ----- 8885 South 68th St., Franklin, Wisconsin
 JOHN WALLS ----- Wisconsin School for Boys, Wales, Wisconsin

IV. "Marxism-Leninism . . . Is a Guide To Action . . ."

BOBBY SEALE

"True Revolutionaries" is the title of an article by BPP Chairman Bobby Seale dedicated to BPP leaders Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, which credited the two Panther leaders with having a "correct revolutionary ideology," and revealed that because of them, the Panthers "have closely learned to apply many Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles." The article further noted that "Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver exemplifies [sic] Marxist-Leninist true revolutionary principles. Our Party can see Lenin and Stalin when we want to understand Huey and Eldridge. There exists higher levels of Marxism-Leninism with Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi-minh, Castro and Che, live revolutionary struggles moving to higher levels every day with all the genius and understanding of the class struggle that Frantz Fanon had learned by living and working with the Algerian People's revolution." In the article, Seale revealed that Newton and Cleaver taught the Panthers that they are not engaged in a race struggle but rather a "class struggle." In conclusion, Seale declared that "we can never . . . even try to fight U.S. imperialism, with more imperialism, but we will fight it with proletarian internationalism." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 20, 1969: 12)

Bobby Seale asserted in an editorial statement that "a democratic dictatorship by the proletarian class the people who the Black Panther Party members come from is the real reason for the Party." Seale described Huey Newton as "a revolutionary that all the people want and need here at home in the communities, with us teaching us better tactics, teaching us how to use correct Marxist-Leninist's ideology as a guide to revolutionary action. To lead and free our people." (*The Black Panther*, May 4, 1969: 3)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Eldridge Cleaver made the following remarks concerning Panther ideology: "I'm very delighted to know that members of the Black Panther Party have become more conscious of the need for ideology or to formalize our ideology. I'm speaking particularly about a more conscious knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles, because of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is invaluable to oppressed peoples struggling against capitalism and imperialism because in theories of Marxism-Leninism, we find a very accurate and very useful analysis of the capitalistic system, we find a clear picture of what's going on in the world and it makes us know who our friends are and who our enemies are, who our potential allies are, and how we have to move in order to destroy the system of our enemies." (*The Black Panther*, July 12, 1969: 12, 13)

In an interview with the West German journalist Stefen Aust, Eldridge Cleaver repeatedly referred to the Black Panther Party as "Marxist-Leninist" and called for active revolution in the mountains and rural areas of North America. Some excerpts:

". . . there's another front that I think needs to be created, and this is something that I have been working on and which I intend to continue working on, and it's something we've been calling the North

American Liberation Front. I think it's very timely, because many people see the situation that we are confronted with as one in which politics have been transformed into war, and there's no point in kidding ourselves any more; what we have to do is fight. We have the terrain to fight. Many people think that armed struggle carried out in the mountains in Cuba or in Vietnam is one thing, and that it could not happen in the United States. But the United States has more mountains than all of these other areas, it has the advantage of mountainous areas, and a highly organized situation, and it has rural areas. It's so large that the government forces would be forced to spread out very thinly, at the same time that dissatisfaction in the ranks of the United States Army is at an all-time peak."

"We feel that the only safe guides to action are the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism . . ."

"The only governments that have been able to survive this sweep (counterrevolution) have been those governments who have gotten their liberation and created, or even had before, or created during the struggle or after the struggle, a strong Marxist-Leninist Party. And I think this is borne out by the experience of China, Cuba and the Eastern European Socialist countries, including the Soviet Union." (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 11, 1969:10-12)

Eldridge Cleaver issued the following statement: "THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IS THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF BLACK PEOPLE AND THE WISDOM GAINED BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SYSTEM OF RACIST OPPRESSION IN BABYLON, INTERPRETED THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS BY OUR MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON. (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 18, 1970:3)

DAVID HILLIARD

David Hilliard, BPP Chief of Staff, stated in an interview that it "is not a thing that we are Maoist or Stalinist, Leninists. We say that there is no such animal . . . there is just Marxist, Leninist, and that Stalin was truly a Marxist-Leninist. He always praised Lenin and carried out the ideas of Lenin." (*The Black Panther*, April 20, 1969:18)

David Hilliard, in a speech to a labor conference, reminded the audience that Cuba did not have unions with letters like ILWU or the AFL-CIO, but, he said, "a union that they called the dictatorship of the proletariat. And whether you realize that that's necessary or not makes no difference, because I know that it's necessary to solve the problems and we're going to tell the truth about solving them . . ." (*The Black Panther*, May 11, 1969:17)

David Hilliard made the following statements in a speech delivered on July 4, 1969 at Hayward Park: "We can relate to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism only if the ideas apply to our situation, and I say that Marxism-Leninism is an invincible weapon, that it's the most powerful weapon for the people that's struggling against imperialism. . . . So that we can take the ideas of Marx, the ideas of Lenin and we can put these ideas into practice. . . . Because the ideology is geared to the people that's moving against capitalism . . . and whether the people want to accept that or not, whether the older people like it or not, I don't think that we give a damn, because we're going to use it, because we know that it's the only thing we have. And that we're

going to use it, because we know that it's the only thing we have. And that we're going to use it in clear axiom, one quotation of Marxism-Leninism is stated such as 'when all peaceful means have been exhausted, then we move from a position of peaceful co-existence, to a position of violence, because violence is the highest form of politics possible for solving any situation.' And we're not going to be deterred from that. . . ." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969: 5)

In an article entitled "Enemies 'Within' Enemies 'Without'," David Hilliard defined as enemies the practitioners of "Cultural Nationalism," "Black Capitalism," Ron Karenga's US organization, the NAACP and the Black Muslims. He stated that "the only language, the only systems that are able to withstand and implement a people's revolution, are the systems and the people that relate to Marxism-Leninism and the scientific system of Socialism . . ." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 20, 1969: 2-5)

David Hilliard's writings have included such statements as: "The ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experiences of Black People in America translated through Marxism-Leninism." "(People) think the fascists left when the Hitlerites were defeated. I relate to what Eldridge says 'that the American flag and the American eagle are the true symbols of fascism.'" (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 8, 1969)

FRED HAMPTON

"All Power to the People" is the caption of an article by Fred Hampton, BPP deputy chairman of the Illinois Chapter. He stated: "People came and took our program (Breakfast for Children) and saw it in a socialistic fashion not even knowing it was socialism. . . . We not only thought about the Marxist-Leninist theory—we put it into practice. This is what the Black Panther Party is about." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969: 7)

ERICKA HUGGINS

A letter to the Conference on a United Front Against Fascism from Ericka Huggins, a BPP leader awaiting trial in New Haven, Connecticut, contained the following comments: "We need a revolution! . . . We need socialism in practice! . . . We need unity among oppressed people and an understanding of Marxist-Leninist principles so that we may put our knowledge into revolutionary practice." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969: 5)

ANDRÉ WEATHERBY

The following statement was made by André Weatherby, communications secretary, BPP chapter, Kansas City, Mo.: "The people of this decadent fascist system can see that the people of the oppressed classes are educating themselves and putting into practice such theories as Marxism-Leninism . . ." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 27, 1969: 2)

"WE LEARN FROM CHAIRMAN MAO . . ."

Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, BPP member, revealed in an interview that the Black Panther Party from its inception had been guided by "Chairman Mao's Quotations." According to Hewitt, the Panthers "dig Chairman Mao, Ho Chi Minh, we have a profound love for Fidel

Castro. . . . We dig what they are doing. They resist and as long as they resist we have a chance to survive." (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1969:16)

After quoting and attributing to Mao Tse-tung the statement: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue," the Panthers declared: "ALSO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY TACTICS." (*The Black Panther*, May 4, 1969:12)

The March 9, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contained an article captioned "U.S. Imperialism, the Source of All Evil" which included the following statement from Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "Imperialism has prepared the conditions for its own doom. These conditions are the awakening of the great masses of the people. In the colonies and semi-colonies, and in the imperialist countries themselves."

The "Writings of Mao Tse-tung" are advertised in the March 16, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther* which instructs that orders are to be directed to China Books and Periodicals, 2929 24th Street, San Francisco, Calif.

An editorial statement entitled "Renegade Philosophy" stated that in "dealing with the question of renegades . . . the Black Panther Party draws its conclusions from successfully practiced theories and examples. We learn from Chairman Mao that . . . a renegade is a criminal to history, a mangy dog that wags its tail in asking pardon from the enemy." (*The Black Panther*, March 23, 1969:4)

The Black Panther carried the text of a statement issued by Mao Tse-tung in August, 1963. In his statement the Chinese communist leader expressed his support of "the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination." (*The Black Panther*, July 3, 1967:12)

In an article entitled "Remember the Words of Brother Malcolm . . ." the Panthers noted that "from time to time we honor another revolutionary thinker by placing his writings in Brother Malcolm's column. This time we honor Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The following quote of Mao is set forth: "War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 16, 1968:19)

In the "Message from Huey" to the Panther benefit rally on February 16, 1969 the Panther leader made the following statement which he attributed to Mao: "In the near future a colossal event will occur where the masses of the people will rise up like a mighty storm and a hurricane, sweeping all evil gentry and corrupt officials into their graves." Huey further wrote, "Brother Mao put that quite well. We will follow the pattern and follow the thoughts of Chairman Mao." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 3, 1969:2)

Fred Hampton, deputy chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP is reported to have often stated, "without a people's army, the people have nothing." This statement is a direct quote from a speech by Mao Tse-tung which appears on page 99 of the "little red book" (Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung). (*The Black Panther*, June 7, 1969:7)

"Medicine and Fascism" is the title of an article which pertains to the Panthers' concern about the blood disease "sickle cell anemia" and reveals that they are attempting to set up free clinics to treat this "black man's disease." It was pointed out that this "is just another way in which the Black Panther Party is putting into practice the theories of Chairman Mao, 'Wherever our comrades go, they must build good relations with the masses, be concerned for them and help them overcome their difficulties. We must unite with the masses. The more of the masses we unite with, the better.'" (*The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969:20)

In announcing the purge from the Black Panther Party of 21 members, the Omaha, Nebraska, branch made the following affirmation which appears on page 255 of the "little red book" (Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung):

We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

- (1) the individual is subordinate to the organization;
- (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority;
- (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and
- (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity. (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969:11)

In an article entitled, "Harlem Pastor Intimidated" Beth Bragg called for the people to unite, "rise up and form a United Front Against Fascism," she said, "we must take the power out of the hands of these reactionaries." She then declared that "success is inevitable because as Chairman Mao Tse-tung said, 'The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people.'" (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969:15)

André Weatherby, communications secretary of the Kansas City chapter of the BPP, concluded a report with the following quotation which was attributed to "Chairman Mao": "This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield. No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single man remains, he will fight on." (*The Black Panther*, July 12, 1969:16)

James Willie Worth, Jr., (Omawle Oba Osuwagua), Brooklyn branch, BPP, declared in an article entitled "Revolution" that it is "necessary for the people to understand the necessity for revolution." He then quoted Mao Tse-tung's statement that: "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act by which one class overthrows another." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969:10)

Willie McIntyre's expulsion from the Philadelphia branch of the Black Panther Party was announced in the August 1969 issue. The expulsion notice carried the following quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung:

"Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization, but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type." (Part of an explanation on

ideological self-cultivation-liberalism, page 145 from the "little red book"—QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG.) (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 16, 1969: 5)

The following quote of Mao Tse-tung was presented by Al Carroll of the Harlem branch of the BPP, "where there is a struggle there is sacrifice and death is a common occurrence." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 6, 1969, p. 3)

The following quote of Mao Tse-tung was presented by Sonny Collins, defense captain of the Staten Island branch of the BPP, "All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?" (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 11, 1969:12)

The Black Panther published a statement issued by the Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung on May 20, 1970, in which he denounced the United States, declaring that "American imperialism, while lending itself to massacres abroad, is killing White and Blacks in its own country." He called upon "Peoples of the world, unite, to destroy the American aggressors and their lackeys."

In a commentary on the Chinese Communist leader's statement Eldridge Cleaver stated:

"In this declaration, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has set forth a brilliant and timely analysis of the qualitatively new situation that exists in the world as a result of the treacherous new acts of aggression launched by the fascist, imperialist Nixon—

"This declaration pulls together into clear focus the revolutionary struggles and the liberation struggles of the people of the whole world, including the revolutionary struggle of the American people themselves.

"Speaking specifically for the Black Panther Party, but reflecting the sentiments of millions of oppressed people inside the United States, it has become crystal clear to us that rampant imperialist aggression on the international scale and vicious fascist repression on the domestic scale are the two faces of the criminal government of the United States. . . ."

In conclusion Cleaver stated "we wish to point out that only the enemies of the people and those who shirk their revolutionary duties and who are afraid of their own shadows will find fault with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's declaration. For our part, we welcome it, because we have learned . . . that only through relentless struggle, by resorting to arms inside the very house of U.S. fascism and imperialism, can we gain our freedom and liberation." (*The Black Panther*, June 20, 1970:20)

"COMRADE KIM IL SUNG . . . IS PROVIDING THE MOST PROFOUND MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS."

According to David Hilliard, the Black Panther Party has "accepted Kim Il Sung's analysis of Marxism-Leninism because Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but rather a guide to action and it is the most powerful weapon if it's applied very concretely and in conformity with your own conditions in your own country. So we have always used Marxism-

Leninism and put our own test to it. . . . Comrade Kim Il Sung has definitely expressed, with his most recent telegrams reprinted in the BPP newspaper, the quintessence of revolutionary internationalism. So, we respect the Korean people not only for their verbal support to the BPP, but because of their relentless demand to reunify their country and to fight an unyielding struggle against U.S. imperialism." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 17, 1969:4)

"Manifesto from the Land of Fire and Blood" is the title of Eldridge Cleaver's introduction to the "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Party for Unification" of Korea. Cleaver recalled that for the past 6 months *The Black Panther* had been publishing "various articles and excerpts from the writings of Comrade Kim Il Sung." He also noted that "after careful investigation of the international scene, it is our considered opinion that it is none other than Comrade Kim Il Sung who is brilliantly providing the most profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, strategy, and tactical method for the total destruction of imperialism and the liberation of the oppressed peoples in our time." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 15, 1970: B)

"Birthday Greetings to Kim Il Sung" is a full-page message to the North Korean Premier in honor of his birthday. *The Black Panther Party* proclaimed its unity with the Communist North Koreans and revealed that they "have developed a strong feeling of comradeship and profound respect for the people of the Democratic Republic of Korea and their leader. We have come to respect and feel the bonds of revolutionary love for the nation of people who have met and defeated U.S. imperialism on the battlefield. . . . Our enemy is the same: the imperialist forces that oppress the people of the world. We have since our 'discovery' come to realize the beauty and complicity of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory for the revolutionary peoples of the world. The concept of Juche advanced by Comrade Kim Il Sung has added new dimensions to our understanding and knowledge of revolutionary theory and tactics. Armed with the revolutionary concept of Juche, we can advance more confident and assured of the correctness of our position."

The message was signed: "Black Panther Party." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 18, 1969: 14)

The Central Committee of the Black Panther Party addressed a telegram to Kim Il Sung, Premier of North Korea, expressing BPP support of the North Koreans on the 20th anniversary "of the U.S. imperialist aggressive invasion of the DPRK in 1950." In the text of the telegram the Panthers call for the "reunification of Korea." (*The Black Panther*, June 27, 1970:8)

Eldridge Cleaver said he had found "certain analyses made by Comrade Kim Il Sung to be more helpful." The concept of "Juche that they've worked out" is a "major break-through," he said. It is a "concept of self-reliance that justified the independent existence of each party." Cleaver noted that the Chinese and Russian Communist parties have "a tendency to try to unite under itself all of the other communist parties and to force on them certain ideological lines."

"The great contribution that Kim Il Sung made, is the concept of autonomy of a party." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 11, 1970:10-13, 17)

Frequent articles by North Korean Communist Premier Kim Il Sung appear in *The Black Panther*. One entitled "The Decisive Factor in Victory in the Struggle Against Imperialist Reaction, is the Internal Forces of the Country Concerned!" concerns that country's application of "Juche," a term which has come into frequent use in *The Black Panther*, and is pronounced "Joo-Che."

According to the North Korean leader, "Our Party's idea of Juche is the most correct Marxist-Leninist idea of leadership for the successful carrying out of our revolution and construction and is the invariable guiding principle of the Government of the Republic in all its policies and activities."

"Only by firmly establishing Juche, can each country repudiate flunkeyism and dogmatism and creatively apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to suit its historical conditions and national peculiarities and solve its own questions entirely for itself . . . discarding the spirit of relying on others."

Subsequent to Eldridge Cleaver's visit to North Korea in September 1969, Kim Il Sung, Premier of that Communist country, was given extensive coverage in *The Black Panther*. North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung reportedly told the journalists' conference at which Cleaver was a guest that war would break out at "any moment in Korea." The meeting was attended by 200 journalists from 90 countries who met in Pyongyang to discuss "U.S. imperialism." (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 11, 1969: 16)

Kim Il Sung wrote "Further Consolidating and Developing The Socialist System In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea." The article is a dissertation comparing the "capitalist society" with socialism-communism. "Unlike capitalist society where the people have neither political rights nor freedom, the socialist system substantially provides genuine democratic rights and freedom to the masses of the people . . ." It concludes that "Capitalism has already lived out its days and is rushing ever more precipitately every day along the road to doom. Socialism and communism represent the bright future of mankind . . ." (*The Black Panther*, Dec. 6, 1969: 6)

An article by the North Korean Premier appeared in the Dec. 20, 1969 issue of the Panther publication. It was titled: "On Intensifying Anti-Imperialists Anti-U.S. Struggle to Crush U.S. Imperialism, Unify the Father and Defend World Peace."

Kim charged that "the U.S. imperialists carry on the brigandish acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and, having occupied the Cuban territory of Guantanamo are incessantly perpetrating aggressive and provocative maneuverings against the Republic of Cuba. The U.S. imperialist manoeuvres to provoke a new war in Korea. . . . The U.S. imperialists have brutally suppressed the national liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. . . . The U.S. imperialists are stepping up armed intervention in Laos and trampling upon the territorial integrity of Cambodia. . . . The U.S. imperialists instigated the Israeli expansionists to an aggressive war against the Arab peoples. . . ."

"The U.S. imperialists have actively revived Japanese and West German militarism. . . ."

"As long as there exists imperialism, the world can never live in peace nor can aggression and war disappear. Apart from the struggle against imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, world peace can not be safeguarded nor can national liberation and independence or the victory of democracy and socialism be achieved. There should be no illusion about imperialism; it is necessary for us to continuously intensify the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, holding aloft the banner of revolution, till imperialism is finally defeated.

"The establishment of Juche in the fields of science and culture accelerated the progress of science and technology and brought about a great qualitative change in education and in the work of training cadres."

"We must," Kim stated, "settle all problems from the standpoint of Juche. . . . It is true that we should unite with friends who are fighting for a common aim, and learn from their experience if it accords with the Marxist Leninist principles and is worth learning." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 3, 1970:18)

"Comrade Kim Il Sung—On the international situation and some problems arising in the international Communist movement" is reprinted from Kim Il Sung's "The Present Situation and The Tasks of our Party."

He stated that "in the present situation, the U.S. imperialists should be dealt blows and their forces be dispersed to the maximum in all parts and on every front in the world—in Asia and Europe, Africa and Latin America and in all countries, big and small—and they should be bound hand and foot so that they may not act arbitrarily. Only in this way can we succeed in foiling the strategy of the U.S. imperialists to destroy the international revolutionary forces including the socialist countries one by one concentrating their forces in this or that area or country." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 31, 1970:14)

"LONG LIVE HO CHI MINH"

The text of Ho Chi Minh's New Year's message is featured on page one of *The Black Panther* of March 3, 1969. The message denounced the United States but praised "the progressive people in the United States for their wholehearted support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation."

"Long Live Ho Chi Minh" is the caption of a birthday tribute to Ho Chi Minh, North Vietnamese Communist leader. The article contained the following statement: "The Black Panther Party and the revolutionary peoples of racist America wish Ho Chi Minh a very happy birthday and many returns of the day. Having faced the same enemy for four hundred years, we the Black Panther Party want him to know that we stand in complete solidarity with the revolutionary people of Vietnam. We will fight imperialism with proletarian internationalism." (*The Black Panther*, May 19, 1969:11)

Bobby Seale made an appeal to black soldiers in the armed forces to come home "as Revolutionaries to Overthrow the Ruling Class." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 20, 1969:2)

Eldridge Cleaver stated in a full-page editorial entitled "The Black Man's Stake in Vietnam":

"After the Civil War, America went through a period similar to

the one we are now in. The Negro problem received a full hearing. Everybody knew that the black man had been denied justice. No one doubted that it was time for changes and that the black man should be a first class citizen. But Reconstruction ended. Blacks who had been elevated to high positions were kicked out into the streets and herded along with the masses of blacks into the ghettos and black belts. . . .

"The black man's interest lies in seeing a free and independent Vietnam, a strong Vietnam which is not the puppet of international white supremacy. If the nations of Asia, Latin America and Africa are strong and free, the black man in America will be safe and secure and free to live in dignity and self-respect."

Cleaver advised blacks to unite, give all help they can to African, Asian and Latin revolutionaries and describe black Americans as "a black Trojan Horse." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 20, 1969: 14)

"To My Black Brothers in Vietnam" is a message written on January 4, 1970, by Eldridge Cleaver. He introduced himself to his "Black Brothers," and stated that he is speaking for the Black Panther Party, but wants to include a personal note as well, because, he stated, "I know that you niggers have your minds all messed up about Black organizations, or you wouldn't be the flunkies for the white organization—the U.S.A.—for whom you have picked up the gun. The Black Panther Party has picked up the gun too, but not to fight against the heroic Vietnamese people, but rather to wage a war of liberation against the very same pigs whom you are helping to run their vicious game on the entire world, including upon your own people. . . ."

The message to black American servicemen called upon them to "take a stand either for or against the freedom of our people. You are either with your people or against them. You are either part of the solution or part of the problem."

"We appeal to you Brothers to come to the aid of your people. Either quit the army, now, or start destroying it from the inside. Anything else is a compromise and a form of treason against your own people. Stop killing the Vietnamese people. You need to start killing the racist pigs who are over there with you giving you orders. Kill General Abrahms [sic] and his staff, all his officers. Sabotage supplies and equipment, or turn them over to the Vietnamese people. . . . If it is necessary to destroy the United States of America, then let us destroy it with a smile on our faces. . . . The Black Panther Party calls for freedom and liberation in our life time. . . . " (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 21, 1970: 4, 20)

GUIDANCE FROM THE 1935 COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL WORLD CONGRESS

"The Black Panther Party Comes Forth to Combat the Raging Tide of Fascism" is the title of a feature article which is comprised of two excerpts from two speeches delivered by Georgi Dimitroff, Secretary General of the Communist International. In a speech delivered to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International in 1935, Dimitroff attempted to project an alleged development of American fascism which he said "tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American Democracy'." Excerpts from Dimitroff's

speech, entitled "United Front Against Fascism," called for voices to be raised in "defense of Socialist leaders who have fallen victims to fascist reaction." Following this article was a full-page announcement of the Panthers' call to a "National Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism" to be held July 18-21, 1969, in Oakland, California. They stated that the primary objective of the conference was to be "community control of police to end fascism." (*The Black Panther*, June 7, 1969: 14)

The feature article in June 1969 is entitled, "The Chief Arguments of the Opponents of the United Front." Although there is no byline or attribution to this material presented as a direct quotation, it has been determined to be a quotation from the pamphlet "The United Front Against Fascism and War." That pamphlet, published in 1935 by the Workers Library Publisher, New York, was an abridged edition compiled from three speeches of Georgi Dimitroff at the 7th World Congress of the then existing Communist International. The section of the pamphlet reprinted by the Panthers bears the same title as the article and poses the question: "What objections can the opponents of the United Front have and how do they voice their objections?" Dimitroff then proceeded to refute selected arguments against Communist participation in a united front. One of the statements made by the Communist leader, and repeated by the Panthers, called attention to the fact that "the Communists with all their relative insignificance in numbers are the motive power of the militant activity of the proletariat. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that the Communist Parties of Austria or Great Britain are not only the tens of thousands of workers who are supporters of the Party, but are parts of the world Communist movement . . . the party of a proletariat which has already achieved victory and rules over one-sixth part of the globe." (*The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969: 12-13)

According to a statement by the Panthers they based the slogan "Capitalism plus Racism Equals Facism" on a definition of facism as enunciated in 1935 by Georgi Dimitroff to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, which stated, "Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinistic (racist) and most imperialist elements of finance capital. It does not stand above both classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie nor is it super-class government, nor government of the petty-bourgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself." (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969: 5)

". . . VIOLENT REVOLUTION BY THE PROLETARIAT" BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The following quotations have been excerpted from an article by Eldridge Cleaver entitled "On the Ideology of The Black Panther Party." It appeared in the June 6, 1970, issue of *The Black Panther*, and although it appeared as "Part 1," no additional parts have been forthcoming as of September 15, 1970.

"We have said: the ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experience of Black people . . . interpreted through the prism of the Marxist-Leninist analysis by our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton.

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"When we say that we are Marxist-Leninists, we mean that we have studied and understood the classical principles of scientific socialism and that we have adapted these principles to our own situation for ourselves.

"Ideology is a comprehensive definition of a status quo that takes into account both the history and the future of the status quo and serves as the social glue that holds a people together, and through which a people relate to the world and other groups of people in the world. The correct ideology is an invincible weapon against the oppressor in our struggle for freedom and liberation."

Marx, Cleaver stated, "analyzed Capitalism and defined the method of its doom: VIOLENT REVOLUTION BY THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS OF CLASS OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION, REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CLASS VIOLENCE PERPETRATED THROUGH THE SPECIAL REPRESSIVE FORCE OF THE ARMED TENTICLES [sic] OF THE STATE.

"This great definition by Marx and Engels became the mightiest weapon in the hands of oppressed people in the history of ideology.

"But Marxism has never really dealt with the United States of America. There have been some very nice attempts. People have done the best that they know how. However, in the past, Marxist-Leninists in the United States have relied too heavily upon foreign, imported analyses and have seriously distorted the realities of the American scene. We might say that the Marxism-Leninism of the past belongs to the gestation period of Marxism-Leninism in the United States, and that now is the time when a new, strictly American ideological synthesis will arise, springing up from the hearts and souls of the oppressed people inside Babylon, and uniting these people and hurling them mightily, from the force of their struggle, into the future. The swiftly developing revolution in America is like the gathering of a mighty storm, and nothing can stop that storm from finally bursting, inside America.

"On the subject of racism, Marxism-Leninism offers us very little assistance. In fact, there is much evidence that Marx and Engels were themselves racists—Historically, Marxism-Leninism has been an outgrowth of European problems and it has been primarily preoccupied with finding solution to European problems.

"With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948, and the People's Republic of China in 1949, something new was injected into Marxism-Leninism and it ceased to be just a narrow, exclusively European phenomenon. Comrade Kim Il Sung and Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied the classified principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in their own countries and thereby made the ideology into something useful for their people. But they rejected that part of the analysis that was not beneficial to them and had only to do with the welfare of Europe.

"Not until we reach Fanon do we find a major Marxist-Leninist theoretician who was primarily concerned about the problems of Black people, wherever they may be found. . . . It is because of the fact that

Black people in the United States are also colonized that Fanon's analysis is so relevant to us.

"After studying Fanon, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale began to apply his analysis of colonized people to Black people in the United States. They adopted the Fanonian perspective, but they gave it a uniquely Afro-American content."

According to Cleaver, "We are Lumpen. Right on. The Lumpenproletariat are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and institutions of capitalist society.

"It is very important to recognize that the streets belong to the Lumpen, and that it is in the streets that the Lumpen will make their rebellion.

"One outstanding characteristic of the liberation struggle of Black people in the United States has been that most of the activity has taken place in the streets. This is because, by and large, the rebellions have been spearheaded by the Black Lumpen."

In its August 29, 1970, issue, the Panthers featured an article by Newton under his title of "Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party, U.S.A."

According to Mr. Newton: "History has bestowed upon the Black Panther Party the obligation to take these steps and thereby advance Marxism-Leninism to an even higher level along the path to a socialist state . . . we have the historical obligation to take the concept of internationalism to its final conclusion—the destruction of statehood itself."

After greeting what he called the "courageous Revolutionaries of the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam" Newton announced that "the Black Panther Party hereby offers to the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam an undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against American imperialism. It is appropriate for the Black Panther Party to take this action at this time in recognition of the fact that your struggle is also our struggle, for we recognize that our common enemy is the American imperialist who is the leader of international bourgeois domination. There is not one fascist or reactionary government in the world today that could stand without the support of United States imperialism. Therefore our problem is international, and we offer these troops in recognition of the necessity for international alliances to deal with this problem.

"Such alliances will advance the struggle toward the final act of dealing with American imperialism. The Black Panther Party views the United States as the 'city' of the world, while we view the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America as the 'countryside' of the world. The developing countries are like the Sierra Maestra in Cuba and the United States is like Havana. We note that in Cuba the people's army set up bases in the Sierra Maestra and choked off Havana because it was dependent upon the raw materials of the countryside. After they won all the battles in the countryside the last and final act was for the people to march upon Havana.

"... we must liberate the developing nations—the countryside of the world—and then our final act will be the strike against the 'city.' As one nation is liberated elsewhere it gives us a better chance to be free here.

"The Black Panther Party recognizes that we have certain national problems confined to the continental United States, but we are also aware that while our oppressor has domestic problems these do not stop him from oppressing people all over the world. Therefore we will keep fighting and resisting within the 'city' so as to cause as much turmoil as possible and aid our brothers by dividing the troops of the ruling circle.

"The Black Panther Party offers these troops because we are the vanguard party of revolutionary internationalists who give up all claims to nationalism. We take this position because the United States has acted in a very chauvinistic manner and lost its claim to nationalism.

"On the other hand, the developing countries have every right to claim nationhood, because they have not exploited anyone. The nationalism of which they speak is simply their rightful claim to autonomy, self-determination and a liberated base from which to fight the international bourgeoisie.

"The Black Panther Party supports the claim to nationhood of the developing countries and we embrace their struggle from our position as revolutionary internationalists. We cannot be nationalists when our country is not a nation but an empire. We contend that it is time to open the gates of this country and share the technological knowledge and wealth with the peoples of the world.

"History has bestowed upon the Black Panther Party the obligation to take these steps and thereby advance Marxism-Leninism to an even higher level along this path to a socialist state, and then a non-state. . . . Everything we do is based upon functionalism and pragmatism, and because we look to the future for salvation we are in a position to become the most progressive and dynamic people on the earth, constantly in motion and progressing, rather than becoming stagnated by the bonds of the past.

"Taking these things under consideration, it is no accident that the vanguard party—without chauvinism or a sense of nationhood—should be the Black Panther Party. Our struggle for liberation is based upon justice and equality for all men. Thus we are interested in the people of any territory where the crack of the oppressor's whip may be heard. We have the historical obligation to take the concept of internationalism to its final conclusion—the destruction of statehood itself. This will lead us into the era where the withering away of the state will occur and men will extend their hand in friendship throughout the world.

"This is the world view of the Black Panther Party and in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, solidarity and friendship we offer these troops to the National Liberation Front and Provisional Government of South Vietnam, and to the people of the world."

V. Relations With Other Domestic Organizations

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

Eldridge Cleaver traced the Panthers' relationship with the Communist Party, U.S.A.—which at first he said was "rather disastrous" and stated there is "some cooperation" between the Communist Party and the Panthers. He also stated that in their relationships with

the CPUSA "they will never come out and say 'we follow the Soviet line.' But when they come to taking up positions on various issues, this is what they do." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 11, 1970: 10-13, 17)

Recalling past Panther activity Cleaver stated: "I remember when we went to the Legislature with those guns, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, all of these super revolutionary phrase mongers—that's all I can call them—they were more angry at us than the pigs were you know, because they said this was provocative [sic] and adventurist. . . . You recall the first phrase in The Catechism of a Revolutionary by Bakunin, says that a Revolutionary is a doomed man, so all these people who are concerned about survival and who want to carry out a revolution without suffering any consequences, I think that they don't really want to carry out a revolution." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 11, 1970: 10-13, 17)

"White 'Mother Country' Radicals" is the caption of an editorial in the July 20, 1967 issue of *The Black Panther* written by the minister of information concerning the position taken by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense toward the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and the CNP (Community for New Politics) "and a host of others", [which] pretend to be the friend of the black people when in fact they are opportunistic conspirators against the best interests of the black people." It was further noted "The Black Panther Party feels that it is absolutely necessary to drive all of these groups out of the black community. They come into our community to sell their literature, to circulate their finky petitions and to generally involve the black community in their ideological nit-picking. The time has come for black people to rid their community of all of this confusion and subversion. From now on, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party should not be allowed to function in the black community at all." It was also stated that "in international affairs, the Communist Party supports the Soviet Union against the Peoples Republic of China." According to the Panther leader, the "Soviet Union has been exposed as a traitor to the best interests of the Third World." (*The Black Panther*, July 20, 1967: 1, 6)

"There Has Been and Always Will be Black Panthers" is the caption of an article which appeared in the May 4, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* in tribute to William Patterson, described as a "Black man . . . born in San Francisco August 27, 1891." According to the article, Patterson is a "crack warrior, strategist and organizer of the Black liberation and working class movements. . . ." ²⁵

The May 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contains a statement issued by the Communist Party of Northern California in support of the BPP. The statement captioned "Again—A Smith Act Frame Up" contains the following information: ". . . The charge that Panthers are calling upon people to take up guns and 'make revolution' is bunk. . . . Just as with the Communists in the '50's, the attempt is being made to prevent the Panthers and everyone else from advocating anything the ruling class does not like. . . . We further urge the unequivocal freedom for Huey Newton who is a staunch fighter for his people

²⁵ William Patterson's tribute by the Black Panther Party contains no mention of the fact that he has been an active member of the Communist Party since the 1930's; has been a leader of the New York State Communist Party and a member of the CPUSA National Committee. Patterson's CP membership is open and his activities are often reported in party publications.

and whose leadership is needed not only for the black people but in the people's movement."

William Patterson and Charles R. Garry,²⁶ chief attorney for the Panthers, were interviewed by Bobby Seale and David Hilliard in a feature article in the July 5, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*.

Both Patterson and Garry spoke of the need for the upcoming United Front Against Fascism Conference. They emphasize that the police and the courts constitute what they see as the danger of Fascism in the United States. Garry also stated that he does not think "that the people of the United States really understand what Fascism is."

William L. Patterson is author of an article entitled "Language and Liberation Struggles" in which he denounced the characterization given to the Black Panther Party by J. Edgar Hoover. According to Patterson, the "Hoover report is an ideological weapon of the most reactionary forces in politics. . . . It has nothing in common with internal security." Patterson said that such a report "becomes at once an incitement to racist crimes, a clear and present danger to the security of the nation."

According to Patterson, "Hoover has slandered all that is decent in the U.S.A., specially Black citizenry. He incites to murderous attacks upon the Panthers. They are determined revolutionaries and revolution purifies, enobles, cleanses, destroys that which corrupts and which debases and dehumanizes." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 17, 1970: 4)

"Greetings To Huey P. Newton" is the title of an article by William L. Patterson in which the CP leader saluted the Panther leader and declared: "In my own right and as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, I have come here to do honor to a Black man of heroic stature, an American who at an early age brought honor to the land of his birth . . . who stands in the front ranks among the magnificent national liberation fighters of Africa, Asia, Latin America and these United States."

Patterson also stated: "There is a philosophy of revolution and Huey Newton is a student of that philosophy. That is why the Black Panther Party has moved forward so rapidly on the national liberation front. That is why it is historically necessary to find a place in the forefront of those who defend the rights of the Black Panthers."

Patterson concluded with the promise: "We pledge to sharpen this fight in our defense of the Black Panther Party. RIGHT ON!" (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 28, 1970: 4)

In 1970 Patterson contributed several articles to the Panther publication. In June, one entitled "Introduction to 'We Charge Genocide,' The Crime of Government Against the Negro People" is a review of the so-called "historic Petition" first presented to the U.N. in 1951 by a delegation led by Paul Robeson. "We had two aims": the veteran CP leader stated, "First, to expose the nature and depth of racism in the U.S.A., and second, to arouse the moral conscience of progressive mankind against it." (*The Black Panther*, June 13, 1970: 10)

²⁶ Charles R. Garry, a practicing attorney in the city of San Francisco since 1938, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Dr. Jack Patten, former party member in that city who testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 19, 1957.

"Mr. Garry was subpoenaed as a witness by the Committee on June 21, 1957, but refused to answer questions regarding activities in the Communist Party on the grounds of possible self-incrimination." [Communist Legal Subversion, The Role of the Communist Lawyer. Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, H. of R., 86th Congress, 1st Session, Feb. 16, 1950: 40.]

The August 9, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contains an article captioned "Our Enemy's Friends Are Also Our Enemies" which pertains to an interview of Panther leaders Bobby Seale and David Hilliard by representatives of the (Berkeley) *Barb*, an underground newspaper. During the interview, in response to questions concerning rumors that the Communist Party dominated the United Front Against Fascism Conference, Bobby Seale stated, "We dominated the conference. CP didn't dominate no conference. We didn't dominate the conference in the sense of what they're trying to say. . . . CP did not run that conference, they worked along with us, like the Medical Committee for Human Rights and everybody. . . . And that's just a fascist pig tactic to try to say that the Black Panther Party is led by the Communist Party, and we're not against communism—we dig communism . . . they actually came out and did some degree of work to put the conference over. . . ."

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

"SWP Protests Harassment of Panthers" is the caption of a statement issued by the Bay Area Socialist Workers Party which was printed in the July 12, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*. The Socialist Workers Party in its statement pledged "full solidarity with the Black Panther Party" and support of the Panthers' "right to defend themselves by any means necessary."

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A telegram addressed to the BPP from the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party was printed in the November 23, 1967 issue of *The Black Panther*. The telegram was an expression of "solidarity in face of latest attack on Black people's right of self defense." The telegram also stated, "This brutal system founded on liberalism must be destroyed. Black people will use whatever means necessary to win liberation."

The August 9, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contains an article captioned "Our Enemy's Friends Are Also Our Enemies" which pertains an interview of Panther leaders Bobby Seale and David Hilliard by representatives of the (Berkeley) *Barb*, an underground newspaper. During the interview, Seale stated that the Progressive Labor was "a bunch of jive racists."

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

According to the May 11, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*, the Republic of New Africa, at a meeting of its legislative assembly in Detroit, Mich., on April 5, 1969, denounced Ron Karenga and removed him as the RNA minister of education. Also printed was a message to BPP Chairman Bobby Seale which was signed by Wilbur Grattan, RNA minister of state and foreign affairs which noted, "I am compelled to acknowledge some apprehensions with regard to the direction the Panthers are taking politically. I refer specifically to a telephone call from Cleveland in which, as I have been told, you indicated a willingness to cooperate if the Republic of New Africa was excluded, or if the Republic of New Africa denounced Ron Karenga. . . ."

The entire centerfold of the December 6, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* consisted of an article by BPP Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton concerning the Republic of New Africa. Newton indicated allegiance with Robert F. Williams²⁷ and his movement.

The text of a statement delivered by Robert Williams to a National Committee to Combat Fascism, Panther benefit in Detroit, Mich., revealed that Williams also supports the Panthers. He stated that he came to the benefit, not to be recognized, but "to show my support for the Panthers." Williams noted that he wanted to express his "solidarity with the Black Panther Party and the brothers who are suffering from such repression" in America. (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 3, 1970:20)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"Letter from S.D.S. Leadership" dated June 23, 1969 advised the BPP that the Progressive Labor Party faction had been "kicked out" of the SDS. The letter reviews the split with the Progressive Labor faction, and quotes statements from the SDS convention floor made by BPP Deputy Minister of Defense Bobby Rush, who said, "We will judge SDS by the company it keeps." The letter was signed by Mark Rudd, national secretary; Jeff Jones, inter-organizational secretary; Bill Ayers, educational secretary; Michael Klonsky, NIC member; and Bernardine Dohrn, NIC member. (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969:18)

In the interview printed under the caption "Our Enemy's Friends Are Also Our Enemies" David Hilliard stated that the SDS "is dizzy from success" and declared that the Black Panther Party does not "see SDS as being so revolutionary. We see SDS as just being another pacification front." He warned that "SDS had better get their politics straight because the Black Panther Party is drawing some very clear lines between friends and enemies."

Bobby Seale stated, ". . . we want to make it clear to all the S.D.S.'s and P.Lers, the pigs and the fascists that we have a mind of our own, and yes we support Al Fath in the Palestinian struggle. And that we make our decisions and we support who we want to support, and that we're here to make revolution and if those — — are in opposition to that revolution then that just means that we'll have to muster more guns within our own community in order to move against all racists—be they young or old."

²⁷ On Aug. 28, 1961. Robert Williams was indicted by a Union County Grand Jury on two charges of kidnaping a white couple during racial disturbances in Monroe, North Carolina. He could not be located and the FBI issued a warrant for his arrest on charges of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution.

Williams reportedly arrived in Cuba in September, 1961, and later asked that Communist government for political asylum. (*The Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party, USA, Oct. 3, 1961:6; *National Guardian*, Oct. 9, 1961:8)

Williams held a press conference in Cuba, from which representatives of the AP and UPI wire services were excluded. His remarks reported in the Communist press attributed the following statement to Williams: "I have come from a country that is not yet civilized—an exile from a land that was never home, a fugitive from barbarians who claim to teach the world about democracy." Williams concluded the interview with the announcement that he hoped "to reach more of my people in future by radio from here. What is my message to them? The fact that we were saved so many times by arms means they must rely on arms to defend their homes and families. The Afro-American's fight is not in Cuba, not in Germany, not in Asia—but in the United States." (*National Guardian*, Oct. 16, 1961:1, 8)

According to an Associated Press article, Williams shifted his base of operations from Cuba to Communist China in 1966. His "Radio Free Dixie" program was discontinued. Publication of his newsletter, *The Crusader*, subsequently emanated from Peking, China.

Williams left China and moved to Tanzania, Africa in May 1968, according to an article in the Washington *Evening Star*, May 26, 1968. He returned to the United States in September 1969, and according to reports has resided in Detroit, Mich., since his return to the U.S.

David Hilliard responded to a query as to whether or not the United Front Against Fascism petition campaign was "the last chance" the Panthers would give the democratic system. He said that they "cannot blueprint the revolution." They will "move within the legal framework of the system to try to implement programs to try to get this petition on the ballot. . . . So that anyone that takes a position against the petition is in fact supporting fascism that we're moving against. And whether it's SDS or the McClellan Committee, we want to make it clear to them that we have our guns and we're not going to lay them down, and we're going to advocate more people taking up guns."

Hilliard then called upon SDS to "decentralize community imperialists, and implement probably on just the community level—socialism. And that's probably too Marxist-Leninist for those ——— to understand, but we think Stalin was very clear in this concept—that socialism could be implemented in one country, we say that it can be implemented in one community." He concluded with the declaration that "we're going to create a situation that the black community is going to be liberated territory and if it has to be a situation where we can only allow people of other ethnic groups that we can trust to come in, then that's what we want." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969: 12–13)

SUPPORT BY TOM HAYDEN

The text of Tom Hayden's address to a free Huey rally was published in *The Black Panther*, March 31, 1969, under the title: "Lesson for the White Left". The introduction stated that Hayden was "the only white speaker on the program." Hayden told the audience that "in making history, in creating revolution, we cannot avoid repression and terror, cannot avoid the highest kinds of personal sacrifice."

According to Tom Hayden:

"We need a revolutionary organization made strong by the participation and diversity of people in it, one that stimulates people to struggle for power where they live and work and study, one in which people can prepare to take control of their own lives by contesting the power of those who immediately oppress them. We need an organization based on the concept of revolutionary coalition put forward by Eldridge Cleaver, a coalition seeking 'liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country.'"

RED GUARDS

In its coverage of the activities of the San Francisco-based "Red Guards" organization, the Black Panthers published two photographs of the "Red Guards and Panthers studying works of Mao Tse-tung" and reported that the "Red Guards attend political education class at Panther office." It was noted that the "political program" of the Red Guards contains ten points. "Like the Panthers' platform and program," the Red Guard political program is presented in the what we want—what we believe format. It concludes by stating that they "demand that the United States Government recognize the People's Republic of China. We believe that Mao Tse-tung is the true leader of the Chinese people, not Chiang Kai-shek." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 23, 1969: 9)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The November 23, 1967 issue of *The Black Panther* printed a telegram addressed to BPP leader Huey Newton. The telegram stated, "Brothers and sisters in SNCC declared their support and announced their intention to help in any way possible."

"Political Struggle in America: 1968" is the text of a statement Eldridge Cleaver, BPP minister of information, delivered to the Peace and Freedom Party Forum on February 11, 1968. In the statement which was published in the March 16, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*, Cleaver revealed that the Black Panther Party and SNCC were "going to merge into a functional organization that can move nationally." He revealed that the merger would be formalized on February 17 at the Oakland Auditorium. Cleaver pointed to the coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party, and the merger with SNCC as two "important actions" which had been taken by the Black Panther Party.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND THE PANTHERS

Executive Mandate No. 2 delivered June 29, 1967 recruited former SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael into the Black Panther Party. It stated:

So Let This Be heard . . .

Brother Stokely Carmichael:

Because you have distinguished yourself in the struggle for the total liberation of Black People from oppression in racist white America;

Because you have acted courageously and shown great fortitude under the most adverse circumstances;

Because you have proven yourself as a true revolutionary guided by a great feeling of love for our people;

Because you have set such a fine example, in the tradition of Brother Malcolm, of dedicating your entire life to the struggle of Black Liberation, inspiring our youth and providing a model for others to emulate;

Because you have refused to serve in the oppressor's racist mercenary aggressive war machine, showing that you know who your true friends and enemies are;

Because of your new endeavor to organize and liberate the Crown Colony of Washington, D.C., you will inevitably be forced to confront, deal with, and conquer the racist Washington Police Department which functions as the protector of the racist dog power structure occupying the Black Community in the same manner and for the same reasons that the racist U.S. Armed Forces occupy South Vietnam;

You are hereby drafted into the Black Panther Party for Self Defense invested with the rank of Field Marshall, delegated the following authority, power and responsibility:

To establish revolutionary law, order and justice in the territory lying between the Continental Divide East to the

Atlantic Ocean; North of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Canadian Border; South of the Mason-Dixon Line to the Gulf of Mexico.

... So Let It Be Done:

Signed/ Huey P. Newton,
HUEY P. NEWTON,
Minister of Defense.

(*The Black Panther*, July 3, 1967:6)

Both Bobby Seale and Masai Hewitt expressed their disapproval of positions taken by Stokely Carmichael during his visit to Scandinavia. According to Seale "Stokely Carmichael had deviated from the Party's political line to some extent while he was there and the Party was able to give a correct understanding to the many people we talked to about the correct line of the party." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 31, 1969: 12-14)

The Panther Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, acknowledged that he had had "several meetings" with Stokely Carmichael at the Pan African Cultural Festival in Algeria in July, 1969 and that Stokely "had agreed" to repudiate certain statements concerning the use of "coercion" by the Black Panther Party. He also said that it is not likely that Carmichael would again become a member of the Black Panther Party because they "weren't satisfied with his activities. That's why we dropped his name from the roster." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969: 7)

In an "OPEN LETTER TO STOKELY CARMICHAEL" former Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver asserted that Carmichael's letter of resignation "came a year too late." He recalled that Carmichael's appointment to the office of Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party was made with the hope that he—Carmichael—

would be able to shake the SNCC paranoia about white control and get on with the business of building the type of revolutionary machinery that we need in the United States in order to unite all the revolutionary forces in the country to overthrow the system of Capitalism, Imperialism, and Racism.

Cleaver opposed Carmichael's "Black Power" philosophy and stated——

there is not going to be any revolution or black liberation in the United States as long as revolutionary blacks, whites, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Chinese and Eskimos are unwilling or unable to unite into some functional machinery that can cope with the situation.

Cleaver then charged that Carmichael was "peeved because the Black Panther Party informs itself with the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, but" he stated, "if you look around the world you will see that the only countries which have liberated themselves and managed to withstand the tide of counterrevolution are precisely those countries that have strong Marxist-Leninist parties." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 16, 1969: 5)

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

An article in the July 20, 1967 issue of *The Black Panther* captioned "Core Convention Fallout" is a report on the recent CORE convention held in Oakland, California. The article is critical of the CORE and its National Chairman Wilfred Ussery, who is characterized as a "buffoon."

According to the article, CORE wanted the BPP "to play the part of body guards." CORE even went so far as to obtain permission from the Sheriff of San Mateo County for BPP members to carry guns. The Panthers denounced the action by CORE and declared that they do not need the Sheriff's permission to carry a gun.

CORE reportedly denied the Panthers' demand that "it be given public recognition and endorsement by placing the name of the BPP Minister of Defense on the principal program . . ." It was explained that CORE "did not want to place themselves in the embarrassing position of getting publicly identified with the Black Panther Party for Self Defense." In conclusion, the Panthers declared, "It would seem that we have to start viewing reactionary black leaders as black agents of the white mother country. And reactionary black organizations can be viewed as black fronts for the white mother country."

PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY

In the March 6, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*, Kathleen Cleaver, communications secretary of the BPP, presented a black paper on the position of the BPP on the Seventh Congressional District election in Alameda County, California. The paper called for the Peace and Freedom Party to support the candidacy of BPP leader Huey P. Newton for the Seventh Congressional District seat in California.

"Black Paper by the Minister of Information" is the title of an article which appeared in the May 4, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*. The article contained the text of a paper presented by Eldridge Cleaver to the founding convention of the Peace and Freedom Party which was held on March 16, 1968 in Richmond, Calif. It reportedly contains "the nucleus of a political analysis" that Cleaver was working on which includes the "Black Plebiscite, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the U.S. to allow black people to vote on the question of whether they want to be citizens of America or have a sovereign nation of their own. . . . Cleaver called upon the Peace and Freedom Party to support the plebiscite and to run candidates which had been proposed by the Panthers." He proposed that the Peace and Freedom Party support the Panthers' call for "UN observers to be stationed in major cities or in areas of concentrated black population . . . and for them to join with the Panthers and Stop the Draft Week organizers and participate in the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations in April." Finally Cleaver asked that the "Peace and Freedom Party support the Black Community's demand that those who police the black communities must live in the black communities."

An editorial "BPP and PFP" which concerns the coalition between the Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense appeared in the March 16, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*. It stated that the Peace and Freedom Party was willing to work to

help the Panthers gain support in their drive to secure freedom for Huey P. Newton. "In return we were willing to hold rallies with them The Peace and Freedom Party acknowledges that we were helpful to them in gaining enough signatures to get on the ballot. We are glad that they made it and that we were instrumental in the success."

The Brown Caucus of the Peace and Freedom Party issued a statement which was printed in the May 4, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*. The statement called for the release from prison of Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton and all "political prisoners." It revealed that the Brown Caucus has "long endorsed the Black Panther Program and will continue to do so."

The June 10, 1968 issue contained an article entitled "The BPP-PFP Coalition—Explained and Defined" which asserted that America needs a "radical political machinery that is able to . . . harness . . . the liberation struggle in the black community and the class struggle in the white community." The article declared the belief that "the coalition formed between the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in California is the fountain or nucleus of this new and needed machinery" and that "it will be looked back upon as the fountainhead from which flowed the revolutionary party that will uproot this decadent society . . ."

The October 26, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther* disclosed that the Peace and Freedom Party in California had nominated the following leaders of the Black Panther Party to run for public office on its ticket:

Kathleen Cleaver—for Assemblyman from the 18th Assembly District

Eldridge Cleaver—for President of the United States

Huey P. Newton—for U.S. Congress from the 7th Congressional District

Bobby Seale—for State Assemblyman from the 17th Assembly District

The Black Panther announced in its April 18, 1970 issue that Peace and Freedom Party candidate for the U.S. Senate, Bob Scheer has the party's full support in his candidacy.

According to the announcement, "Scheer has been organizing defense and support committees for political prisoners around the country and it is the hope that the campaign will extend that work."

BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The 10-point program and platform of the "Black Student Unions" is reproduced in a column adjacent to an article which appeared in the January 15, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* announcing that the Black Student Unions have formed a state wide union of Black Student Unions. It called upon all students to unite. The address of the national headquarters of the Black Student Unions was the same as the headquarters of the Black Panther Party.

A boast that the Black Panthers and the Black Student Union had closed San Francisco State College appeared in the November 16, 1968 issue in *The Black Panther*.

YOUNG LORDS

An article in the May 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* revealed that the Young Lords "pattern themselves after the Black Panther Party, they identify with the class struggle and that makes us class brothers." This endorsement was made by the Panthers in an article concerning a confrontation between the police and the Young Lords. The article described the Young Lords as a "Latin-American revolutionary group" working in the Chicago area as "true revolutionary brothers" and as "comrades" and "allies" of the Black Panther Party.

According to the June 7, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*, a new alliance between the Black Panther Party and the Puerto Rican Young Lords was announced at a press conference. Cha Cha Jiminez, chairman of the Young Lords organization, stated in an interview with the Panthers: "We see and recognize the Black Panther Party as a vanguard party, a vanguard revolutionary party. And we feel that as revolutionaries we should follow the vanguard party. This is why we follow them."

AMERICAN SERVICEMEN'S UNION

The August 16, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contains an article captioned "ASU Supports BPP" which set forth the contents of a communication from Andy Stapp, chairman of the American Servicemen's Union, in which he directs "members of the ASU to support the Black Panther Party" and demands the immediate release of Huey P. Newton.

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

The July 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* printed an article captioned "Youth Against War and Fascism" which consisted of the text of a telegram addressed to New York Governor Rockefeller by Key Martin, national chairman of Youth Against War and Fascism demanding the release of the 21 Panthers being "held in New York as political prisoners."

WHITE PANTHERS

"Fascist Court Convicts White Panther" is the title of an article which appeared in the August 2, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*. The article concerns the conviction of John Sinclair, minister of information of the White Panthers on charges of selling marijuana. The article also reveals that the "White Panther Party sells the 'Black Panther' newspaper in the community of Ann Arbor. They have attempted to institute community control of the pigs, revised their 10-point platform and program and armed themselves; all that remains is the moving it to a higher level."

YOUNG PATRIOTS

The August 9, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contains an article captioned "Lumpen—Proletarian Discipline Versus Bourgeois Reactionism" which concerns a statement issued by David Hilliard, chief of staff of the BPP, concerning the outcome of the United Front Against Fascism Conference. Hilliard acknowledged an alliance between the Black Panther and the "most revolutionary force in the oppressor country, the Young Patriots."

LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA

In an article which appeared in the June 28, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* captioned, "Los Siete de la Raza and the Black Panther Party," the Panthers announced that it stands in support of the Los Siete de la Raza and in firm solidarity with the Latin community.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE PANTHERS

That organization which is "the only Defense Committee authorized by the Black Panther Party," presented an appeal for funds and volunteers. The appeal revealed that the committee had been "formed to raise funds for legal expenses and to inform the people of the Black Panther Party and their treatment by the government, courts and media." Their addresses are: P.O. Box 628, New York, N.Y. 10025; contributions for bail to be sent to the same address in care of the Emergency Panther Bail Fund. Local branches are at 111 East 16th St., New York; 1084 Chapel St., New Haven; locations in Chicago and Los Angeles—"to be announced." (*The Black Panther*, June 13, 1970:10)

NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The following is the text of a statement in which the New Mobilization Committee announced its support for the Black Panther Party:

"NEW MOBILIZATION STATEMENT ON REPRESSION: RELEASED JANUARY 9, 1970
AMBASSADOR HOTEL, WASHINGTON D.C.

"This policy of genocidal repression is particularly clear in the case of the Black Panther Party. Recently planned and coordinated raids and killings of Black Panthers have occurred in major cities. Though the notorious police murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago has been widely reported as (like Songmy) an isolated incident, the fact is that such attacks, occurring in many locations, have killed over 20 Panthers.

"On November 15 in the course of his speech to the San Francisco rally of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, said:

Richard Nixon is an evil man. This is the ——— that unleashed the counter-insurgent teams upon the Black Panther Party. This is the man that's responsible for all the attacks upon the Black Panther Party nationally. This is the man that sends his vicious, murderous dogs out into the Black community and invades upon our Black Panther Breakfast Program, destroy food that we have for hungry kids and expect us to accept ——— like that idly. ——— that ——— man, we will kill Richard Nixon, we will kill any ——— that stands in the way of our freedom. We ain't here for no god-damn peace, because we know that we can't have no peace because this country was built on war. And if you want peace you got to fight for it.

"On December 3, Mr. Hilliard was arrested, having been charged with making in his November 15 speech "certain threats to take the life of and to inflict bodily harm upon the president of the United

States, Richard Nixon." The New Mobilization Committee denounces the United States government for this action. The rally at which Mr. Hilliard spoke was a political gathering with some 250,000 people present. He spoke in the language of the streets. In charging and prosecuting Mr. Hilliard the government is directly violating his First Amendment rights under the United States constitution. We demand that these charges be immediately revoked. We call upon responsible Americans everywhere to join us in this demand. The New Mobilization is also ready to call for countrywide demonstrations in support of the Panther's plans to deliver to the United Nations petitions against U.S. genocide.

"At the same time we call upon Americans to support David Hilliard in the essential truth he speaks. Richard Nixon is an evil man: he is evil in the sense of being head of a government that is responsible for a calculated program of genocide and war crimes. If he says he is not an evil man, let him say he is against these policies of destruction of Vietnamese and Black people. Let him by actions show that he is revoking these policies." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 17, 1970:4)

HUEY NEWTON ON THE "PEACE MOVEMENT"

In its September 27, 1969 issue, *The Black Panther* published the following statement by Huey Newton, calling for Panther support for the "Peace Movement."

"The peace movement is extremely important, more important than I thought it was, say, two years ago. Matter of fact, it's one of the most important movements that's going on at this time. Because a person is in the Peace Movement and he works with the Peace Movement, the Peace Movement is not necessarily a pacifist movement. I think that the reason I place so much emphasis now upon the Peace Movement I see that if peace were to come about this would force a re-evaluation and a revolution in the basic economic composition of the country.

"If the Peace Movement is successful, then the revolution will be successful. If the Peace Movement fails, then the revolution in the mother country fails.

"So this is why it is very important that we have communications with, not only communications with, we should engage in writing in our paper that we support the Peace Movement, actually get out and support it in various ways through literature and demonstrations in all the ways that the people struggle against the antagonistic ruling capitalist class in order to bring about change. . . .

"Even the Peace Movement doesn't compromise our defense principles. We still will defend ourselves against attack and against aggression. But overall, we're advocating the end to all wars. But, yet, we support the self-defense of the Vietnamese people and all the people who are struggling."

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

The Black Panther Party issued the following statement concerning the Venceremos Brigade under the title, "Snakes in the Canefields."

The December 28, 1969 issue of "Granma," the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (Pages 11-12) contained the text of a press conference held by the Venceremos Brigade for Journalists from all over the world.

The Venceremos Brigade is a group of volunteer workers from the United States who travel to Cuba to help in the cane fields and show solidarity with the Cubans' struggle against U.S. imperialism. Among the current members of the brigade are two persons, Dwight Hawkins and Elijah Gaut, who are passing themselves off as members of the Black Panther Party. They are not members of the Black Panther Party but either pigs or fools. There are over 200 Americans in the Brigade at this time so there may be others among them that are posing as "Black Panthers."

To set the record straight it must be stated that there are no members of the Black Panther Party in the Venceremos Brigade.

The Black Panther Party supports the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. We recognize that the best assistance that we can give to the Cuban Revolution is our continued and escalated resistance to our common enemy right here in Babylon. (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 17, 1970:6)

VI. Relations With International Groups

ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC JURISTS (NORTH KOREA)

The text of a telegram sent to BPP Chairman Bobby Seale from the Association of Democratic Jurists of North Korea follows:

"In resolutely condemning the fascist repression against your party by U.S. imperialism, we energetically demand the immediate liberation of the militants of your party along with that of Mr. Huey Newton who have been illegally arrested and imprisoned by U.S. imperialism.

"While furiously working towards the preparation of a new war, U.S. imperialism, which illegally occupies the Southern part of our country, is cruelly repressing South Korean patriots and has recently perpetrated atrocities and massacred our comrade Kim Jong Tai, chairman of the Committee of the City of Seoul of the United Revolutionary Party of South Korea.

"In hoping that the solidarity with the progressive, peace and justice loving peoples in the United States will be reinforced, the Korean people who are struggling to chase the occupying army of U.S. imperialism out of our country and achieve the peaceful unification of our country wish you great success in your struggle against the war of aggression and the racism of U.S. imperialism." (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 4, 1969:10)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TASKS OF JOURNALISTS OF THE WHOLE WORLD IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

"What Is Most Important" is the subject of an article concerning a visit to Pyongyang, North Korea, by Eldridge Cleaver, BPP minister of information, and Byron Booth, BPP deputy defense minister, to attend a meeting of the "International Conference on Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression." Cleaver, in reporting on his trip, made the following statement: "We would like for the Korean people to know that within the 30 million black people inside the United States, and among the other oppressed people there, there are ardent battalions of that army of liberation which the heroic guerrilla, Major Ernesto Che Guevara called forth. Che called for a continental wide army. We respond to Che's call, enlarging his army into a hemisphere wide army of liberation. And we go further, responding to the resounding trumpet call of Marshal Kim Il Sung, the great strategist and tactician of the international struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. We will carry this sacred cause of our joint struggle through to the bitter sweet end, and win for our people the precious fruits of a great victory." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 1, 1969:11)

KOREAN DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS ASSOCIATION

A "Telegram from the Korean Democratic Lawyer's Association Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland" (North Korean) expresses solidarity with the Black Panther Party and denounces the arrest of Bobby Seale as a "plot to murder" the Panther chairman. (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 18, 1970:3)

COMMITTEE FOR THE PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND (NORTH KOREA)

A delegation of Americans headed by Eldridge Cleaver arrived in Pyongyang, North Korea, on July 14, 1970. They were reportedly in North Korea at the invitation of the "Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland."

Organizations represented in the American delegation included "the Black Panther Party, the San Francisco Red Guard, Women's Liberation, the Peace and Freedom Party, Newsreel, and the Movement for a Democratic Military. The purpose of this U.S. people's delegation is to express solidarity with the struggles of the Korean people and to bring back to Babylon information about their communist society and their fight against U.S. imperialism."

A message from the American delegates included the following statement:

The Pentagon has a global strategy for dealing with liberation struggles whether they be inside or outside the U.S. This strategy will increasingly apply to any anti imperialist movement.

Since the peoples of the world have a common enemy, we must begin to think of revolution as an international struggle against U.S. imperialism. Our struggle in the U.S. is a genuine part of the total revolutionary assault on this enemy. Understanding the Korean people's struggle, and communicating this to the American movement is a crucial step in developing this internationalist perspective.

The message was signed: Patricia Sumi, Jan Austin, Ann Froines, Gina Blumenfeld, Eldridge Cleaver, Robert Scheer, Randy Rappaport, Alex Hing, Elaine Brown, Andy Truskier, Janet Kranzberg. (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 8, 1970:19)

PALESTINE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT—AL FATAH (ALGERIA)

The July 26, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* contains an article entitled "Cleaver, Panthers Cheered in Algeria," which is a report on the reception given to Eldridge Cleaver, BPP minister of information, at the Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algeria. The Panthers were accompanied by the officials of Al-Fatah (Palestine National Liberation Movement) as Cleaver addressed an audience at Al-Fatah headquarters. Cleaver reportedly stated that "the United States was the zionist regime that usurped the land of the Palestine people." The article also noted that an "Afro-American Information Center" at the festival is stocked with reading material and art of the Black Panther Party. (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969:16)

According to Chief of Staff David Hilliard, "the Black Panther Party was invited to Algiers in July, 1969 to attend the Pan African Arts Festival." He said he represented the "oppressed people of Afro-America and that our interest was to show through our art the oppression and to show and to create some means for communication on an international level. It was very serviceable in that respect. That the Black Panther Party was offered a center there . . . and that we're the recognized government of black people in America. And that we went there to express unity with the rest of the African People." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969:7) [Additional information concerning the Panthers and the Arab guerrilla movement will be found in Section VI under the headings, "Arab-Israeli Dispute," and "Anti-Zionism."]

FRENCH FEDERATION OF BLACK AFRICAN STUDENTS (FRANCE)

According to the May 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*, the French Federation of Black African Students, 96 Rue Broca, Paris, France, directed a telegram to the Black Panther Party, 4115 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California, in which it stated that the French Federation "upholds firmly the antiracist and anti-imperialistic struggle of our Black American Brothers. Your contribution is an important part of the world liberation struggle for Black people. . . . Fight on Black Panthers and Huey P. Newton." (*The Black Panther*, May 19, 1969:19)

GERMAN SOCIALIST STUDENTS' LEAGUE (WEST GERMANY)

"West German S.D.S. Supports Black Panthers and Black Liberation Movement" is the subject of an article which appeared in the March 9, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*. The article makes the following declaration: "The Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentbund—SDS—(German Socialist Students' League), the strongest group of West Germany's radical left, extends our fraternal greetings to the Black Panther Party and its members. We know that the success of your struggle is also a victory for us as every blow to imperialism is a victory for the peoples of the world. As we see the liberation movement in the Third World, in Vietnam and Guatemala, in Angola and Bolivia, destroy imperialism from the outside, it is our duty to take up the struggle in the heart of imperialism. Since the May revolt in France the countries have finally started to act. Venceremos! Victory shall be ours." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 9, 1969: 13)

SOUTH VIETNAM PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Under the international news section of *The Black Panther*, April 11, 1970: 15, the text of a letter "To Black Americans from Mr. Rochom Briu, General Secretary of the Movement for the Autonomy of Nationalities in the High Plateaus—South Central Vietnam—and Vice Chairman of the South Vietnam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People."

It states in part: "We are very glad to know that large numbers of Black America took an active part in the recent Fall Offensive to end the war in Vietnam. We sincerely thank the Black Panther Party and other anti-war organizations in the US, that have called for a Campaign of Solidarity with Vietnam and intensified struggle to bring home now all US troops from Vietnam. . . . We strongly protest repression of Black Movement as shown in the arrest of Huey Newton, Bobby Seale . . . or the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. . . . We energetically condemn the US authorities' attempt to bring Bobby Seale to trial next month. . . ."

In bold type the Panthers state: **"End the war now, bring the troops home, or we will open up a new front right here in Babylon."**

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE FOR THIRD WORLD PEOPLE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE (SCANDINAVIA)

The May 4, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* revealed that Skip Malone and Connie Matthews represent the Black Panther Party, which is characterized as "the revolutionary vanguard in the United States," in the Solidarity Committee for Third World People's Liberation Struggle. They also represent the party in two Scandinavian countries, Copenhagen, Denmark and Stockholm, Sweden. The authorization for such representation stated, "It has been approved by the Black Panther Central Committee that the solidarity committee for Third World People's Liberation Struggle, represented by Skip

Malone and Connie Matthews and established in the Scandinavian countries, communicates and represents the Black Panther Party's political line and in fact is authorized to mobilize to carry out demonstrations of support, raise funds, and inform the people of Scandinavia about poor black and oppressed peoples revolutionary struggle from the Panthers vanguard position, won in blood and battle against America's imperialistic viscious pigs (police)." The authorization was signed by David Hilliard, chief of staff, Black Panther Party, Central Committee and Bobby Seale, chairman, Black Panther Party. (*The Black Panther*, May 4, 1969)

DANISH LEFT WING SOCIALIST PARTY

"Free Huey Demonstration in Scandinavia" was subject of an article which revealed that when BPP representatives Bobby Seale and Ray Masai Hewitt visited Scandinavia—Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden—"established in each of these countries solidarity committees for the third world peoples' revolutionary struggle." It was also revealed that the Danish Left Wing Socialist Party "in cooperation with other revolutionary organizations arranged a big demonstration in a park." Connie Matthews and Skip Malone, the Panthers' representatives in Scandinavia, addressed the crowd. The article also contains the text of a resolution in support of the Panthers which was issued by the "second National Congress of the Danish Left Wing Socialist Party." (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969:18)

An article captioned "Black Panther Party Representative in Scandinavia" reveals that Connie Matthews led a demonstration of over 400 Danes at the American Embassy in Copenhagen on August 25, 1969, protesting the arrest of Bobby Seale. Matthews stated, "In opposition to the Black Cultural Nationalists who condemn all Whites alike, the Black Panther Party does not primarily see the struggle as a racial conflict but as a conflict between the oppressors and the oppressed, capitalism and socialism. They express solidarity with the Third World and look upon their struggle as a link in the struggle of all oppressed peoples." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 13, 1969:9)

In the international news section, Connie Matthews, now identified as international coordinator of the Black Panther Party, presented a report entitled, "B.P.P. Solidarity Committee's Conference." It revealed that the "Solidarity Committees of France, Britain, Denmark, Belgium, Netherlands, West Germany, Sweden, met in Frankfurt on April 18th and 19th, 1970, to coordinate and learn from our common struggle."

The following are excerpts from five resolutions adopted at the conference:

- 1) An "intensification of our support" for the BPP.
- 2) Organize "mass actions in solidarity with" the BPP.
- 3) "We condemn the repression and harassment of the Party's representatives in various European countries.

"We demand that there be no infringement on their right to travel and inform the European peoples about the struggle of the Black Panther Party.

- 4) "We demand that all European countries give free travel papers to Eldridge Cleaver.

5) "We stand in solidarity with the Black Panther Party and all oppressed peoples of the world and will unite in smashing U.S. imperialism at home and abroad." (*The Black Panther*, May 9, 1970:15)

COMITE COORDINATOR DE COMITES DE LUCHA (MEXICO)

According to the July 26, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*, Bobby Seale, addressed a letter to the Comite Coordinator de Comites de Lucha declaring the BPP solidarity "with the Mexican students in their struggles for self-defense and self-determination for themselves and their community." (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969:18)

HEMISPHERIC CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM (CANADA)

The January 4, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* noted that in December, 1968, Bobby Seale and David Hilliard attended the Hemispheric Conference on Vietnam which was held in Montreal Canada. According to a report in *The Black Panther*, "the participation of the Panthers in the conference turned out to be the determining factor in whether or not the delegates passed a resolution to support the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam." Bobby Seale told the conference that "The Black Panther Party was formed to resist police brutality and the murder of black people in the same manner that the Vietnamese people were resisting U.S. imperialist aggression—by violence, if necessary!" (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 4, 1969:15)

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

A press release from the Young Communist League of Canada, General Secretary Chuck McFadden, calls upon "progressive Canadian youth organizations to join it in forming local committees in the major centres in Canada for the release of the Black Panther Party and other young victims of U.S. Murder, Incorporated." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 24, 1970:15)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

The Communist Party of Canada demands the end to what they assert are "police killings of Black Panther Leaders."

"We Canadian Communists wish to express our solidarity with the just struggles of the Black people of the United States. . . . Demand that the United Nations Human Rights Commission investigate and call for world action against the criminal policy of genocide pursued in the U.S.A." signed, Central Executive Committee, Communist Party, Canada. (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 17, 1970:17)

OTHER INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS

The Panther's news coverage of international affairs has been generally confined to articles in support of the activities of what they call "revolutionary" or "liberation" movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Che Guevara's photo is usually incorporated in the masthead of the international news section. Photographs of Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse-

tung and Kim Il Sung have often been featured with articles supporting those Communist leaders who led revolutions in their respective countries.

Articles concerning revolutionary movements in Africa have also been featured, but as of June 30, 1970, no particular African revolutionary leader has been singled out for public praise.

Some examples of the international news interests highlighted in *The Black Panther* are:

CUBA

An article entitled "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" revealed that George Mason Murray and Captain (Joudon) Ford of the New York Panthers had recently visited Cuba. They were reportedly received "as representatives of the Black Nation which is imprisoned in America, and they, the brothers and sisters in Cuba say that they will give us any assistance. That us is not limited to we, the Black Panther Party, but we Black Revolutionaries who are fighting this racist imperialist faggot honkey. They realize that we are fighting a powerful force and they admire our courage and strength."

In a speech to "a crowd of over 750 Panthers at the Bobby Hutton Memorial Park in West Oakland," Murray reported on his trip to Cuba and "relayed the goodwill of the worldwide revolutionary movement to the Black Panthers." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 14, 1968: 5)

TANZANIA

In January 1969 one article boasted that "Peking Builds Largest Tanzania Textile Mill." It praised the Communist Chinese contribution and boasted that such projects "will continue to be attractive to the African leaders, who see the Chinese actually demonstrating the devotion, hard work which everybody says is necessary but is very seldom found in practice." (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 15, 1969: 3)

MOZAMBIQUE

In an article entitled: "Mozambique Guerrillas Determined to Carry Armed Struggle Through To End," the Panthers report that Mozambique guerrilla fighters "have firm conviction in the truth expounded by Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 6, 1969: 9)

"Rebellion in Angola—Portuguese Tyranny Has Lasted 500 Years," by Alice Robert and Don Barnett, is a review of the growth of 8 years of "armed struggle initiated by the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola" (MPLA). It stated that wars "of national liberation, such as that occurring in Angola, are part of the world revolution against colonialism and imperialism," and called for assistance to such "liberation movements of Southern Africa," to be made through the African Relief Services Committee.

The African Relief Services Committee was reportedly established to provide aid for national liberation movements in Southern Africa. It claimed to have "already sent valuable supplies of clothing and technical equipment to MPLA and the people in semi-liberated areas of Angola." The article revealed that "an embryo branch has been estab-

lished in the Bay area of California and individual members are attempting to set up other branches in Seattle, Eugene, Los Angeles and Pennsylvania."

"Universities Belong to the People" was datelined Peking, May 24, (Hsinhua). In that article Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist News Agency, commented favorably on student strikes and demonstrations in seven South American countries. (*The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969: 15, 17)

"People Struggle in South Africa," by Sam Mhlongo, is an article which called for a "victorious revolution under a marxist leadership in South Africa." (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969: 4, 17)

Two short stories are reprinted from SECHABA. They are written by Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the African National Congress in South Africa, and concern French-South African friendship.

"One of the most dangerous conspiracies in Africa today against the National Liberation Movement and the Security of Independent African States is the diplomatic, economic, political and military cooperation between France and the racist regime of South Africa."

"The Paris-Pretoria axis is an important intregal [sic] part of the conspiracy of the Western powers, the United States, Britain, Portugal and West Germany, to suppress the National Liberation Movement and subvert African political and economic independence."

"The time has come for all those who have the interest of the African Revolution at heart to indict and condemn France for her criminal complicity with the white racist regime of South Africa. The French progressive forces we have no doubt will join us in our struggle against French imperialist intrigues in South Africa and Africa." The author complains of an arms agreement between France and South Africa. (excerpts from both articles) (*The Black Panther*, Dec. 27, 1969: 12)

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

"British Police Brutality" is the title of an article which charged the police in London with a "brutal fascist assault" on Calvin B. St. Louis, a Caribbean worker who was arrested and charged with "misbehaviour or disorderly behaviour" in the offices of a travel agent. (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969: 17)

Three articles are devoted to agitation in Sweden and Denmark in support of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the Black Panther Party.

One of the articles reported that Connie Matthews, a representative of the Black Panther Party, told a demonstration which was arranged in Denmark by the Danish Left Wing Socialist Party, and the Danish Vietnam Committee, that "the struggle of the Vietnamese people is a support for the struggle of the American Negroes." She stated, both "are fighting against imperialism." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969: 9)

The Executive Committee of the Left Wing Socialist Party of Denmark expressed "complete solidarity with and support to" the Panthers' efforts to "create a United Front Against Fascism in the USA." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969: 17)

MEXICO

"Mexican Political Activity—Prison Style" is an article concerning and supporting the behavior of persons who were arrested during "violent" student rebellions during the summer and autumn of 1968. Those arrested were characterized as "political prisoners" who were sent to Lecumberri Prison. The article is critical of authorities because they used force to bring under control a demonstration in prison by these same "political prisoners." (*The Black Panthers*, July 19, 1969:6)

LATIN AMERICA

According to an article entitled "Che's Successor," Douglas Bravo, a Venezuelan, has "emerged as the leading Communist guerrilla in Latin America, and Fidel Castro's newest revolutionary leader." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 2, 1969:8)

An LNS report claimed that the Bolivian Army of National Liberation is active and "solidly maintained in its bases despite recent arrests and weapons seizures" by the government. (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 27, 1969:14)

An article reprinted from *Monthly Review* carried a manifesto which outlined "the aims and programs" of one of the two underground organizations in Brazil which were responsible for the capture of U.S. Ambassador Elbrick. The article is attributed to Carlos Marighella, leader of Acao Libertadora Nacional (National Liberating Action) was was formerly "a leading member of the Communist Party of Brazil." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 8, 1969:14, 15)

HAITI

"In Haiti Black GI's Used As Pawns by U.S." concerns charges by the Duvalier government that a "small group of 'communists' are trying to disturb the order of the country." The article also points to "the presence in Haiti of a technical mission composed exclusively of Black Americans who give courses on anti-communism and teach repressive methods to officers and selected soldiers inside the Dasernes Dessalines, (the Haitian government fortress)." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969)

"Green Berets in Haiti" is the headline over an unsigned reprinted article from *Liberation* magazine. It quotes Leslie Jean, the Haitian delegate to the World Assembly for Peace held in Berlin as stating in an interview that there are American Special Forces and regular troops, mostly Negroes, helping with the training of Haitian government forces. U.S. Army officers, Jean says, have "led the manhunt against the revolutionaries," and "Green Beret personnel disguised as tourists . . . were sent to villages to act as spies." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 23, 1969:20)

CHINA

Communist China's views and positions on various questions were often covered in *The Black Panther*. Many of these items are included in the section on Direct Quotations from Communist Chinese leaders. However, in early 1969, the Panthers appeared to be supporting China in the Sino-Soviet conflict. In the March 23, 1969 issue of the publica-

tion, five pages were devoted to the Chinese Communists and Mao Tse-tung. They printed Chinese denunciations of "Soviet Revisionists," and "Soviet Aggression." A photo of Chinese soldiers was printed with the caption: "We will never allow Soviet Revisionists to invade and occupy China's sacred territory—Chenpao Island."

The feature centerfold article in the same issue proclaimed: "Armed With Mao's Thought, Chinese People Are Invincible—Down With Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism!"

THAILAND

The Panthers published an article reporting on the liberation movement in Thailand which claimed that the Thai people "have chosen the road of armed struggle." They are, it stated, under the leadership of "the Communist Party of Thailand which is grasping Mao Tse-tung's thought, the highest peak of Marxism-Leninism in our era." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 6, 1969:18)

VIETNAM

Panther coverage of the Vietnam war consistently has presented a pro-Viet Cong, North Vietnam bias. The following examples are typical of the material concerning Vietnam which has appeared in *The Black Panther*:

"HOTLINE . . .," by Chan Hang presents the Viet Cong view of the war in Vietnam and events leading to the formation of the NLF in 1959. (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 16, 1968:5)

An article entitled "Hanoi Hannah," datelined Hanoi, is a short complimentary biography of the Vietnamese woman who broadcasts from North Vietnam to American troops, trying to convince them to leave Vietnam. (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 17, 1969:11)

"Power To The People of Viet Nam," by Larry Jones, presents the view that the war in Vietnam is "a struggle for liberation; revolutionary war opposite the largest and most repressive monopoly system in the world—the United States." Jones declared that the "U.S. cannot contain the Vietnamese revolution," which, he said, "shall be exported throughout non-communist Asia without a single Viet Cong going beyond the boundaries of his own soils." The war in Vietnam "and all contemporary socialist revolutions are marked with internationalism," according to the article. (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969:16)

"Haitian Students Support NLF" is an article translated for the Black Panther Party by "Rachael Wright, the daughter of the author Richard Wright." It is an expression of support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam issued on "behalf of the Patriotic Haitian Students of France student group which is part of F.E.H.E. (Federation of Haitian Students in Europe)." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969:18)

"NLF Vietnam" is the title of a lengthy unattributed article which traced the development of the "National Front for Liberation of South Viet Nam." It denounced the United States as "Yankee imperialists" who "are waging a war of aggression, the largest in the world today and the cruelest in history." A pro-NLF bias can be seen

in such statements as "The front undertook the historic mission of carrying forward the revolution, in order to free South Viet Nam from the yoke of the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 16, 1969:8,9)

The late Ho Chi Minh's statement of July 20, 1969, deriding President Nixon's announcement of pulling out 25,000 troops from Vietnam, is carried under the heading, "Appeal of President Ho Chi Minh." An editor's note says: "The following document has been widely distributed in Vietnam. As the most important recent statement issued by the North Vietnamese leadership, it is being carefully read and discussed by local study groups." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 23, 1969:19)

A long article headlined "U.S. Pilots Captured in Vietnam—THEIR MESSAGES TO WASHINGTON," purportedly consists of interviews with American POWs in North Vietnam. Navy Lt. Cmdr. Allen Stratton is named, otherwise the men are referred to only by initials: Capt. L. P., Commander B. N., Air Force Lieutenant V. R., Navy Lt. Cmdr. C. X., Air Force Lt. Col. P. L., Navy Capt. R. C., Navy Lieutenant K., Captain B., Capt. H. P. The writer, Thanh Tin, has the men making anti-American statements and says they drew anti-American cartoons. [The language the writer ascribes to the American men is stilted English and it seems unlikely that it would have been written or spoken as it is by any American.] (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 15, 1969:6,7)

The centerfold of the Nov. 29, 1969 issue is devoted to two articles by North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung. One of the articles advocates intervention by Communist nations in Vietnam: "All the socialist countries should pool their strength and come to the aid of the fighting Vietnamese people and should foil the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Viet Nam by joint efforts."

"Now is not the time for the socialist countries to stand by idly, only extending political support to the people of Viet Nam. They should take more positive actions to aid the Vietnamese people. In the light of the situation where the U.S. imperialists are extending aggression to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by bringing in troops of their satellite countries and puppets, every socialist country must dispatch volunteers to Viet Nam to defend the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp and preserve peace in Asia and the world. This is the internationalist duty of the socialist countries to the fraternal people of Viet Nam. No one is entitled to object the socialist countries sending volunteers to Viet Nam." (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 29, 1969)

ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE

On July 20, 1967, *The Black Panther* published the text of the Communist Chinese Government's statement in which it declared its "firm support for the Arab People's fight against U.S.-Israeli aggression." The statement was reprinted from the June 9, 1967 issue of *Peking Review* [an organ of the Chinese Communists which is printed in English and distributed through Guozi Shudian in Peking, China].

In its November 16, 1968 issue, the Panthers published another article which presented the Communist Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung's view of the Arab-Israeli dispute, termed Israel the aggressor, and condemned what Mao called the U.S.-Israeli link. [Note: see also section on Panthers' Anti-Zionist campaign.]

ANTI-ZIONISM

In the period beginning June 1, 1969, and ending May 9, 1970, *The Black Panther* published 49 issues of its publication, 27 of which carried articles denouncing Israel and Zionism, while declaring Black Panther Party support for the Arab guerrilla organization, Al Fatah,²⁸ and its leader Yasser²⁹ Arafat.

The Panthers' emphasis of its public support for Al Fatah and its opposition to Israel and Zionism appear to have been initiated in the July 26, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*. At that time, the BPP also announced that its Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, had traveled to Algiers at the invitation of the Algerian Government to attend the Pan-African Cultural Festival being held in Algiers.

Cleaver and a delegation of Black Panthers were reportedly given a "Revolutionary heroes" welcome by hundreds of Arabs and Algerians who "filled the streets chanting 'All Power to the People!' Al Fatah will win!"

Cleaver and several Panthers were accompanied by officials of Al Fatah and other African officials. They visited Al Fatah headquarters where Cleaver addressed the people gathered there. In his remarks the Panther leader reportedly charged that the United States and the "Zionist" regime had usurped the lands of the Palestinian people. "We recognize," Cleaver stated, "that the Jewish people have suffered, but this suffering should not be used to justify suffering by Arab people now!"

A second article in that issue of the publication claimed that the heroic Palestinian women had made important contributions to the "struggle against U.S.-Israeli aggression and for national liberation." These "contributions" consisted of recruiting actions, logistic and military support, and the blowing up of an Israeli tank.

The Panthers' anti-Zionist crusade gained impetus as its August 9, 1969 issue carried a full-page article entitled "Al Fath Speaks." The article is attributed to *Free Palestine* and contains a photograph of a man identified as Yasser Arafat, guerrilla leader, and some Palestinian children. It is the text of an interview given to *Free Palestine* in Canada by a representative of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Al Fatah. The article expressed approval of Al Fatah and claimed that the organization was only fighting against "foreign racist Zionist existence." The guerrilla spokesman asserted that a peaceful solution to the situation between the Israelis and the Arabs was unlikely because of the nature of Zionism. He said that it is impossible "to come to grips with Zionism except through the pursuit of violence."

Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg, describing himself as a "Jew," a "Rabbi" and a Panther supporter, in a letter to *The Black Panther*, August 9, 1969, expressed his dismay at the report of the interview given in Algiers by Eldridge Cleaver. He noted that Cleaver's statements, which were widely quoted in the news media, supported the Arab commando movement and made common cause with Al Fatah.

²⁸ Also spelled "Fateh," "Fath," and "Fat'h."

²⁹ Also spelled "Yassar."

The rabbi noted that the guerrilla movement's announced objective was the destruction of the State of Israel and its inhabitants of more than two million Jews. He asked Panther Chairman Bobby Seale for a comprehensive reply. None was published in *The Black Panther*.

In its continuing attack against Israel the August 23, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* carried an artistic presentation of an article—a treatment apparently used for only specially featured subjects—entitled “Al Fath.” It concerned the press conference held the second day of the Pan African Cultural Festival held in Algiers, July 21–August 1, 1969. Among those reportedly on hand were four members of the Black Panther Party Central Committee. The second question addressed to the Al Fatah delegation was, “What is your attitude toward the Black Panther Party?” Al Fatah replied: “We support them absolutely! And revolutionaries all over the world. We see our battle as one and the same—a fight against imperialism and capitalism—and that fight can't be divided.”

The Black Panther of August 30 carried an article by its field marshal Don Cox entitled “Zionism (Kosher Nationalism) + Imperialism = Fascism.” It denounced Israel as a “Zionist fascist” state and declared it to be a “puppet and lackey of the imperialist and must be smashed.” Cox called for a “victory to Al-Fath.” This article which comprised a full page was repeated in the January 3, 1970 issue of the Panther publication.

An article “Zionist Menace” charges Israeli leaders with responsibility for the prolongation and intensification of the Middle East crisis. (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 13, 1969)

Pyongyang, North Korea, was also the site of another meeting of an international organization which received a delegation of Black Panthers. Eldridge Cleaver and Byron Booth attended the International Conference on Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression.

In an address to that conference on September 22, 1969, Cleaver declared that the revolutionary forces inside the United States urgently desire the closest possible working relationship with what he called “our comrades” around the world so that together “we can program the destruction of the enemy.” According to Cleaver, the Black Panther Party fully agreed with the theme of the conference—that the task before them was the total annihilation of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. He also stated: “The U.S. imperialist aggressors must cease their role of merchants of death and destruction who are guilty of financing and arming and protecting the arrogant, nazi-like, Zionist landgrabbers, who have usurped and plundered the Fatherland of the Palestinian people.”

That article was highlighted by a photograph of Cleaver surrounded by 12 identical photographs of Kim Il Sung, the Premier of Communist North Korea. (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 25, 1969)

One of the declarations to come out of this conference was critical of Israel while resolutely supporting the peoples of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan against the U.S. imperialism and “its lackeys, the Israeli aggressors.” It also declared that “the progressive journalists must struggle resolutely against Zionist influence in capitalist press since this influence reflects the ideology and policy of the imperialist reactionaries.”

In its November 1, 1969 issue the Panthers reiterated their support of the terrorist guerrilla organization "Fat'h" (Al Fatah). It declared: "The BPP supports Fat'h and the Palestinian people in regaining their occupied territory." It then demanded that "imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism along with imperialism's flunkey's and bootlickers the Zionist state of Israel," must be smashed wherever it [imperialism] and they (flunkeys and bootlickers) are found. "We not only say that what the Zionist state of Israel is doing to the Palestinian people can be equated to what the Nazis of Germany did to the Jews, we also equate this to what the American pioneers did to the Indians." They add, "the struggle in the Arab world at this time is centered around the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab world against the Zionist state of Israel."

A message from Yasser Arafat, head of Al Fatah, was published in the Dec. 20, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*. He explained the position of "Al Fatah" as involved in the people's struggle against imperialism, his main enemy the Zionists.

According to an article in the January 24, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther* entitled, "Paper Presented by Supporters of The Popular Front For the Liberation of Palestine," the PFLP was formed because of its supporters' belief that without a popular armed struggle—with an ideological base—Palestine would never be liberated. It revealed that the PFLP's political program calls for the Arab masses to be "continually reminded" that their struggle is against more than just Israel. They are told that the struggle also extends to what they call "the racist Zionist movement and its imperialist supporters and the Arab reactionaries that carry their program." The Arab masses are reportedly informed that the struggle against Zionism "is an integral part of the world revolution against imperialism-capitalism."

"The PFLP identifies its struggle with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, the Angolans, the Cubans, the Afro-Americans, and the International Revolution," according to the above article.

The Black Panther on February 7, 1970, published an article in celebration of the fifth anniversary of Al Fat'h. It presented a history of that Arab guerrilla organization for the period 1965–1970 and stated one of the primary purposes of the Palestinian revolution of Al Fat'h was: "To personify the practical refusal of Zionist occupation, present the Palestinian cause to international public opinion as a cause of liberation rather than a problem of refugees or a problem concerning the diversion of the Jordan River waters and mobilize the masses and instigate them to armed revolutionary action." The aim of Al Fat'h, they said, was "to build up the spirit of passive resistance among the masses to prevent the merger of the people's life with the state of Zionist occupation."

In February 1970, David Hilliard made the following statement concerning the position of the Black Panther Party with respect to the "Palestinian struggle":

"As far as Panthers training in Palestine, that question can be taken up with our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. I know that in our last conversation three days ago he didn't mention anything to me about Panthers going to Palestine for any 'training'. I would like to say that Eldridge appeared at a conference with the leaders of

the Al Fat'h movement, Yassar Arafat, and out of Eldridge's speech came some very important statements that give clarity to our position in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian question. Of course, the BPP support the Palestinian people in their just struggle for self-determination. We take a revolutionary position in solidarity with the Arab people against Zionist expansionism. We don't have to go all the way to Palestine or Israel to condemn Zionism. You have your own Zionists right here in this country manifested in Julius J. Hoffman, the Zionist that sentenced our Chairman Bobby Seale to four years in jail for merely trying to stand up and represent himself in a fascist court.

"We recognize our role in this revolution and we're a part of the link in the chain of world-wide revolution and it's our duty to spell out the reactionaries from the revolutionaries. We want to make it very clear that we support all those who are actively engaged in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism, which means to us racial supremacy."

Hilliard also promised that Huey Newton would spell out the Black Panther Party's position with regard to the "Arab Israeli conflict, so people can get a more in-depth understanding on what our position is." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 17, 1970:4, 17)

The Black Panther on April 11, 1970 continued to repeat the charge that Israel is the "Zionist Puppet State of Imperialism" and that "U.S. imperialism is the most barbarous and shameless aggressor of modern times."

In the April 18, 1970 issue, an article entitled "Palestinian Scientists Produce, Develop Arms" was reportedly "Reprinted from FATEH 'A PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF JUCHE.'" It revealed that Palestinian scientists and arms experts from "Fateh" are now producing Anti-tank rockets, hand grenades and other light arms and ammunitions, according to an official "Fateh" spokesman. The spokesman praised the Palestinian scientists whose efforts, they claim, have materially assisted commando raids to such an extent that more than 500 operations were carried out by "Fateh" against the enemy last December alone.

The same issue on page 4 carried an article entitled "To be or not to be" by Elbert "Big Man" Howard. It denounced so-called "white revolutionaries" for failing to be in the streets of New Haven, Connecticut, demanding Bobby Seale and the New Haven Panthers be set free. The article then attacked white revolutionaries as white racists allied to Zionism. In conclusion, Howard stated "DOWN WITH ZIONISM/ DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS."

The April 25, 1970 issue under the international news carried an article by Connie Matthews entitled, "Will Racism or International Proletarian Solidarity Conquer?" The article is also critical of the "White Left" in this country, which it denounced as opportunistic and confused. According to the author, the white left is a form of "White egotism manifested in deep-rooted racism," because it finds it difficult to follow the leadership of black people.

Miss Matthews then claimed that: "The White Left in the U.S.A. is composed of a large percentage of the Jewish population. Before the Black Panther Party took its stand on the Palestinian peoples strug-

gle there were problems, but the support of the White Left for the Black Panther Party was concrete. However, since our stand the White Left started floundering and became undecided. This leaves us with no alternative than to believe that a large portion of these people are Zionists and are therefore racists."

The article blames "Zionist judges" for the imprisonment of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, BPP leaders, and claims the other Zionists in the Conspiracy 8 trial sacrificed Seale. "We once again condemn Zionism as a racist doctrine. We reiterate our solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation against Israeli imperialism and Zionism aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism. The one-eyed bandit of Tel Aviv, Moyshe Dyan, must be hunted down and killed."

UNITED NATIONS

On September 14, 1968, *The Black Panther* reported that the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party had contacted several delegations "of Revolutionary Countries" at the United Nations and had requested that United Nations observer teams be stationed "throughout the cities of America wherein black people are cooped up and concentrated in wretched ghettos." According to the Panthers, this "action is necessary because the racist power structure of this imperialist country is preparing to unleash a war of genocide against her black colonial subjects." They also stated that black people "are determined to resist this aggression by any means necessary, including revolutionary armed struggle. The hour of showdown for racist-imperialist America has dawned. The case of Huey P. Newton will be the spark that will set this showdown in motion."

This statement was dated July 24, 1968. It was accompanied by a photograph of Panthers standing in front of the United Nations.

VII. "What We Want—What We Believe"—the Panthers' Formal Platform and Program

THE TEN POINT PROGRAM

The Black Panther Party's Formal Platform and Program was adopted in October 1966. It is a 10-point document entitled "What We Want—What We Believe." Each of the 10 demands is followed by a paragraph stating "We Believe." The platform has remained generally constant since it was first adopted in October 1966. However, in the July 5, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther*, point No. 3 was changed without comment or explanation.

Point No. 3 formerly stated: "We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community." It now declares: "We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community." On July 12, 1969, "What We Want" was highlighted through the use of cartoons. Each demand was used as a caption to a cartoon attributed to "Teemer." Reproductions of both formats appear on pages 81 and 82.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The "Rules of the Black Panther Party" originally numbered 10. They were published in *The Black Panther* and were preceded with

the warning that every "member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY . . . must abide by these rules as functional members of this party."

In its January 4, 1969, issue 16 new rules were added, and thereafter the 26 Rules of The Black Panther Party were published in each issue of the newspaper, with the caution that every member of the party must know the rules "verbatim [sic] by heart," apply them daily, and report any violation to the leadership.

The "Rules" are reproduced on page 83.

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



Huey P. Newton Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the 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 Community.

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 was 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 Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its 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 a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

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.





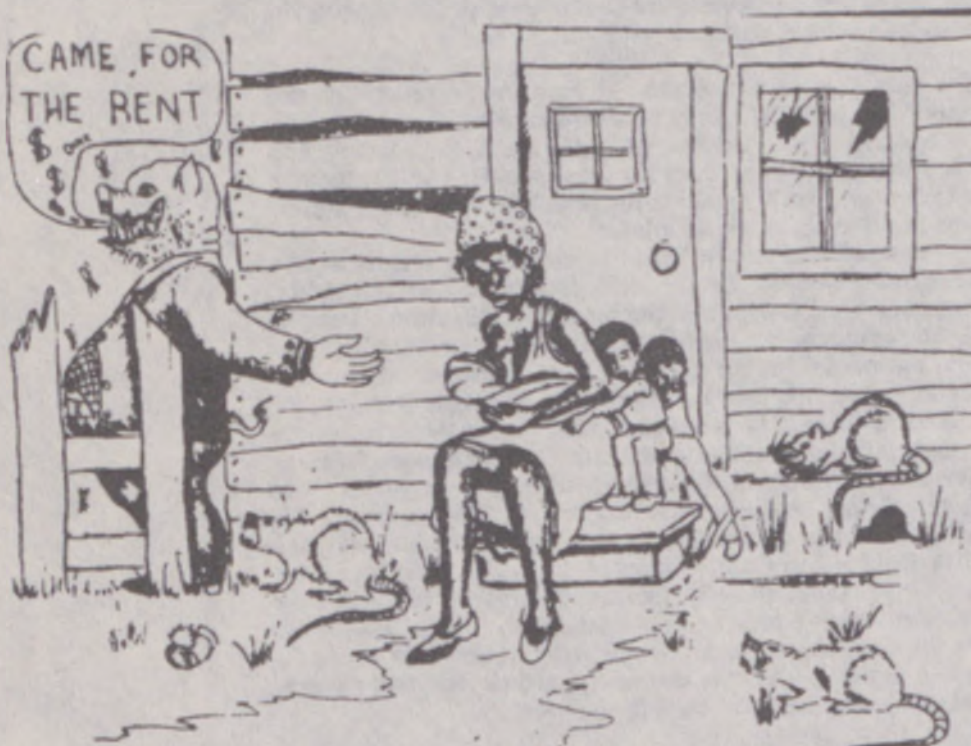
1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.



2. We want full employment for our people.



3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.



4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.



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.

WHAT WE WANT



6. We want all black men exempt from military service.



7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.



8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.



9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

1048 PERALTA ST.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

PETITION:FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF HUEY NEWTON

PETITION NO. _____

HAVE THIS PETITION SIGNED BY
30 PEOPLE AND RETURN TO :

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94607



SEND DONATIONS
c/o HUEY P. NEWTON BAIL FUND
via CHARLES R. GARRY
341 MARKET STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94105



WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, DEMAND THAT HUEY P. NEWTON BE
RELEASED FROM PRISON AND BE PERMITTED TO BE RELEASED ON
HIS OWN RECOGNIZANCE. HE HAS ALREADY SERVED MORE TIME
THAN OTHERS WHO ARE REALLY GUILTY.

	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE /ZIP	COUNTRY
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"8 POINTS OF ATTENTION" "3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE"

The Panthers' "8 Points of Attention" and "3 Main Rules of Discipline" were initially published in the January 4, 1969, issue of *The Black Panther*. It was a regular feature of the publication until it was dropped without comment in the August 30, 1969, issue.

The 8 Points of Attention and 3 Main Rules of Discipline were direct quotations from the Chinese Communist "little red book" entitled, "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung," and appear on pages 256, 266 of the book under the heading "Discipline." They call on the Panthers, or the Chinese Communists—as the case may be—to:

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives, do not ill treat them.

Three Main Rules of Discipline

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the 'poor and oppressed' masses.
3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

Three items have been changed in the Panther version. In 8 Points of Attention numbers 6 and 8 have been altered. Mao states in No. 6, "Do not damage crops." The Panthers state, "Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses." Mao's point 8 states, "Do not ill-treat captives." The Panthers state, "If we ever have to take captives, do not ill treat them." Mao's third rule of discipline states, "Turn in everything captured." The Panthers state, "Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy."

THE "REVOLUTIONARY PARTY STRUCTURE"

The Panthers claim that there has been a failure to assess the true significance of the Panthers, and that this failure "stems largely from the media's portrayal—including the radical press—of the Panthers as a series of shootouts, charismatic leaders and rallies with lots of shouting 'right on!'" The Panthers complain that the media has given little or no attention "to the more significant mass work, ideological education and careful building of a revolutionary structure." They also point out that the party must be studied at the "local level" in order to understand its true "revolutionary party structure."

The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party was chosen by the Panthers as an example for study at the "local level." The article reveals that it was "founded in June 1968 by four local black revolutionaries—Jewel Cook, Bobby Rush, Fred Hampton and Billy Brooks."

It sets out "at once to implement the National Party's analysis and program; America is imperialist and racist; the black community is

an internal colony; the revolutionary struggle of the black colony will be the vanguard of the class struggle; and struggle requires the leadership of an armed revolutionary party."

The Panthers admit that the Illinois leadership made mistakes at first. However, they point out that the group "sat down for two weeks of study and reevaluation. In their eventual formulation of a class analysis they were assisted by two factors: first, the presence of Ray 'Massai' Hewitt from the National Staff and second their practical experience with the Young Patriots."

"In the synthesis of the Cuban and Chinese experience," the Panthers claim that they "are neither a political party with a subordinate military arm nor a partyless military force." Rather, they boast of being "simultaneously a military and political organization with leaders holding both military and political ranks. Section leaders are sergeants and subsection leaders are corporals. Branches are directed by captains and lieutenants. The State Central Staff—deputy ministers and field secretaries—are majors. Some officers are field (or line) officers; others are operations officers."

"The requirements of individual Party members are demanding. Each member must attend three two hour political orientation classes a week, (2) read two hours a day to keep abreast of current developments, (3) sell at least 75 Panthers newspapers a week (many members sell 400 a week), (4) own and be proficient in the use of two guns, (5) obey all Party rules, and (6) do constant political work among the masses. Party members who do not fulfill these requirements are expelled."

The principal political programs are the "free breakfast program, free health clinics, liberation schools and a community police patrol." However, the Panthers cautioned: "We move people at the level they can go. We don't intend to skip any stages. 'Like the guerrilla who carefully stages his battles so as to win every one so the Panthers stage their political programs.' The police patrol will begin 'only when the community is armed and a gun sticks out of every window every time the pigs stop someone in the community.'" (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1969:4)

VIII. Activities

Four "key" programs which the Panthers have emphasized and encouraged each chapter to initiate are: free breakfast for children programs; liberation schools; free health clinics or medical cadres; and the circulation of petitions calling for community control of police. (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 3, 1969:11)

The free breakfast programs and the liberation schools were directed primarily at the children in the black communities.

THE BREAKFAST PROGRAM—"THE YOUTH WE ARE FEEDING WILL SURELY FEED THE REVOLUTION"

On October 26, 1968, *The Black Panther* first revealed the party's intention to institute a free breakfast program. It called for volunteers in the Berkeley, Calif., area who would be willing to help prepare and serve breakfast to children at the Concord Baptist Church. They were directed to contact Betty Carter at 845-0103 or at Panthers national headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley.

In its January 4, 1969 issue the Panthers claimed to be distributing breakfast daily at the Concord Baptist Church, and in addition, reported that a program had been started in San Francisco at the Fillmore Auditorium.

In an appeal for donations of time, money or food for the breakfast program at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Oakland, Calif., the Panthers asserted that donations were "tax exempt" and stated that the "National Advisory Cabinet of the Black Panther Party is working for and with" the St. Augustine's program. (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 15, 1969:7)

The Black Panther reported on March 16, 1969 that a new group was being organized under the leadership of Donald Freed to "help launch a hot breakfast for children project." It was to be known as the "Los Angeles Friends of the Black Panthers." A meeting to discuss the project was reportedly scheduled for March 8 at the Unitarian Church Severance Room, 8th & Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles.

The Panthers boasted of the benefits to the children who participated in the breakfast program. They also revealed some ways in which the party profited from the program. For example, Janet Cyril of the Harlem branch stated that "The Black Panther Party is here to serve the people by putting this socialistic program into practice." (*The Black Panther*, June 7, 1969:20)

In a report on a program which had started in Los Angeles on April 29, 1969, the Southern California chapter claimed that the children "really relate to the breakfast and to the Party. They want to know all about Huey, Eldridge, Bunchy, and John, and the Party and its programs." The children, they declared, "wear our buttons and ask about the daily paper."

In conclusion, Panthers expressed the belief that: "THE YOUTH WE ARE FEEDING WILL SURELY FEED THE REVOLUTION." (*The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969:3)

Glendora (Ife) Massey, lieutenant of information of the Peekskill, N.Y., branch of the party stated in a report concerning the free breakfast program which had been started by that branch that the children had been presented with "Free the Panthers" buttons. The children were also given "revolutionary posters" entitled "Free Huey, In Revolution One Lives and One Dies, and Off the Pig," according to the Panther official. (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969:15)

Objections to the Panther breakfast program were revealed in the Panthers' complaints about church officials who refused to permit the use of church facilities, and local merchants who refused to donate food or money to the program.

In other instances the Panthers reported that the breakfast program was being served in facilities provided by local churches. Occasionally the permission was withdrawn. One such example occurred in the Harlem branch of the BPP:

Beth Bragg revealed that Reverend Watts, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church in Harlem objected to the Panthers' posters announcing the breakfast program. He reportedly told them: "'I don't want anything outside the church saying Black Panther Party on it.'" (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969) On August 16 she reported that the breakfast program had been held at the Friendship Baptist

Church until the close of the school year. It would continue at the All Saints Catholic Church through the summer months, she stated. (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 16, 1969:18)

The John Savage Memorial Breakfast Program which had been held at Christ the King Catholic Church, 32nd and Imperial Ave., in San Diego, was temporarily cancelled due to a shooting incident which occurred between members of US and two Panthers. The Panthers reported that the priest at the church "heard about the shooting and decided to cancel the use of the church's facilities for two weeks." (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969:15) (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 30, 1969:15)

In Illinois, Panther Lieutenant Sam Lax reported that the free breakfast program at the Trinity Lutheran Church in Chicago had been discontinued when the board of directors of the Lutheran organization, in a dispute with the Panthers over points 6 and 8 of the Panthers program (exemptions from military service for all blacks, and amnesty from all jails, respectively), ordered the Panthers to stop using the church facilities. (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 6, 1969:7)

In Seattle, Panther leader Elmer Dixon complained that the Panthers were refused permission to use the facilities of the Madrona Presbyterian Church, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Good Shepherd Lutheran Church, Grace Methodist Church and the Cherry Hill Baptist Church, for the Panther breakfast program. (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 15, 1969)

The Panthers' reaction to refusals by businessmen to donate to the breakfast program can be seen in the following items:

When Safeway Stores in the West Bay area in Oakland, Calif., refused to donate food items valued at \$100 each week to the Panthers' Free Breakfast Program, the Panthers called for a boycott of Safeway stores. (*The Black Panther*, June 14, 1969:3)

The Boston Chapter, BPP, listed businesses which they claimed had refused "to feed the children of the community." According to the Boston Panthers, these "businesses are obviously not working in the interest of the people, but are operating in the interest of profit-making. If the businesses cannot function in the interest of the people, then they must not function at all." (*The Black Panther*, July 19, 1969:16)

The Philadelphia, Pa., chapter of the BPP started its free breakfast program on Monday, July 7, 1969, and claims to have fed approximately 70 children. The Philadelphia Panthers also listed some businesses which they claim refused to contribute to the program and asked readers not to buy at the places listed. They also credit several firms with having "aided the people in this humanistic revolutionary endeavor." (Ibid.)

In conjunction with its free breakfast program, the Philadelphia BPP initiated a free clothing program run by Sister Barbara Cox. Reporting little success in getting merchants to donate free clothing to the program, Lynn Smith writes that "the people will TAKE what is theirs." (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 18, 1969:8)

Beth Mitchell reported in the August 16, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* that A & P supermarkets had refused to donate to the Panthers' free breakfast program. She called upon the people of Harlem to "demand" that A & P donate to the Panther program. (Ibid: 18)

The Rockford, Ill., branch, BPP, claims to have fed more than 1,500 children in its free breakfast program, despite reluctance of some merchants to cooperate. Willie T. Kent (Monk Teba) reported that O'Donnell's Supermarket said it might have to discontinue its contribution of about \$10 a week in food but did not when "we showed him very clearly that we had the support of many people who spent 25-35 dollars per person in his store every week." He said another store, American Supermarket, refused outright to donate. (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 29, 1969:15)

Throughout the spring and summer months, *The Black Panther* published notices of various chapters or branches concerning intentions to initiate a breakfast program, or claiming to have such a program in operation.

The Black Panther in its Nov. 15, 1969 issue published the following list of 23 chapters and branches with breakfast programs:

National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif., 94705.

Off: 451-845-0103/4.

San Francisco, Calif., 94115, 1336 Fillmore St. Off: 451-922-0095.

Richmond, Calif., 94801, 520 Bissell St. Off: 451-237-6305.

Oakland, Calif., 94621, 7304 East 14th St. Off: 451-568-3334.

Los Angeles, Calif., 90011, 4115 So. Central Ave. Off: 213-235-4127.

Los Angeles, Calif., Watts Office. Off: 213-564-7494.

San Diego, Calif., 92102, 295 1/2 Imperial. Off: 714-233-1470.

Seattle, Wash., 98122, 1127 1/2 34th St. Off: 206-323-6280.

Eugene, Oreg., 97401, 1671 Pearl. Off: 503-342-7276.

Denver, Colo., 80205, 2834 Lafayette. Off: 303-255-8486.

Indianapolis, Ind., 46205, 113 W. 30th St. Off: 317-924-5619.

Kansas City, Mo., 64128, 2905 Prospect. Off: 816-924-3206.

Milwaukee, Wis., 53212, 2121 N. 1st St. Off: 414-372-8584.

Chicago, Ill., 60612, 2350 W. Madison. Off: 312-243-8276.

Boston, Mass., 02119, 375 Bluehill Ave. Off: 617-427-9633, 617-442-0100.

New York, N.Y., 10027, 2026 Seventh Ave. Off: 212-864-8951, 212-666-3603.

Queens, N.Y., 11438, 108-60 N.Y. Blvd. Off: 212-523-9717.

Peekskill, N.Y., 10566, 22 Nelson Ave. Off: 914-737-9768.

White Plains, N.Y., 10601, 159 So. Lexington. Off: 914-761-0594.

Brooklyn, N.Y., 11212, 180 Sutter Ave. Off: 212-342-2791.

Philadelphia, Pa., 19121, 1928 Columbia. Off: 215-236-3353, 215-236-3358.

Baltimore, Md., 21213, 1209 N. Eden St. Off: 301-885-6853.

New Haven, Conn., 35 Syldan. Off: 203-562-7463.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

The Black Panther Party announced that its free breakfast for school children would be replaced with liberation schools during the summer months. The first school had reportedly started in Berkeley, Calif., on June 25, 1969. According to an article entitled "Liberation Means Freedom," the liberation school is the "second of many socialistic and educational programs that will be implemented by the Black Panther Party to meet the needs of the people."

In addition to their plans to conduct schools for black children, the party also announced that "Community Political Education classes

will also be starting in the evening for adults." (*The Black Panther*, July 5, 1969:3)

Throughout the summer months of 1969, various chapters reported on the progress of their particular "Liberation School". The following is an example of the curriculum set forth by several of the chapters:

Monday is Revolutionary History Day
 Tuesday is Revolutionary Culture Day
 Wednesday is Current Events Day
 Thursday is Movie Day
 Friday is Field Trip Day

In an article entitled "The Youth Make the Revolution," Val Douglas, an assistant teacher at the Black Panthers' liberation school in Berkeley, Calif., stated that the children attending the school range in ages from 2 to 13 years. They begin the day with breakfast, she said.

Miss Douglas also reported that they take the children outside where they "march to songs that tell of the pigs running amuck and Panthers fighting for the people."

Five photographs of activity at the school accompany the article. There is also included the following quotation from Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung:

"The Young People Are the Most Active and Vital Force in Society. They Are the Most Eager to Learn and the Least Conservative in Their Thinking.'" (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969:12, 13)

FREE HEALTH CLINICS

Throughout 1969 the Panthers' program for free health clinics appeared to receive little support. Only three chapters announced the opening of health clinics.

"Kansas City B.P.P. Provides Free Medical Care," is the title of an article in which the Kansas City Chapter of the Black Panther announced the "opening of its FREE HEALTH CLINIC." It will be "dedicated in the name of 'THE BOBBY HUTTON COMMUNITY CLINIC,'" and is seeking donations of money, medical supplies and professional services from doctors and nurses.

Further information may be obtained at the Black Panther Office at 2905 Prospect Ave., Kansas City, Mo. or by calling 924-3206. (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 16, 1969:13)

It again announced the opening of the same health clinic in October 1969 and noted, "We are presently equipped with the basic medical equipment necessary . . . more equipment is being contributed daily," according to the report. (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 25, 1969:4)

The Illinois chapter of the BPP announced that it was establishing a Free People's Medical Clinic at the chapter offices, 2350 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 11, 1969:12)

The Seattle, Washington chapter announced that it had opened the Sidney Miller Free Medical Clinic on Dec. 1, 1969, and that it was located at 20th and Spruce Sts., Seattle. (*The Black Panther*, Dec. 6, 1969: Dec. 12, 1969:7)

UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The Black Panther Party's call to a Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism was published in May 1969.

The conference was scheduled to be held July 18-21, 1969 at Oakland, Calif.; its headquarters were the Panthers' national office at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif.; the call demanded—

freedom of all political prisoners and political freedom for all proletarian type organizations, the freedom and political work of all students, farmer peasants, workers, and the lumpen must be developed into a National force; a front which has a common revolutionary ideology and political program which answers the basic desires and need of all people in fascist, capitalistic, racist America. (*The Black Panther*, May 31, 1969:2)

Ray "Masai" Hewitt, reportedly "the man to do Cleaver's job while Eldridge is out of town," stated in an interview with the *Berkeley Barb*, reprinted in *The Black Panther*, that there were "only two requirements" for attendance at the conference. First, he said "you've got to be against Fascism," and second, he declared, "you can't be anti-communist." Masai also expressed the hope that one of the major results of the conference would be "community control of the police." That goal, he announced, would begin with "the circulation of petitions based on this demand." (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969:16)

The petition statement calling for community control of police was repeated in several issues of *The Black Panther*. It is reproduced on page 96.

Some of the Panthers' efforts to organize the conference on the United Front Against Fascism was the subject of an article by Margrit Pittman, which *The Black Panther* reprinted from the July 5, 1969 issue of the *World Magazine* [a weekend feature of the Communist Party publication, *The Daily World* and *People's World*]. It was accompanied by a photograph of six men who were identified as Sam Napier, Don Cox, David Hilliard, Geronimo, Ray "Masai" Hewitt, and John Clarke.

The reporter for the Communist Party publication revealed that six "young black men came into our New York office" eager to talk about the United Front Against Fascism. She stated that all "six are leading members of the Black Panther Party, who devote their full time to 'the revolution'." They expressed the hope that the UFAF conference would unite "all radical and liberal elements." They "want to embrace all progressive elements," she reported, "all national group minorities."

The article also reported that the Panthers "are studying Georgi Dimitrov's essays and speeches on the United Front Against Fascism in the early 1930's and quote them liberally to make their points."

The few "non-Panthers" who were credited with having sponsored the original conference call included: "Tom Hayden, formerly SDS; Dr. Philip Shapiro, a Bay Area white psychiatrist and prominent member of the Medical Committee to Defend Human Rights; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *Sun Reporter*, the Bay Area's most

important black weekly, and attorneys Charles R. Garry and William Kunstler." By mid-June, the conference had the support of organizations which included "the Young Lords of Chicago, a group of Puerto Rican youths; Los Sietas de la Raza, Latinos from San Francisco's Mission District; Young Patriots, a Chicago white working class group composed mostly of refugees from Appalachia; and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America."³⁰

The Panthers also revealed the existence of a UFAF Labor Committee. It included: Kenny Horsten, member UAW #1364, Blaine Wishart, member Teamsters local; John Feit, member Butcher Workmen #203. (*The Black Panther*, July 12, 1969: 10)

The conference was held July 18–20, 1969, at the Oakland Auditorium and at Merritt College. Its keynote speaker was Herbert Aptheker, theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

In its coverage of the conference, *The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969, summarized and quoted in part the speeches of several persons including the following individuals:

Preacherman, field secretary of the Young Patriots

Jeff Jones, national interorganizational secretary of Students for a Democratic Society

William Kunstler, Panthers' attorney on the East Coast

Don Cox, field marshal of the Black Panther Party

Charles R. Garry, Panthers' attorney on the West Coast

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party

Elaine Brown, communications secretary of the Southern California chapter, BPP

Roberta Alexander, UFAF Women's Panel

Earl Neil, Panthers' religious adviser

Preacherman, field secretary of the Young Patriots, told the conference, "when we talk about freein' political prisoners . . . we are talking about concentration camps like Folsom Prison, San Quentin, Cook County Jail in Chicago and Statesville and we're talking about the Chairman of the Black Panther Party in Illinois, my brother, who was sent down the river for 2 to 5 years. . . .

"Free all political prisoners. . . . 'Now, what are we gonna do?' We said, 'We're gonna intensify the struggle,' ——— We also said, 'If Chairman Fred don't get sent down the river, if I get blowed away, or if I don't get blowed away, we still gonna intensify the struggle.'"

Jeff Jones, interorganizational secretary of SDS opened his speech with the slogan "Free all political prisoners." He then reminded the audience that "we as an organization of your revolutionaries, are trying to move the student movement." "Our program," he said, "is going to be to come back on the campuses this fall and hit them harder than they've ever been hit before." He said the starting date would be October 11 in Chicago, which was the scene of "our most militant confrontation with the pig power structure around the war" at the time of the Democratic Convention. "Now," he said, "there's eight revolutionaries on trial for organizing that demonstration."

According to the SDS leader, the—"struggle that is going to ultimately defeat the United States imperialism—is going to be an international struggle, its going to be an armed struggle. It's a struggle

³⁰ Communist Party, U.S.A., Youth group.

that's going to have to take place in the Third World against U.S. imperialism, and in the mother country against U.S. imperialism."

Attorney William Kunstler said he was "asked to talk about the right to self defense from a legal point of view." He pointed out that he was "not wholly a lawyer in the non-political sense" and so he would talk about self defense from two points of view, "legal and political."

Kunstler reminded the audience of the riots in Newark, N.J., in 1967. At that time, he said, in Plainfield, N.J.,—"some 40 Garrand M-1 rifles were found missing from the armory. The Governor of N.J., Richard Hughes, ordered the police to search every home in the central wards of Plainfield . . . to find those missing rifles. Three hundred state and city police broke into every black home in the central wards to try to find those guns. I'm happy to say that not a single gun was found."

Some weeks after the theft of the guns, Kunstler stated, a—"white policeman by the name of John Gleason moved into the central wards of Plainfield on a Saturday afternoon . . . and he shot a black man by the name of Bobby Lee Williams through the stomach. . . . Gleason began to retreat out of the ghetto. He was followed by a crowd of black men and women. And a block and a half past the intersection, he was stomped to death. In my opinion, he deserved that death. . . . The crowd, justifiably, without the necessity of trial and in the most dramatic way possible, stomped him to death. . . . The policeman, with the modern armory which he possesses . . . can be stopped in one way—if he knows that he might fall like Gleason. . . .

"There's one way to let him know that and that is to be in a position to retaliate.

"You must stand ready to defend yourselves. And if you are ready—I hope that you won't have to—but don't shrink if you have to, it is almost worse to be ready and able to defend yourself and freeze on the trigger when the time comes, because then you will have told the power structure that they need not fear you"

Don Cox, field marshal of the Black Panther Party, in his speech to the conference declared that "the only alternative to the violence perpetrated against the people by the fascist troops of finance capital, or slavery, is revolution."

He said that "Black People in general, may not relate to the word, or the definition of fascism as articulated by Dimitroff, but black people sure relate to the social practice of 400 years of brutality The Black Panther Party has a motto, it is a quote by Chairman Mao Tse Tung of the Chinese Communist Party, 'We are the advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war. In order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to pick up the gun.'"

Charles R. Garry, attorney for the Black Panther Party, addressed the conference on the work which had to be done by "we lawyers." Garry offered a correction to the UFAF's program which characterized the National Lawyers Guild as "revolutionary."

The NLG, he said, is not revolutionary, but they "are outstanding, courageous fighters for freedom. I want also to say that no revolution was ever carried on, no radical change was ever carried on in any country by lawyers. . . . You're going to have to depend upon your own

strength and your own contribution to the class struggle and the fight against fascism yourself. (applause) The lawyers will help. . . . There have been a great number of lawyers who have come to this conference from various parts of the United States. We don't even know just who they are. That's why Peter Frank and Robert Truehaft [sic]³¹ and others have issued an invitation to all lawyers, legal secretaries, law students and those who are closely identified in the defense of these political and oppressing matters to meet with us tomorrow morning, eleven o'clock, at Robert Truehaft's [sic] home. We hope to be able to work out a program that I want to talk to you about, and things to be done. . . . If we are going to have a United Front Against Fascism, then we have to get these judges, who were once liberals, and once were practicing attorneys and had some guts, to display that same force of independency on the bench.

"We hope to be able to in the next 60 days to be able to have seminars throughout the United States, to have lecturers and study courses for lawyers and law students.

"I want to tell you that I've been speaking throughout the country in the various law schools. The hope is great. These young law students . . . don't like the system And when those men and women become lawyers and become fighters in the same cause that we are fighting, some changes are going to take place. But in the meantime, we can't wait for that to happen because we've got to move and move now."

Bobby Seale in his closing speech to the conference declared that the "three days together is not the end of the struggle. This is just the beginning of what is to be done. . . ." The Panthers he said, have been accused of "being led by the American Communist Party. . . ." He compared the CP and the Panthers; charged that the Communist Party was attacked by a lying agent from the McCarthy era, and now the Black Panther Party has been attacked by a lying agent in the McClellan Era. We must define this period of time as The Antifascist Front Period, Seale said.

". . . We are going to wind this session up tonight with NATIONAL COMMITTEES (plural) to COMBAT FASCISM." There is, he said, the "need to parallel an American Liberation Front in America. . . . There needs to be an American Liberation Front composed of all the people And we are going to create and we are going to put one together . . . an American Liberation Front to combat the avaricious businessman, the demagogic politician and the fascist pig cops. . . ."

Seale also expressed the hope that people in the audience were beginning to fill out the forms for the National Committees to Combat Fascism. Each national committee, he said, should understand "the basic program first and foremost and primary—to begin to implement community control, (decentralization) of the police." According to the Panther chairman, he and Peter Frank and the Peace and Freedom Party first initiated the idea of community control of the police

³¹ Robert E. Truehaft was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Dickson P. Hill, Charles D. Blodgett and Jack Patten in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Dec. 2, 1953, Dec. 3, 1953, and June 1967, respectively. Mr. Truehaft appeared as a witness before that committee in 1953 and refused to answer questions concerning his Communist Party membership, basing his refusal on the protection of the fifth amendment. "Communist Legal Subversion, The Role of the Communist Lawyer," Report by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Feb. 16, 1959:68.

more than a year ago. In conclusion Seale promised: "We're going to fight some capitalism with some basic socialistic programs. Community control of Police." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969:4, 17)

Elaine Brown, communications secretary of Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, read a letter from Ericka Huggins to the UFAF conference. [Mrs. Huggins is in jail in New Haven, Conn., and is awaiting trial on charges of murder of a fellow Panther, Alex Rackley.] In her letter to the conference Mrs. Huggins declared:

"We need a revolution! . . . We need socialism in practice! . . . We need unity among oppressed people and an understanding of Marxist Leninist principles so that we may put our knowledge into revolutionary practice."

Roberta Alexander, UFAF Women's Panel, urged the women at the conference to "follow the example of the Vietnamese women. . . . We're going to go on the offensive," she stated, "and we're going to take an advanced position." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969:7)

Father Earl Neil, the Panther's so-called "religious adviser," addressed the conference on the subject of "Religion Versus Fascism." He charged the United States with being a "Fascist government" which had "used the church to teach its congregation, its people, what is moral and what is ethical according to Fascist and racist definitions." He told the conference: "We have to redefine what is moral and redefine what is ethical." "What is necessary to survive in America is moral and ethical." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969:16)

The UFAF conference received messages of solidarity or greetings from the:

Coordinating Committees of the Mexican Student Movement.
Tokyo Communist League (Japan).

Union of Ethiopian Students. (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969:10, 19)

The following communication was received from Inge-Lill Walfridson on behalf of the Young Left League of Sweden: "We firmly support your last step to put Marxism-Leninism into practice by uniting all progressive forces . . . in a united front against U.S. facism and imperialism." (*The Black Panther*, August 2, 1969:11)

Domestic organizations which sent greetings or congratulations to the UFAF conference included the Draft Resistance Committee and the San Francisco Women for Peace. (*The Black Panther*, July 26, 1969)

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

Panther leader Ray "Masai" Hewitt had stated in June that one of the most hoped for and major results of the conference would be "community control of the police" and that petitions would be circulated based on this demand. (*The Black Panther*, June 21, 1969:16)

Subsequent to the conference the Panthers reprinted an interview of Bobby Seale and David Hilliard which had appeared in the 8/4/69 issue of the *Barb*, in which Hilliard stated that anyone "that takes a position against that petition is in fact supporting the fascism that we're moving against." He criticized SDS position on the petition and stated "we want to make it clear to them that we have our guns and we're not going to lay them down, . . . we're going to make it

crystal clear to all the people that were in attendance at that conference what we expect from them. And that all we expect from them is enough courage to circulate that petition. . . . If they're revolutionaries then this is what we, as the vanguard of the revolution in Babylon dictate, that they circulate THAT petition NOT in our community but in their community. . . . (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969: 13)

"PETITION STATEMENT FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

"SUMMARY OF POLICE CONTROL AMENDMENT THAT MUST BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CITIES AND COM- MUNITIES OF AMERICA TO END FASCISM

"This amendment to a City charter would give control of the police to community elected neighborhood councils so that those whom the police should serve will be able to set police policy and standards of conduct.

"The amendment provides for community control of the police by establishing police departments for the major communities of any city; the Black community, the predominately White area, the Mexican American Communities, etc., etc. The departments would be separate and autonomous. They can by mutual agreement use common facilities. Each Department will be administered by full time police commissions. (Not single police chiefs.) The Commissioners are selected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council composed of fifteen members from that community elected by those who live there. Each department shall have five Community Council divisions within it. (Or number of departments ratioed to population.)

"The Councils shall have the power to discipline officers for breaches of Department policy or violations of law. (Against the people). They may direct their police Commissioner to make changes in department wide police policy by majority vote of the said department commissioners. The Council can recall the Commissioner appointed by it at any time it finds that he is no longer responsive to the community. The community can recall the council members when they are not responsive to it.

"All police officers must live in the department they work in, and will be hired accordingly."

BLACK STUDENT REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE

In the spring of 1970 the Panthers carried an announcement that a Black Student Revolutionary Conference was scheduled to be held in New Haven, Conn., May 16 through 19, 1970. In the full-page announcement of the conference no sponsoring organization was listed. However, the following leaders of the Black Panther Party were listed as scheduled speakers:

Emory Douglas, minister of culture, BPP

Bobby Seale, chairman, BPP

Elaine Brown, deputy minister of information, So. Calif.

David Hilliard, chief of staff, BPP

Artie Seale [wife of Bobby Seale]

Big Man [Elbert Howard], deputy minister of information,
BPP

Darruba, BPP

"Masai" [Raymond "Masai" Hewitt], minister of education,
BPP (*The Black Panther*, May 19, 1970:23)

"The Black Revolutionary Student Conference Affirmed the Need for Armed Self Defense," according to an article by Roland Young. He reported that the conference, held from May 16 through May 19, 1970, in New Haven, Conn., affirmed "the need for revolutionary armed struggle and the crystalization of the contradictory trends among the Black student movement. It was a realization of the maturity of the Black Panther Party, a segment of Black students and the overall liberation. Let this be a corner stone of the armed Black liberation struggle which Black and all oppressed people are bound to win."

The article does not review the reports of all panels, nor does it summarize the speeches by party leaders whose scheduled appearance was announced in earlier issues of the Panther newspaper. (*The Black Panther*, June 6, 1970:16)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The Black Panther on October 26, 1968, revealed that a campaign to aid Eldridge Cleaver evade serving a prison sentence would be spearheaded by an "International Committee to Keep Eldridge Cleaver Out of Prison." It called for 1 million signatures on a petition which made the following appeal:

Only the people in mass can destroy racism in the United States of America. So we the undersigned who are citizens of America and peoples around the world, *DEMAND*, THAT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party; Candidate for President of the United States of America on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket; author of the book, *SOUL ON ICE*; and managing editor for Ramparts Magazine, we say and demand that he, Eldridge Cleaver, should not be sent back to prison after being released from prison by Judge Sherwin of Solano County in California. Released because the Judge stated that Eldridge then was being held as a "political prisoner." ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is now out of prison on legal bail. We the undersigned say that the California Governor with his "Adult Authority," and the courts of California and the federal courts of the U.S.A. had better recognize that everyone is innocent until proven guilty with the right to bail before trial, that this is every human beings right by the United States Constitution including Eldridge Cleaver.

In January 1969, a full-page advertisement sponsored by a group calling itself the "International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver" was published in *The Black Panther*. It continued on a regular basis until August of that year.

The advertisement listed sponsors of the committee and, in its text expressed the opinion that Cleaver was justified in jumping bail to avoid being returned to prison. It provided a registration form for potential sponsors, financial contributors, or volunteer workers to assist in the campaign. Robert Scheer was listed as director of the committee. (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 4, 1969)

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The Black Panther of August 8, 1970, announced that the planning session of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention would be held at Howard University in Washington, D.C., on August 8 and 9, 1970, and that the plenary session would be held September 5-7 in Philadelphia, Pa.

In a message to the planning session of the convention, Huey Newton stated that the Panthers were "asking all of the organizations who are willing to participate—the Anti-War Movement, the various Peace Movements, all progressive groups or parties to open up Registration Departments and sections in their organizations, so the people in the various communities can come to their organizations and register for the Convention."

He also declared "I'm out of prison, not because of the justice of the courts, but because of the power of the people."

The "Report from the Planning Session" revealed that each "area picked a Regional Representative who centralizes all facts of their work areas. . . . all Regional Representatives are from the Community, all believe the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention is the most important task of the day . . ."

The regional representatives listed in the report were:

Patricia Hilliard, 415/465-5047, Oakland, Calif.
 Audrea Jones, 617/422-0100, Roxbury, Mass.
 Beverlina Carlowell, 312/738-0788, Chicago, Ill.
 Don Campbell, 317/925-0157, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Gwen Goodlow, 213/635-2586, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Evon Carter, 203/562-7463, New Haven, Conn.
 Brenda Hyson, 212/328-9911, Bronx, N.Y.
 Doug Miranda, 215/BA2-0885, Phila., Pa.
 Maxine Scoop, 202/265-4418, Wash., D.C.
 Soloman Thomas, 201/333-7200, Jersey, N.J.
 Malik McClure, 313/868-9836, Detroit, Mich.
 John Boot, 414/372-3778, Milwaukee, Wisc.
 Rickie Hooper, 919/722-4097, Winston-Salem, N. C.
 Henry Lee, 301/342-8536.

Communications

Barbara Fitzgerald, People's Housing Coalition, 212/453-8483 and 364-4238, Northeast Region, Bronx, N.Y.
 Hank Ferari, Third World Gay Liberation Front, Northeast Region, New York.
 Mike James, Rising Up Angry, Midwest Region.
 Lee Fay Mack, Mothers of Black Liberators, 412 E. 27th St., Southern Region, Winston-Salem, N.C.

Leslie Cagen, Women's Center, 212/691-1860, Northeast Region, N.Y., N.Y.

Arthur Kinoy, Rutgers Law School, 201/621-1766, Northeast Region, New York.

Angela Douglas, Free Press, 213/484-1904, Western Region, Los Angeles, Calif.

Information committees

Russ Turnzo, 412/683-3725, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman, 212/887-1222 Northeast Rep., New York.

Kitty Broady, 301/947-1245, Baltimore, Md.

Lee Faye Mack, 412 N.E. 27th St., Winston-Salem, N.C., Southern Rept.

Angela Douglas or Morris Knight, 213/484-1094, Los Angeles, Calif.

Bob Avakian or Jane Franklin, 415/826-8021, San Francisco, Calif.

(*The Black Panther*, Aug. 15, 1970:19)

The "Registration Form" for the Revolutionary People's Plenary Session was published in the August 21 issue of *The Black Panther* and it revealed that the Plenary Session would be held at the Temple University Gymnasium, Broad & Montgomery Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. It also revealed that the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention "is projected to November 4, 1970." Location and plans for the convention would be developed at the plenary session.

Registrants were directed to mail the form to one of the following addresses:

Black Panther Party, National Headquarters, Ministry of Information, 1048 Peralta St., Oakland, Calif.

Washington, D.C., Ministry of Information,³² 2327 18th St., NW., Washington, D.C. 20009

East Coast Ministry of Information, 1370 Boston Road, Bronx, N.Y. 11212

Chicago Ministry of Information, 2350 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill.

IX. The Purge of "Provocateur Agents, Kooks, and Avaricious Fools."

The Black Panther, January 4, 1969, published a statement in which the Central Committee denounced "provocateur agents, kooks and avaricious fools who found their way into the membership . . . of the Black Panther Party [and] have violated the rules and principles of the Black Panther Party." Willie Brent, who allegedly pulled an 80 dollar hold up was singled out for criticism. Brent reportedly used the Panthers newspaper distribution truck in the hold up.

The Central Committee noted that "The Black Panther Party rules which have been in existence since Huey P. Newton organized the Black Panther Party (including the 3 main rules of discipline and the 8 points of attention) governed and administered by all leadership levels throughout the nation, functions from our Party's revolutionary principle of democratic centralism. Therefore, those who violate these rules are denounced as counter-revolutionaries."

In March 1969, *The Black Panther* published its first list of party expulsions. However, a later report on the expulsion of Earl Anthony

³² Southern Regional Headquarters, according to *The Black Panther*, Aug. 20, 1970:11.

indicated that the purge policy had been in effect as far back as September 1968. David Hilliard, the party's chief of staff, in a statement concerning that policy pointed out that purges being conducted in the party "relate to what Lenin said" concerning purges, "a party that purges itself grows to become stronger." Hilliard continued:

Quoting from Stalin, I think he said something like "the party used to be hospitable, it would yield to the opinions of all the sympathizers. "But, now the party has become like a fortress."

Later in the article Hilliard explained that the purges were not due to the fact that they were "Maoist or Stalinist, Leninist. We say that there is no such animal . . . there is just Marxist, Leninist, and that Stalin was truly a Marxist Leninist. He always praised Lenin and carried out the ideas of Lenin." (*The Black Panther*, Apr. 20, 1969:18)

Beginning with the issue dated March 9, 1969, *The Black Panther* published the names of approximately 250 former members who had been expelled from the Black Panther Party. No reason was cited in 60 cases. Charges against the others included "reactionary" (38), "renegades" (62), "counterrevolutionary" (24), "tried to take over Boston BPP" (17), "informer" for FBI or police (8). The remainder were listed as having been expelled on various charges including "jive nigger," "sexual fascist," "subjectivism," "putchism," "desire to leave party," and "advocating some madness called Pan Africanism." Most of the expellees were listed in issues dated from March through August 1969. The chapters charged with the largest number of expellees were East Oakland and Vallejo, Calif.; Boston, Mass.; Jersey City, N.J., and New York City.

The following notice appeared in the July 25, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther*:

Attention: "The National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party would like to inform the people that the National Committee To Combat Fascism in Omaha, Nebraska is no longer functioning as an organizing bureau of the Black Panther Party, or from herefore connected with the Black Panther Party in any way."

X. Party Finances

The formation of the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund Committee was announced at a press conference on Nov. 17, 1967. Participants included Dr. Price Cobbs, a San Francisco psychiatrist, Melvin Newton, Huey's brother, Mrs. Amelia Newton, Huey's mother, his attorney, Charles Garry, and Ralph Featherstone, program secretary of SNCC.

Contributions were to be sent to the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif. (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 23, 1967:4,8)

Bobby Seale reported that over \$9,000 was raised for the Huey P. Newton Legal Defense Fund. He also revealed that Panther bail premiums resulting from arrests on February 25, 1968 amounted to \$4,000. Seale appealed for financial contributions to be sent directly to the Black Panther Bail Fund, P.O. Box 8641 Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif. (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 3, 1969: 6, 11)

The Panthers claim to have "paid on bails and fines since the beginning of the Black Panther Party until 1969" the amount of "\$5,240,-568.00." (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 21, 1970: 28)

XI. Activities of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, Raymond Hewitt, David Hilliard

The following items concern key leaders of the Black Panther Party. They have been extracted from various issues of *The Black Panther* and are limited to that source.

HUEY P. NEWTON

On October 28, 1967, Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, allegedly shot and killed one police officer, and wounded a second officer in Oakland, California. Newton was wounded in the shootout and was sent to the San Quentin State Prison hospital.

At the time of the incident *The Black Panther* newspaper was published intermittently, and it was not until November 23, 1967 that Panther statements concerning the incident appeared. In that issue, the Panther minister of information—identified only as “underground” made the following statement:

This is “the showdown case” he declared. “We have reached the point in history where we must claim that a black man . . . has a right to defend himself—even if this means picking up a gun and blowing that cop away.”

In September 1968 the jury returned a verdict of guilty of voluntary manslaughter. The September 14, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther* carried Newton’s statement on the verdict. He denounced it as a reflection of the “racism that exists here in America.”

A summary of the trial appeared in the same issue. It acknowledged that witness—

“Henry Grier had testified that he clearly saw Huey Newton shoot and kill patrolman Frey in the beams of the bus headlights. He said the bus stopped with the men and cars in front of it and he could see everything through the front window and the door to his right.”

Despite that acknowledgement, the summary emphasized a verbal exchange between defense attorney Charles Garry and the presiding judge, and declared:

“Now the whole world knows that Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party did not receive a fair impartial trial.”

The following month a California based organization—the Peace and Freedom Party—nominated Huey Newton as its candidate for the United States Congress in the 7th Congressional District, Alameda County, California, according to the October 26, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*.

On August 5, 1970, Huey Newton was released from prison. He was freed on \$50,000 bail pending a new trial. There was no immediate official Panther statement concerning the event, however, in its August 15, 1970 issue the Panthers published a 4 page photo supplement which included the text of messages from several individuals congratulating Newton on his release.

The photographs were printed under the caption “The people came out to rejoice their reunion with their revolutionary leader, Huey P. Newton.”

On August 21, *The Black Panther* published a “Letter From Huey To the Revolutionary Brothers and Sisters about the Women’s Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements.” It was accompanied by a photograph of Newton with the title “SUPREME COMMANDER, Black Panther Party.”

BOBBY SEALE

The Black Panther reported that Bobby Seale is a former member of the United States Armed Forces. He spent nearly 4 years in the Air Force, 6 months in the stockade, and was subsequently given a bad conduct discharge of the "39-17 BCD." (*The Black Panther*, Sept. 13, 1969:17)

Seale was the Peace and Freedom Party's candidate for the California State Assembly, 17th Assembly District in the 1968 elections. The results of the election were not published in *The Black Panther*. (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 26, 1968:20)

Seale and Panther Chief of Staff David Hilliard traveled to Montreal, Canada, in November 1968 to attend the Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War. *The Black Panther* reported in its December 7, 1968 issue, that the two Panthers were followed by the police when they left San Francisco for the conference in the hope they would lead the police to Eldridge Cleaver, who had disappeared.

In early 1969, Seale and Ray "Masai" Hewitt visited Europe. They returned to the United States on March 24, after an "extended speaking tour throughout Europe." An article reporting on the trip boasted that the "tour was sponsored by the revolutionary people in the Scandinavian countries of western Europe, who have a desire to understand what Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party is all about." (*The Black Panther*, Mar. 31, 1969:12, 13)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The August 9, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* carried an article "On Eldridge Cleaver by Kathleen Cleaver" which was a biographical article reprinted from *Ramparts* magazine.

Mrs. Cleaver, communications secretary for the Black Panther Party, traced her husband's political development from the time he was an inmate in San Quentin Prison to his present position as a militant revolutionary and leader of the Black Panther Party, living in Algeria.

According to his wife, Eldridge Cleaver's "political career had begun in prison." In 1960 he joined the Black Muslims and became "Assistant Minister of the San Quentin Mosque." Eldridge left the Muslims when Malcolm X "was put out and then organized a political group called the African-American History and Culture Class to follow Malcolm X's teachings. Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter, later a Deputy Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party who was assassinated at UCLA on January 17, 1969, was his second-in-command while they were in Soledad [prison] together."

The article also revealed that Eldridge Cleaver was released on parole from Soledad on December 12, 1966. According to Mrs. Cleaver, she met him in March 1967 when he was invited to speak at Fisk University by the campus SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee). After a "student riot broke out in Nashville on April 7, Eldridge was ordered by parole authorities to get on a plane and fly back to San Francisco immediately or be arrested by the Nashville police. . . ."

She noted that on January 16, 1968, "before a scheduled Panther rally" their apartment was searched by the San Francisco Tactical Squad. Eldridge's role in the Black Panther Party was becoming

"increasingly important, especially in the Party's collaboration with the white radicals in the Free Huey movement. . . ." He became the Peace and Freedom Party's candidate for President of the United States.

On April 6, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver was wounded in the leg, and Bobby Hutton was killed in a shoot out with the police. An article presenting the Panthers' version of the confrontation appeared in the May 4, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther*. It reported that eight other Panthers were involved in the incident, and that David Hilliard, Wendell Wade, Terry Cotton, Charles Bursey, Donell Lankford were being held in jail on a charge "of conspiracy to commit murder." Other Panthers included in the charge were Warren Wells, whose bail was set at \$40,000 and John L. Scott, 17, being detained at Juvenile Hall under \$40,000 bail.

In its drive to keep Cleaver from being returned to prison, the publication in its November 16, 1968 issue announced a forthcoming "Panther Rally for Eldridge—Keep Eldridge Free." The article claimed that as "long as Eldridge Cleaver remains free to lead our revolutionary struggle for human freedom and black liberation, he will continue to stand as a shield between the black community and the racist pig power structure . . ." The article pointed out that November 27 would be Cleaver's deadline—"he is to be returned to prison on that date." The article called for unity of the people of San Francisco to "turn the tide against" the authorities.

Cleaver evaded the authorities. A front page headline in the December 7, 1968 issue of *The Black Panther* boasted "Eldridge Cleaver's Free! Damn Pigs and Prison."

Articles on pages 2 and 3 stated that Cleaver was missing and charged that police had followed Bobby Seale and David Hilliard when they left San Francisco for the Western Hemispheric Conference on Vietnam in Montreal, Canada, thinking "they were being led to Eldridge Cleaver." It does not reveal where Cleaver was hiding.³³

The Panthers compared Cleaver's disappearance to Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution. It stated: "When Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on college campuses of the University of Havana in public. He was later driven to the hills. . . . His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was very great and received much respect."

"When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve."

"Eldridge Cleaver has made a tremendous impact upon the oppressed people of America, and the people know the vanguard party exist. They will seek it out."

The Panthers reprinted an Associated Press story dated July 17 which announced that Eldridge Cleaver had arrived in Algiers to attend the Pan-African Cultural Festival, as a guest of the Algerian Government.

Cleaver refused to say where he had spent the past 8 months, but said that he had been appointed roving editor for *Ramparts* magazine, and would travel for awhile. He said that if his lawyers cannot

³³ On May 25, 1969, the *Washington Post* reported that Cleaver was residing in Havana, Cuba. He subsequently left Cuba and traveled to Algiers. The reports of his presence in that country were made public in July 1969.

As of June 30, 1970, Cleaver was still headquartered in Algiers.

arrange for him to return to the United States legally without "risking incarceration" he will "just have to go in the same way I got out." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 2, 1969:17)

David Hilliard met with Eldridge Cleaver at the Festival and reported that Cleaver wants to return to the U.S. At one point he stated that Cleaver is "willing to return and even to go to prison if convicted, as long as he's allowed to go and attend court. . . ." However, later in the interview Hilliard declared, "Well, if Eldridge comes back, I think it's been made clear that he's not going to prison. That's why he left." (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 9, 1969:7)

In September 1969, Eldridge Cleaver "led a delegation of the Black Panther Party, U.S.A., to the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight Against the Aggression of U.S. Imperialism," which was held in Pyongyang, North Korea. The Panther delegation which reportedly consisted of Cleaver and Byron Booth, a deputy minister of defense, arrived in Korea on September 11, for the conference which lasted from September 18 through the 24th.

Eldridge Cleaver and Byron Booth are pictured at the North Korean War Museum standing on a U.S. tank captured during the Korean war. With them in one photo are "revolutionary brothers" from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). (*The Black Panther*, Oct. 25, 1969:16,17)

RAYMOND "MASAI" HEWITT

Raymond "Masai" Hewitt succeeded George Mason Murray as minister of education. Hewitt was a leader of the Panthers in the Los Angeles area before he joined the national staff.

In its April 20, 1969 issue the Panthers identified "Masai" as "Political Theorist of the Black Panther Party." He was formally identified as a member of the Central Committee of the party in the May 31, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*, and was listed as minister of education in the July 12, 1969 issue.

Hewitt had been interviewed and had written articles in the party publication earlier in 1969. He had been publicized as having accompanied Bobby Seale to Scandinavia on an extended trip in March.

The August 30, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* carried an announcement of the marriage of Hewitt and Shirley Neely, complete with pictures of the ceremony. The wedding rings exchanged by the couple a "pair of million dollar wedding rings made from U.S. planes shot down over Vietnam, were supplied free by the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

DAVID HILLIARD

In the early issues of *The Black Panther*, David Hilliard was usually designated as National Headquarters captain. However, the September 14, 1968 issue of the publication listed Hilliard as chief of staff of the Black Panther Party.

Hilliard was one of the Panthers involved in the shoot out with the police on April 6, 1968, when Bobby Hutton was killed and Eldridge Cleaver was wounded in the leg.

In November 1968, he traveled to Montreal, Canada, with Bobby Seale to attend the Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War. In July 1969, Hilliard visited Algeria, to attend the Pan African Arts Festival.

APPENDIX I

CHARACTERIZATION OF ORGANIZATIONS LISTED IN PART V (RELATIONS WITH DOMESTIC ORGANIZATIONS)

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. (CPUSA):

"We find and conclude that . . . Respondent [the Communist Party] throughout its existence has and does at the present time teach, advocate, and carry out activities having for their objective the overthrow of the United States Government and other governments which are designated as 'imperialist' by the Soviet Union, pursuant to directives of the Soviet Union and to effectuate the policies of the Soviet Union, all for the purposes of defending and protecting the Soviet Union and of establishing in the United States (and other countries) a dictatorship of the proletariat patterned after that in the Soviet Union."

"We find upon the whole record that the evidence preponderantly establishes that Respondent's leaders and its members consider the allegiance they owe to the United States as subordinate to their loyalty and obligations to the Soviet Union."

"Since the late 1930's, when it was faced with adverse legislation, Respondent has become increasingly diligent and resourceful in its efforts to appear as a domestic political party while continuing its subservience to the Soviet Union. Many of its practices were contrived to conceal its revolutionary objectives. Thus, it . . ., except to initiate, disclaims so much of Marxism-Leninism as would endanger its continued legal existence to espouse. . . .

". . . It is so innate in Respondent's nature that it seek and accept Soviet Union direction and control that, in actuality, it does not function as the purely domestic political party whose role it would, de jure, assume. Rather, nurtured by the Soviet Union, it labors unstintingly to advance the world Communist movement."

"Upon the overwhelming weight of the evidence in this proceeding, we find that Respondent is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union, which controls the world Communist movement . . . and that Respondent operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 51-101. Report and Order, April 20, 1953, pp. 216, 127, 128, 208, 215. In response to two remands from the United States Court of Appeals, the SACB reaffirmed all of its major findings and the registration order in Modified Reports issued on Dec. 18, 1956, and Feb. 9, 1959)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP):

The SWP is an avowedly Trotskyist Communist group that stands for "a new radicalization of the working class" leading to "a revolution that will end the alien rule of the Government of Money and establish a new government of the people—a Workers and Farmers Government." The SWP espouses the "international solidarity of the working class" and supports the principles of the Fourth International, founded under [Leon] Trotsky's guidance in 1938 with SWP participation, although the SWP dissolved its formal ties with the International when the Voorhis Act was passed in October 1940." (Hearings, *Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting and Burning*, pt. 1, Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, 90th Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 25, 26, 31, and Nov. 28, 1967: 899)

"... a militantly revolutionary party based upon the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky." *Federal Bureau of Investigation 1970 Appropriation: Testimony of John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, on Apr. 17, 1969: 62*)

"Although differing from the Communist Party-USA as to the means to achieve the goal, the Socialist Workers Party also wants to achieve a communist America. It and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) have been successful . . . in organizing, dominating, and controlling many of the major anti-war movements." (*FBI 1971 Appropriation: Testimony of John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, on Mar. 5, 1970: 62*)

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP):

"The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) grew out of a faction within the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA). The PLP was established by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer, who were expelled from positions of leadership in the orthodox Communist Party because of disagreement with CPUSA's strategy and tactics. The CPUSA has described Rosen and Scheer as organizers of active opposition to CPUSA strategies within the party ever since the party's 17th National Convention held in December 1959. . . . The expulsion of Rosen and three other party members was announced in *The Worker* of January 7, 1962; the ousting of Scheer and five others in the Buffalo area had been reported in *The Worker* of December 31, 1961.

"The PLP is an avowedly revolutionary Communist organization which aggressively and militantly strives to destroy the democratic form of government in the United States and replace it with a socialist one based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The PLP supports the ultra-revolutionary Chinese and Albanian Communists in their dispute with the less militant Russian Communists. This organization has publicly encouraged the use of force and violence as a means of attaining its Communist totalitarian goals. PLP literature is replete with statements supporting the violent revolutionary overthrow of the U.S. Government." (Hearings, *Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting, and Burning, pt. 1*, Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, 90th Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 25, 26, 31, and Nov. 28, 1967: 894)

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA:

An extremist black nationalist group which was founded in 1968 for the purpose of establishing a black nation in the area covered by several Southern States. Members of the Republic of New Africa at their second national convention in March, 1969, at Detroit, Michigan, became involved in a shoot-out with the Detroit police which resulted in the death of one policeman and the wounding of another. (Testimony of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Mar. 5, 1970, before House Appropriations Subcommittee)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY:

The Students for a Democratic Society evolved from an organization seeking to improve democratic systems to an organization seeking to destroy democratic systems. At its zenith, its leaders had chosen to identify SDS with the communist governments of North Vietnam,

North Korea, China, and Cuba and viewed themselves as the nucleus of a revolutionary youth movement dedicated to violent overthrow of the present form of government in the United States and the goal of a "classless world: world communism." (House Committee on Internal Security, House Report 91-1565, dated Oct. 6, 1970)

RED GUARDS:

A militant group of approximately 25 Chinese youths which maintains contact with other anti-establishment groups. The organization puts out a mixture of Chinese communist and Black Panther Party propaganda and encourages its members to purchase firearms and train in defensive tactics. It has claimed up to 50 members at a given time, supported by another 100 persons who frequent the group's headquarters in San Francisco, California. (Testimony of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Mar. 5, 1969, before House Appropriations Subcommittee)

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (NOW STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)):

"Certain organizations claiming to be civil rights organizations but which, in fact, preach hatred for the white race, demand immunity from laws, and advocate violence, constitute a serious threat to our country's internal security. The revolutionary stand taken by many members of extremist black nationalist organizations, including the advocacy of anarchy and revolution and a demand for the overthrow of the U.S. Government, has made it necessary for the FBI to intensify its intelligence operations in this field

"These groups claim that the United States only represents the white race; therefore, they have aligned themselves with all nonwhite races of the world. Many oppose the U.S. involvement in Vietnam as a war between this predominantly white nation and nonwhite people. Many are pro-Marxist in their thinking and align themselves with countries like Cuba and Communist China as proper examples to follow to bring about their own aims and goals, namely, revolution. In an effort to obtain these objectives, they actively study guerrilla warfare, use of firearms, and karate in preparation for violent action against the U.S. Government.

"The past year has seen a proliferation of these organizations throughout the United States, thus increasing the demand upon the FBI's manpower and resources. Among such groups are the [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee]." (*Federal Bureau of Investigation 1970 Appropriation: Testimony of John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, on Apr. 17, 1969: 67, 68*)

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY:

Originally a "moderate" civil rights organization, it has gradually increased in militancy and has become increasingly separatist, black supremacist and ideologically aligned with the New Left. (Hearings before House Committee on Un-American Activities on Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting, and Burning, 90th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 1: 920)

PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY:

In 1968, the Black Panther Party formed a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party. Eldridge Cleaver, the Panthers' minister of information, who subsequently was nominated as the Peace and Freedom Party's candidate for President, said this coalition was the "beginning of a revolutionary movement in this country . . . Cleaver said 'there

is a possibility for the growth of a coalition to bring down this system.'” (Hearings before House Committee on Internal Security on the Black Panther Party, 91st Cong., 2d sess., pt. 1:2818)

BLACK STUDENT UNIONS:

Best known of the black student organizations, attracted considerable publicity because of the Black Student Union's disruptive action at San Francisco State College in 1968.

YOUNG LORDS:

A militant organization of Puerto Rican youths operating in Chicago and New York City as a sort of Puerto Rican version of the Black Panther Party. It works very closely with the Black Panther Party. (Hearings before House Committee on Internal Security on Students for a Democratic Society, 91st Cong., 1st sess., pt. 7-B:2471)

AMERICAN SERVICEMEN'S UNION:

An organization founded and dominated by Andrew Stapp, members of the Workers World Party's youth front, Youth Against War and Fascism. The Workers World Party is a Trotskyite Communist splinter group. (Staff study by House Committee on Internal Security, entitled “Subversive Involvement in the Origin, Leadership, and Activities of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and Its Predecessor Organizations,” 91st Cong., 2d sess.)

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

“Youth Against War and Fascism operates as the youth arm and principal agitational force of the Workers World Party, a Trotskyist Communist splinter group whose leaders have declared for the ‘revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism.’” (U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearings on Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting, and Burning, pt. 1, October and November 1967:906)

WHITE PANTHERS:

A group of white citizens affiliated with the Black Panther Party for the purpose of raising funds for the BPP and for doing work in the poor white communities similar to that being done in the black communities by the BPP. (Hearings before House Committee on Internal Security on the Black Panther Party, 91st Cong., 2d sess., pt. 3, testimony of Donald Berry)

YOUNG PATRIOTS:

An organization based in Chicago, Illinois, which has been described as a Southern white “community group.” (*National Guardian*, May 10, 1969:3 and Sept. 6, 1969:8)

LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA:

An organization formed to defend seven young men from San Francisco, California, charged with the murder or attempted murder of a policeman. (Hearings before House Committee on Internal Security on Students for a Democratic Society, 91st Cong., 1st sess., pt. 6-B:2120)

New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe)

“Study of official Mobe pronouncements discloses that the official stance of the coalition's leadership is militantly pro-Hanoi and anti-United States. . . .

.

"The New Mobe was formally established at a national conference of anti-war groups and individuals in Cleveland, Ohio, during the weekend of July 4, 1969. This conference, hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, a key Mobe affiliate formerly led by [former CPUSA Wisconsin State Committee member Sidney M.] Peck, was attended by several hundred delegates from around the United States. A large percentage of the delegates were members of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; the Trotskyist communist Socialist Workers Party; the Young Socialist Alliance, youth and training section of the SWP; and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, an organization controlled by the YSA.

"The conference formulated a program known as the Fall Offensive, designed to serve as a focal point for groups around the nation in organizing a series of anti-Vietnam war activities culminating in mass rallies and marches in Washington and San Francisco on November 15, 1969. The Student Mobilization Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, and Socialist Workers Party played crucial roles both in setting up the New Mobe and in staging the Fall Offensive.

"In addition, as shown by original documents disseminated by such international communist "peace" organizations as the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam and the World Peace Assembly, both projects of the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council, as well as by official statements made by communist officials and organizations in Vietnam, the New Mobilization Committee has operated from its inception with significant international communist support.

"The national leadership of the New Mobilization Committee includes several key activists who have been shown either by public source data or by committee investigation to be or to have been members of such diverse communist groups as the Communist Party, U.S.A.; W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America; Labor Youth League; Revolutionary Workers League; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; and Student Mobilization Committee." (Staff study, *Subversive Involvement in the Origin, Leadership, and Activities of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and Its Predecessor Organizations*, Committee on Internal Security, U.S. House of Representatives, 91st Congress., 2d sess., June 30, 1970: VII-IX)

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE:

Organized in June, 1969, for the announced purposes of actively supporting the Cuban revolution by assisting in the 1970 Cuban sugar crop harvest. The executive committee of this organization represents a coalition of representatives from various groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society, the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance and the militant Black Panther Party. The Brigade was organized in open defiance of the U.S. State Department ban on travel to Cuba and information has been received that the Brigade participants, upon return to the United States, would be assigned to direct and work in bringing about a revolution in this country. (Testimony of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Mar. 5, 1970, before House Appropriations Subcommittee)

APPENDIX II

Cartoons which appeared in issues of "The Black Panther" newspaper on dates indicated.

Cartoonists:

"Emory"-----	Emory Douglas, minister of culture
"Matilaba"-----	Joan Lewis, asst. revolutionary artist
"Teemer"-----	Mark Teemer



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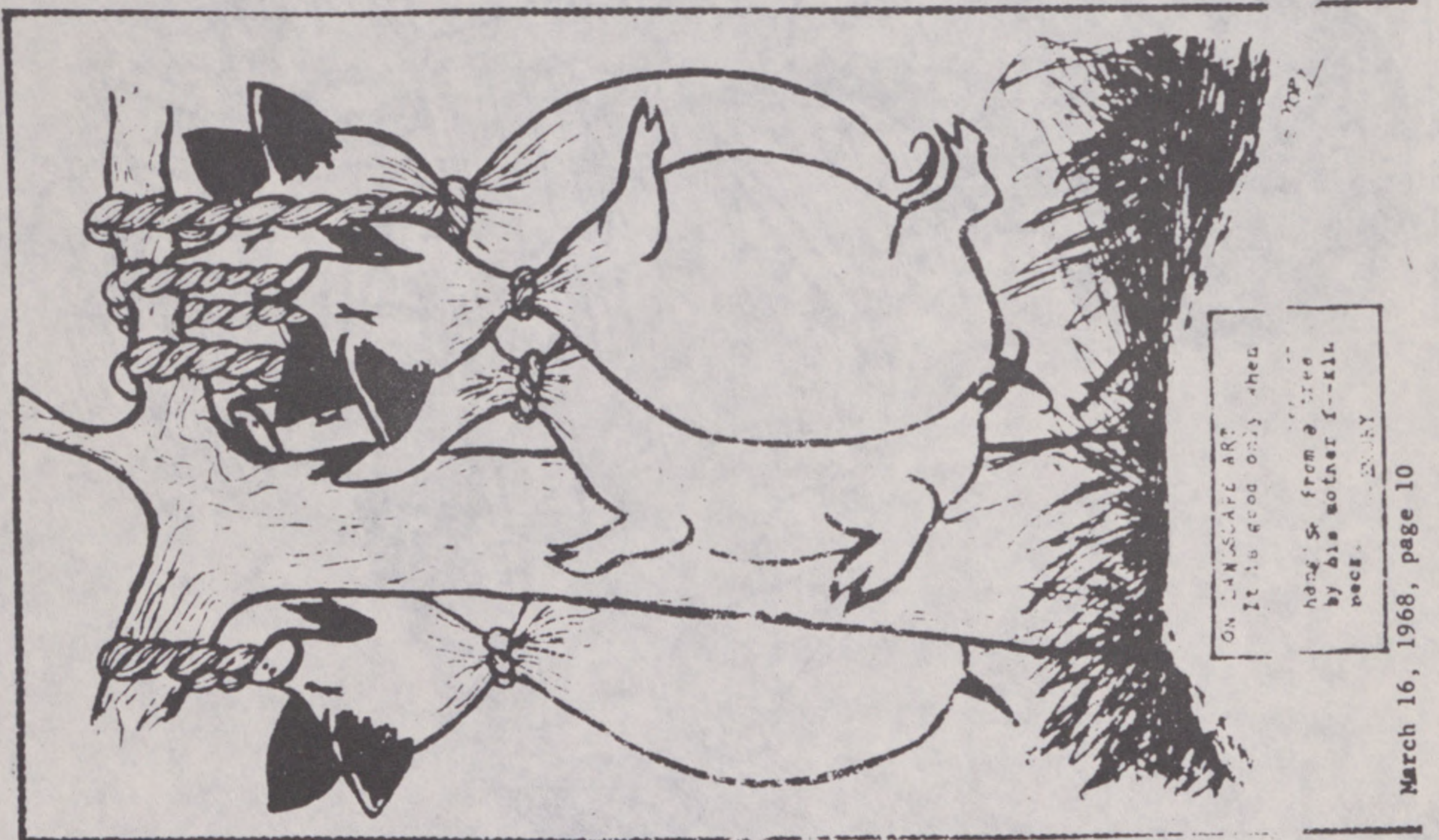
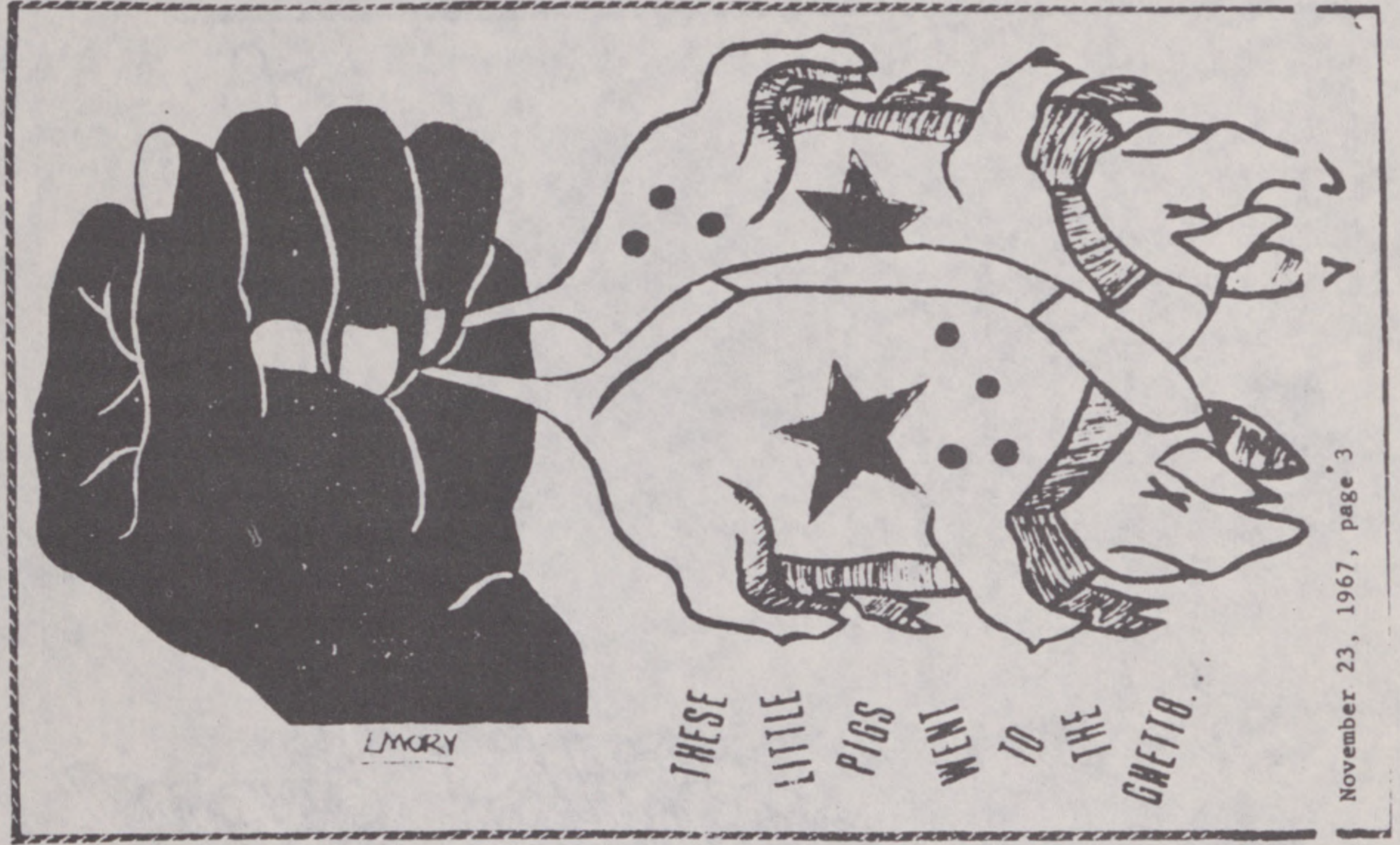
July 3, 1967, page 11



WHEREVER DEATH MAY SURPRISE US, IT WILL BE WELCOME,
 PROVIDED THAT THIS, OUR BATTLE CRY, REACH SOME
 RECEPTIVE EAR, THAT ANOTHER HAND STRETCH OUT TO
 TAKE UP WEAPONS AND THAT OTHER MEN COME FORWARD TO
 INTONE OUR FUNERAL DIRGE WITH THE STACCATO OF
 MACHINE GUNS AND NEW CRIES OF BATTLE AND VICTORY.

ONE GAVVING







WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO
DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR
BLACK COMMUNITY



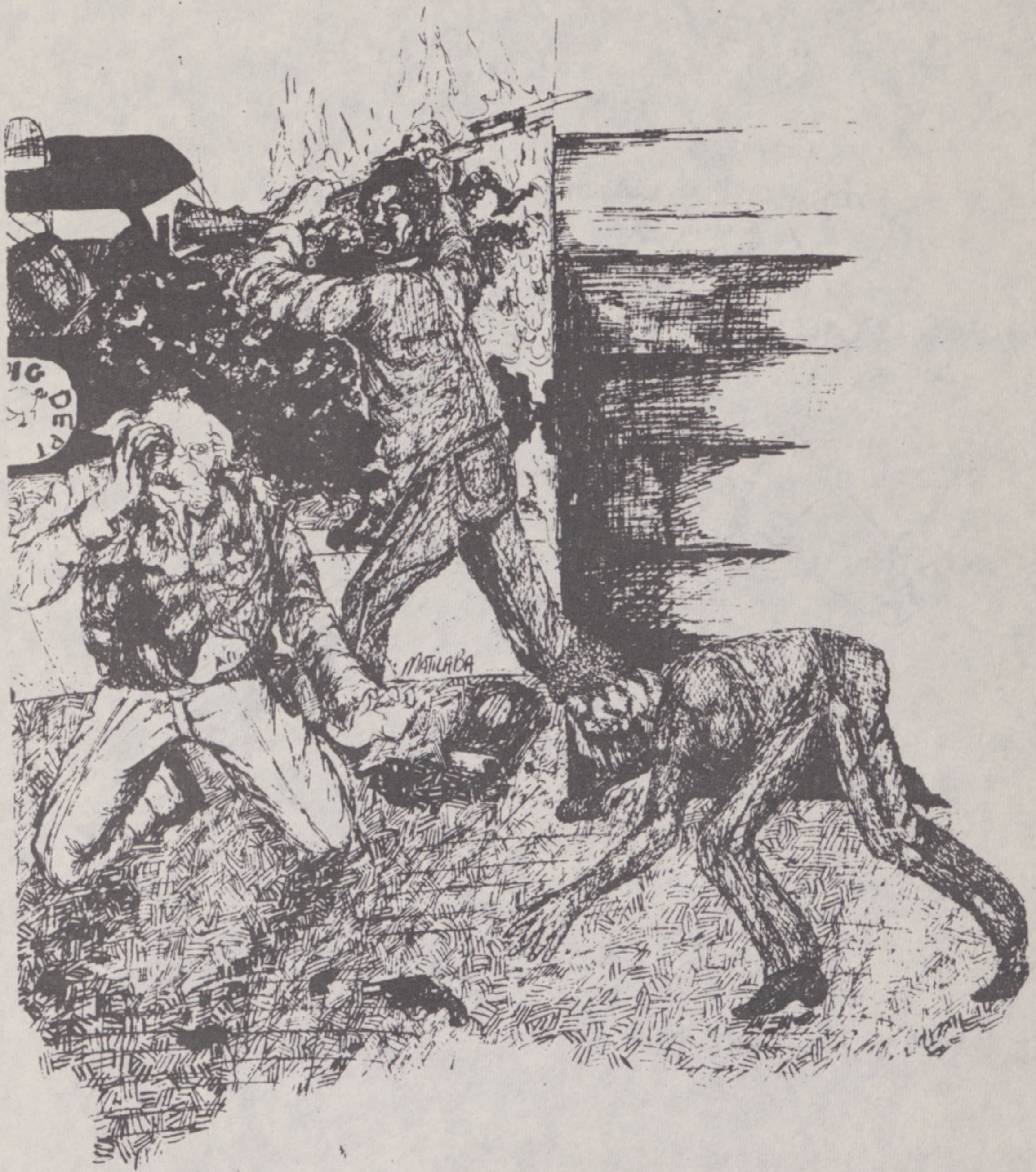


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EDUCATION



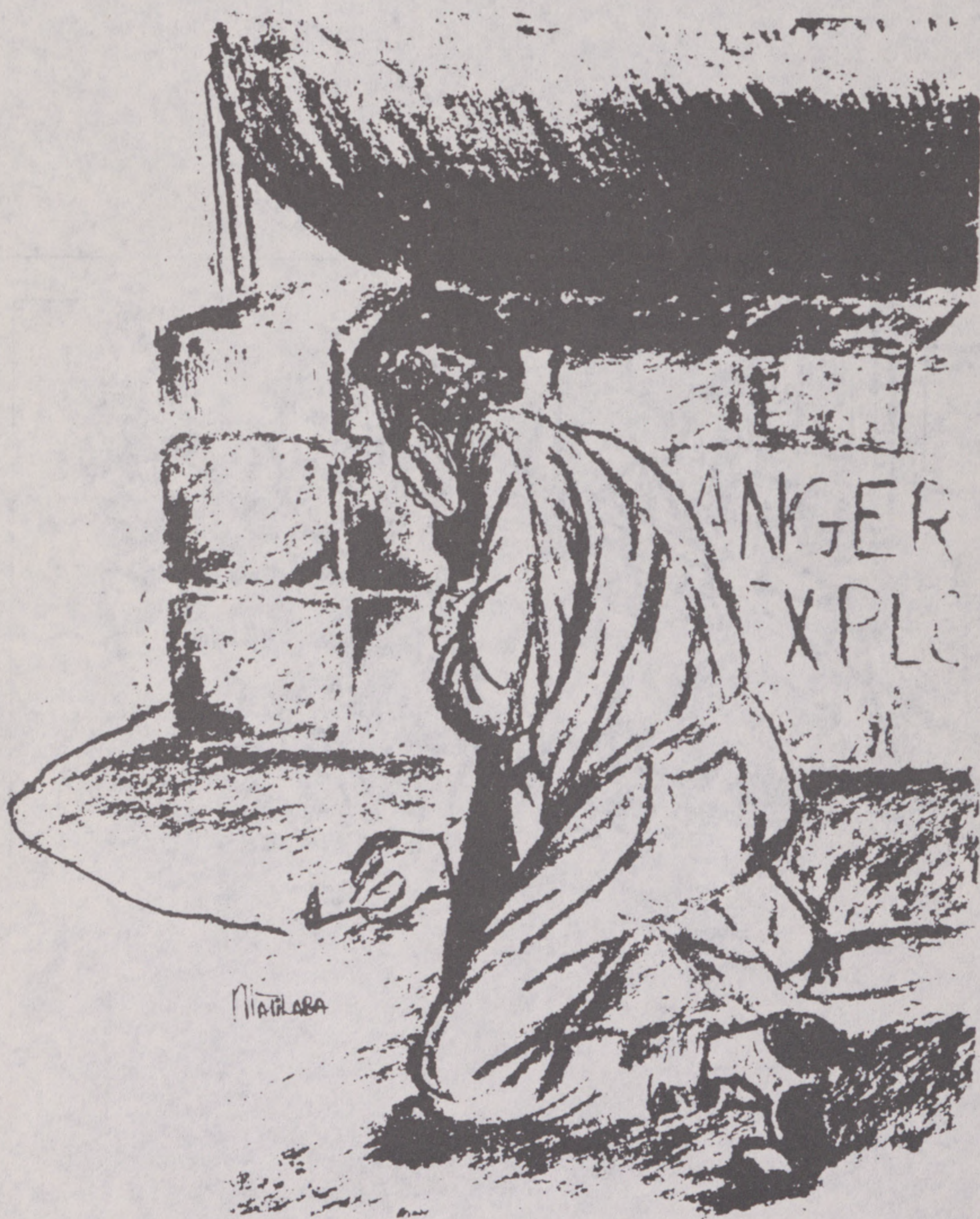
June 10, 1968, page 4



October 26, 1968, p.6



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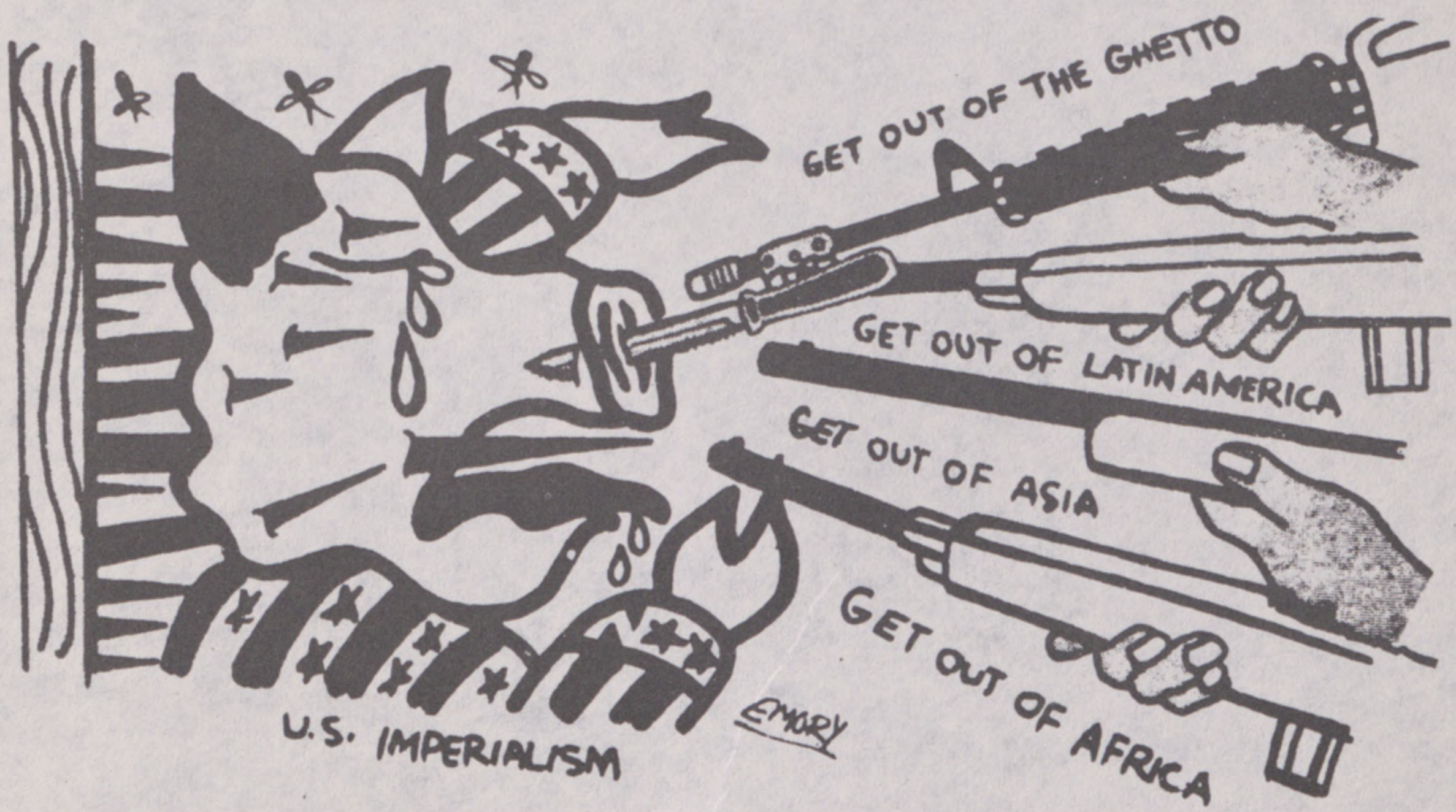
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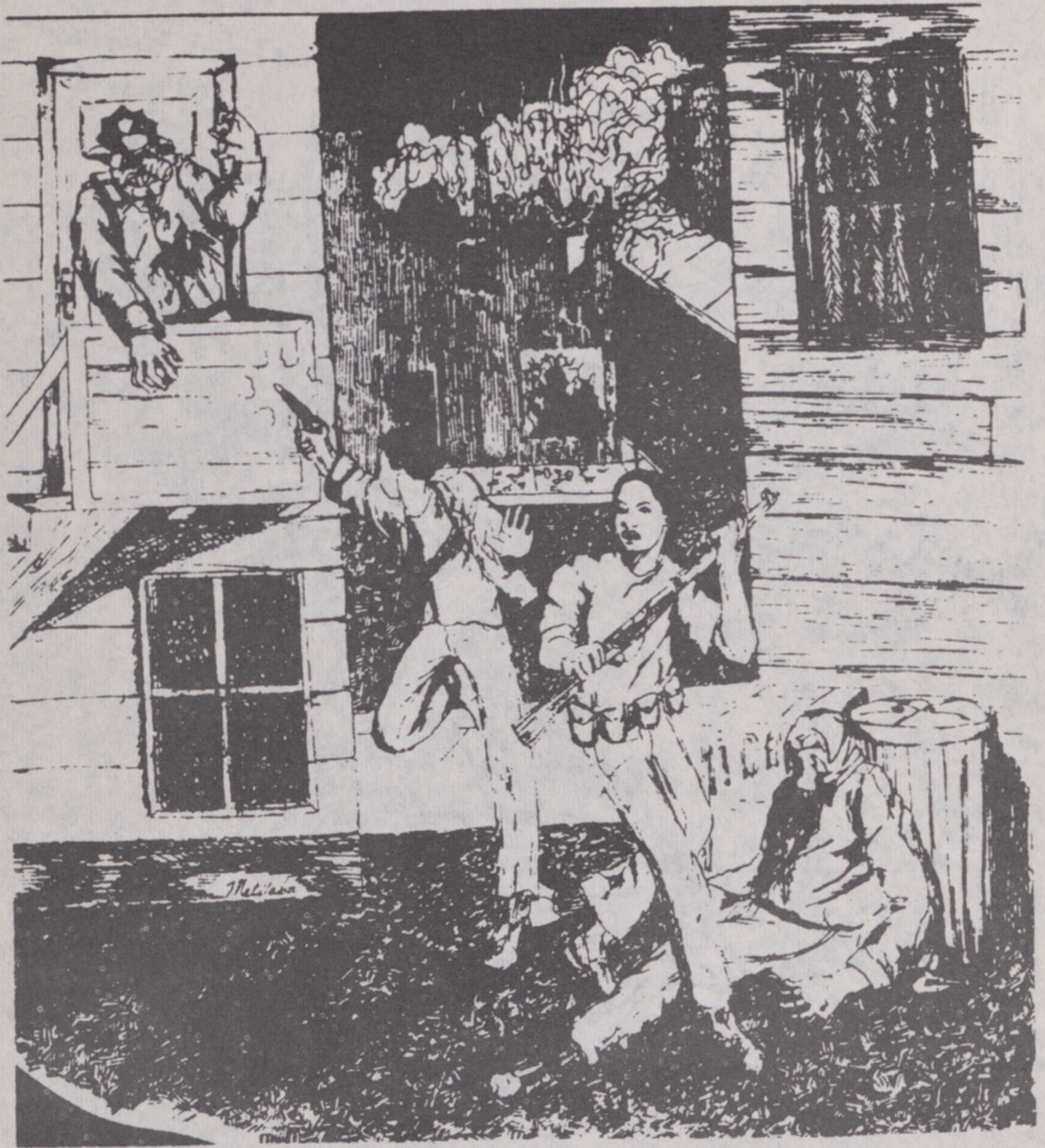
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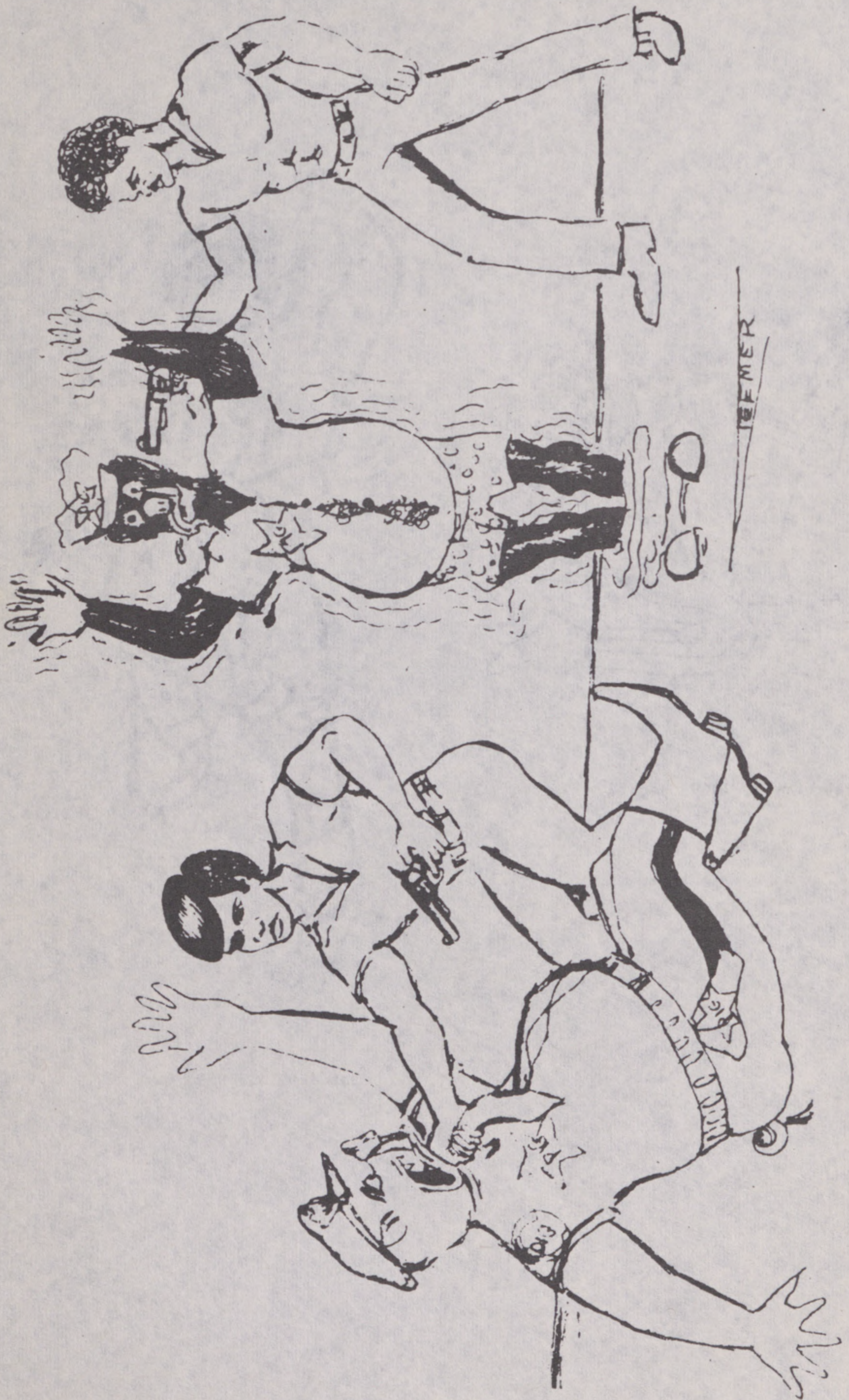
January 4, 1969, page 4

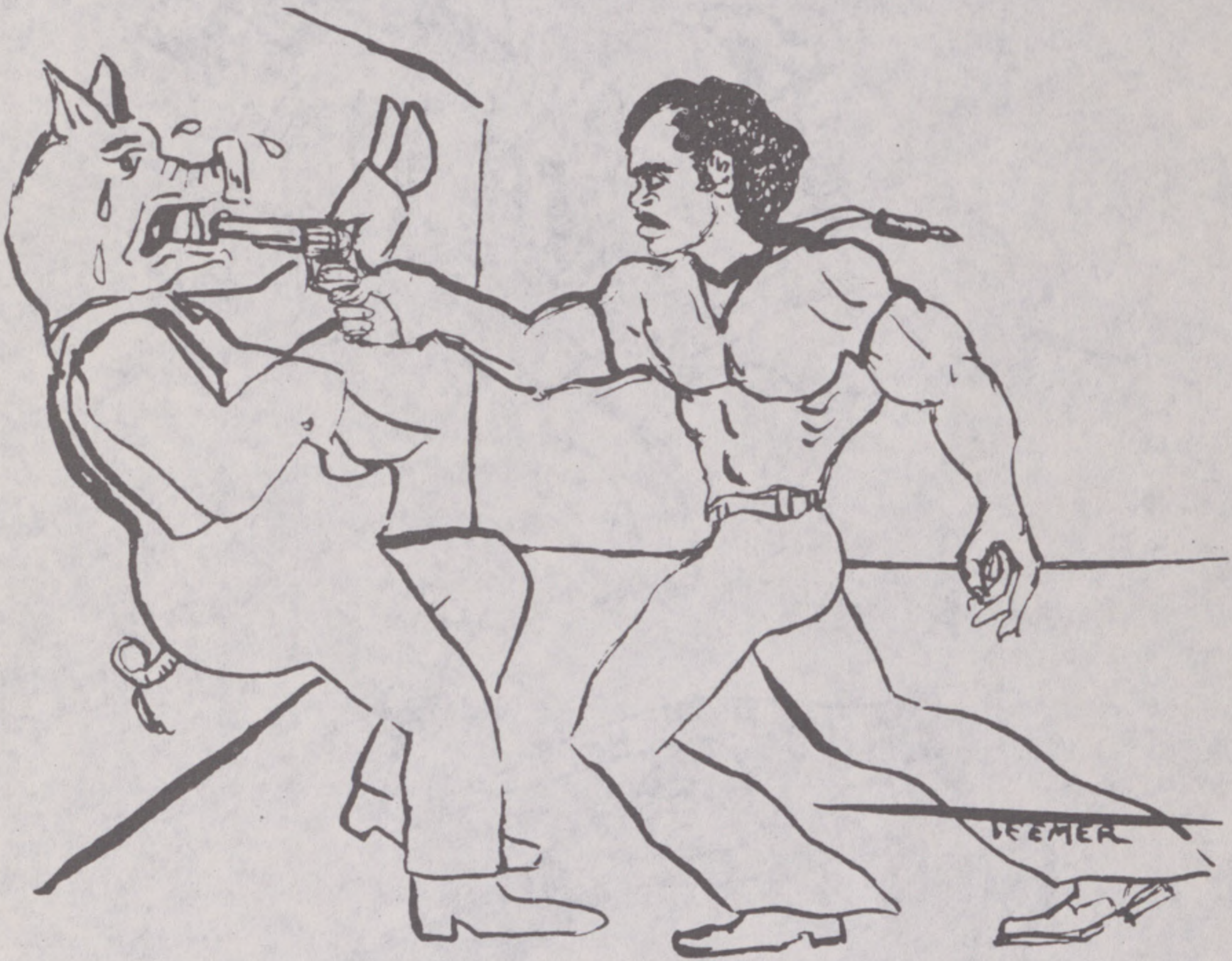


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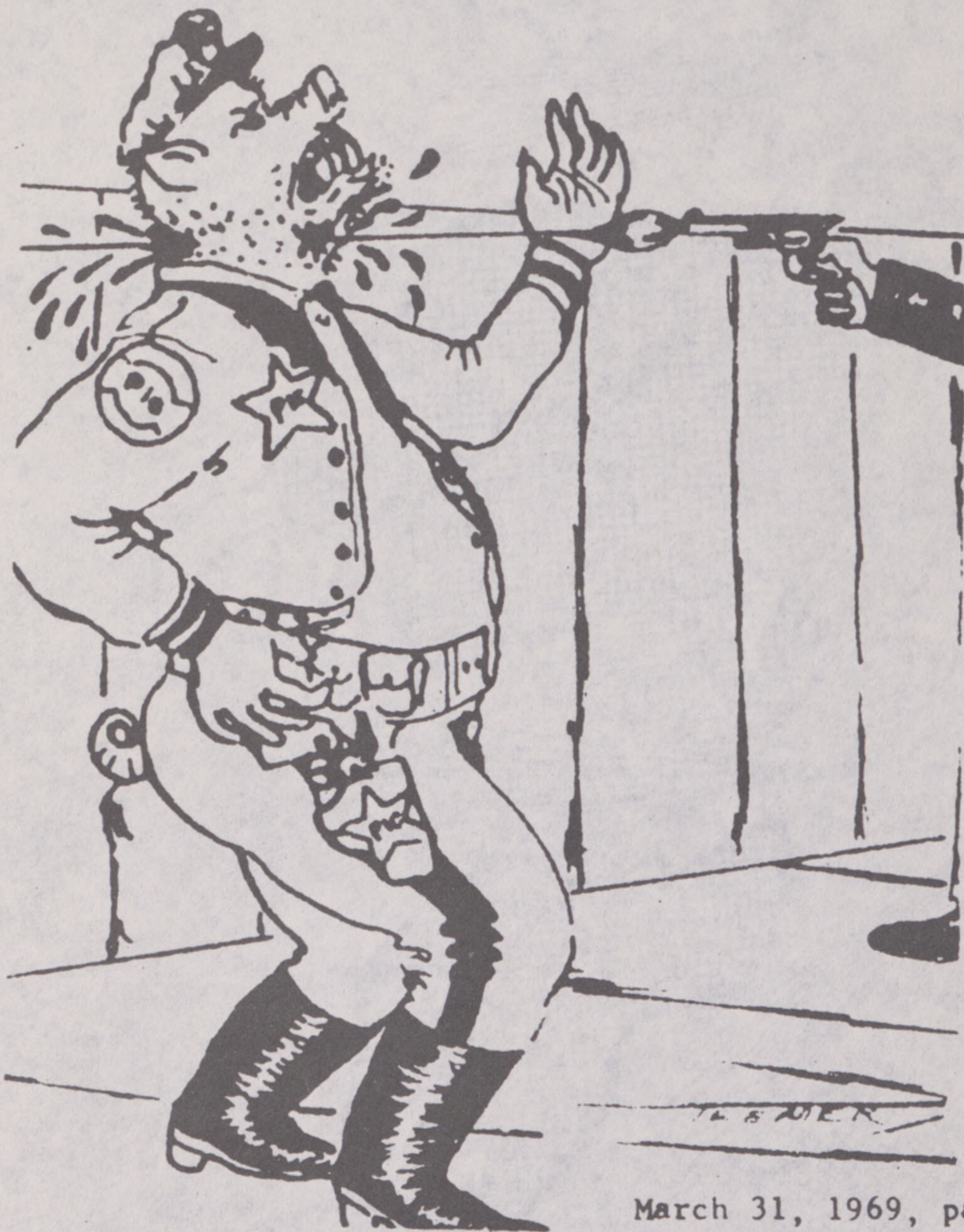


March 9, 1969, page 6

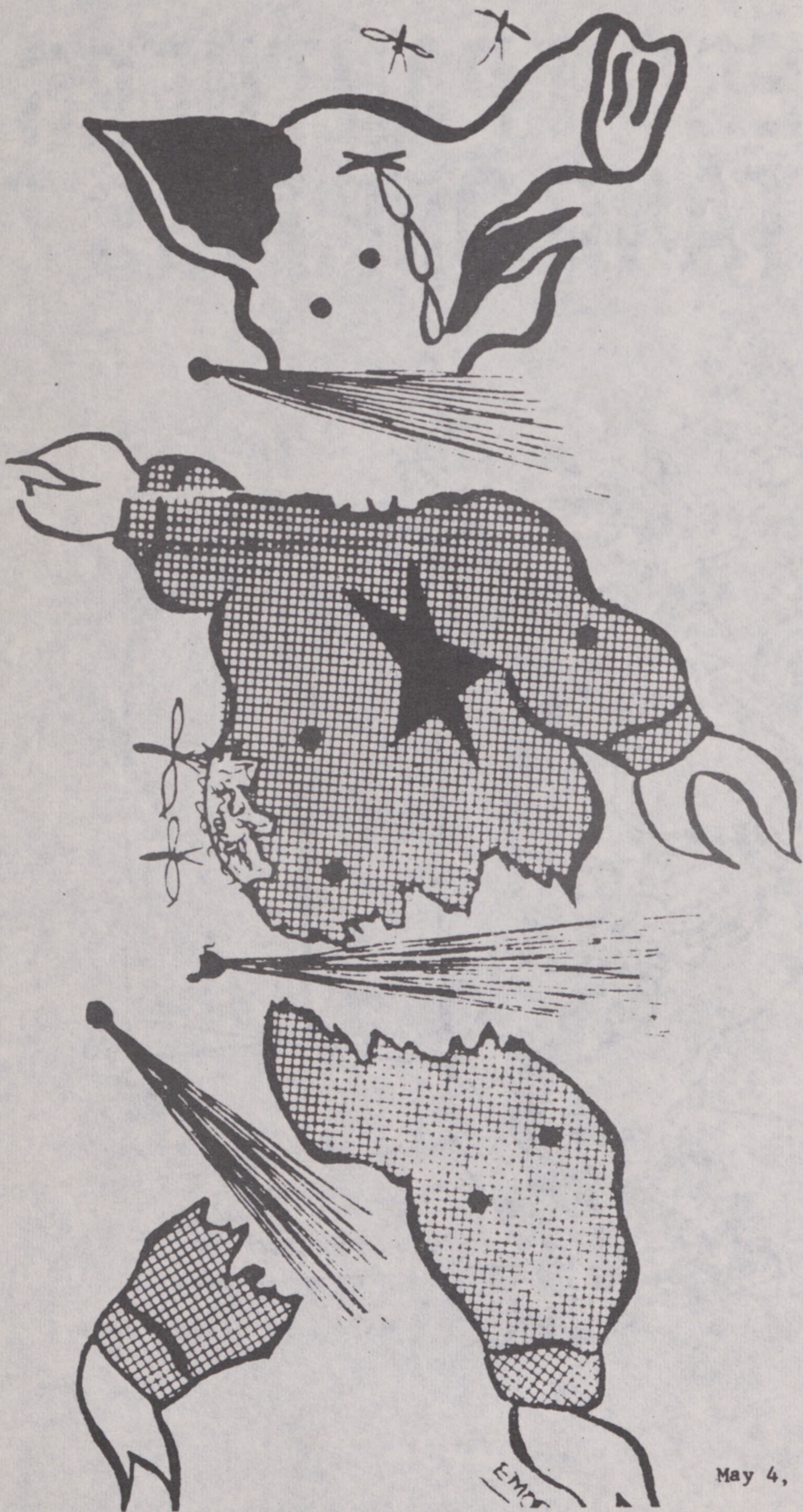


March 21, 1969, page 3

OREGON PANTHERS STAND OFF PIGS



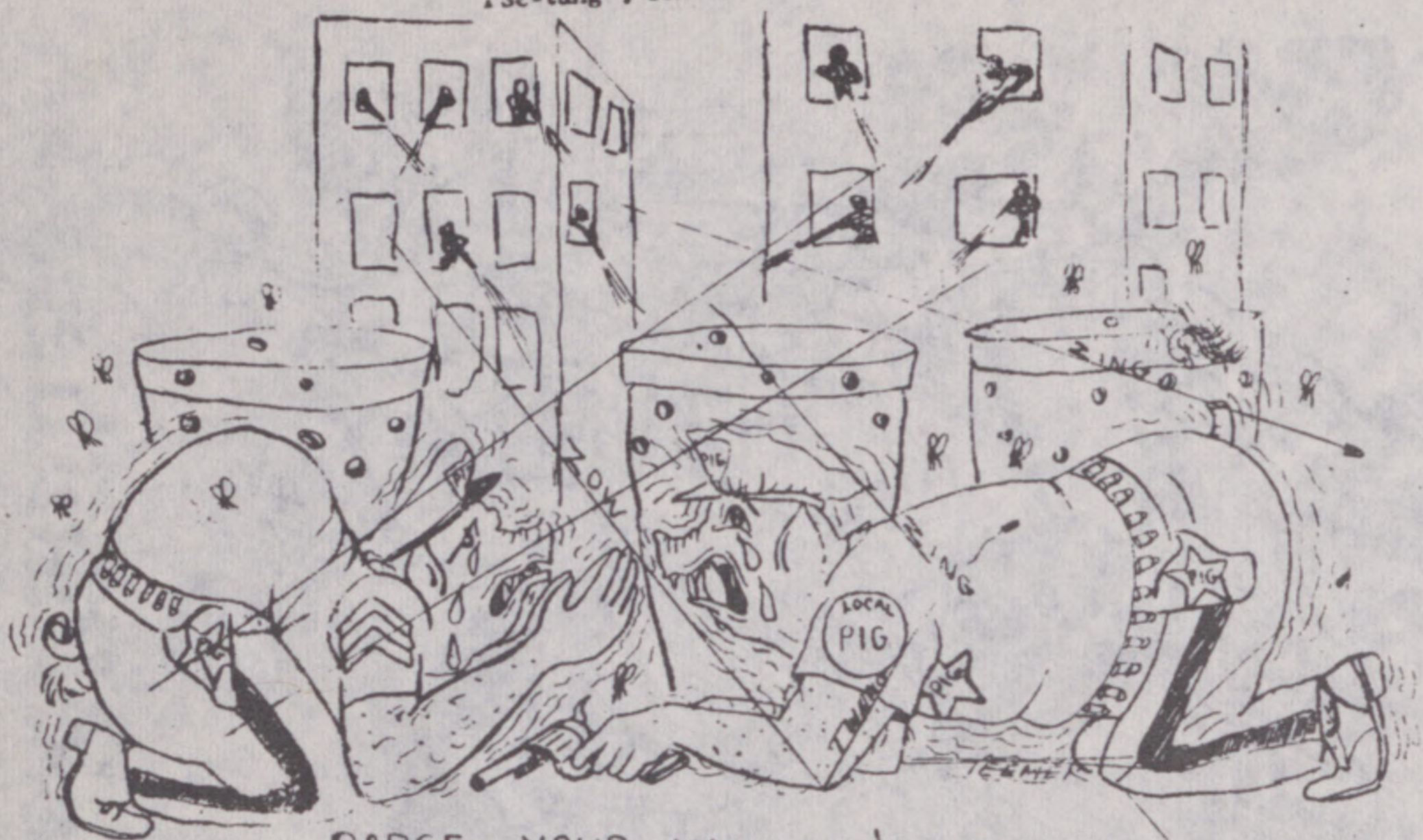
March 31, 1969, page 11





Black Panthers

May 4, 1969, page 7



SARGE YOUR NAME ISN'T REALLY
CUSTER IS IT SARGE?

May 11, 1969, page 7

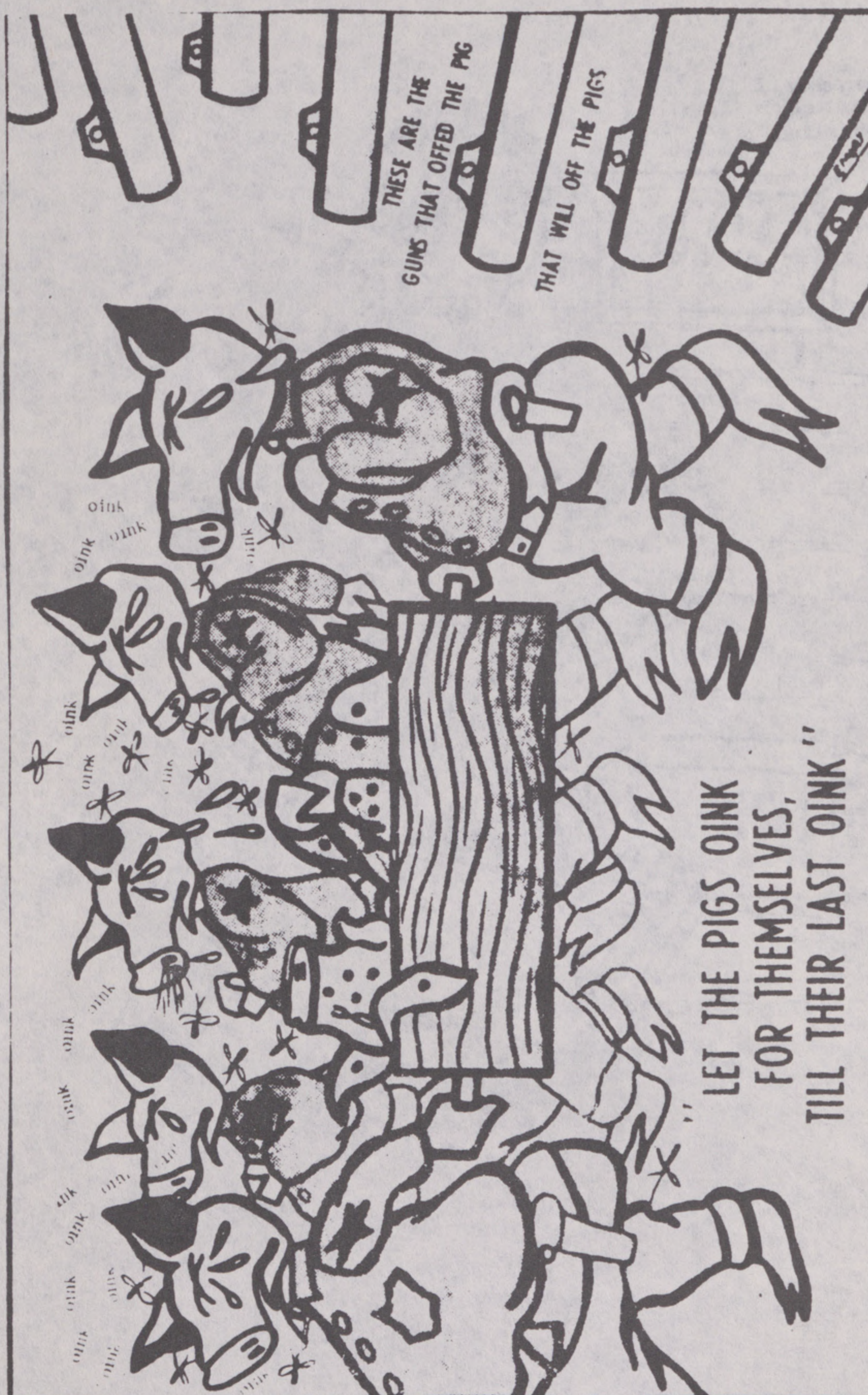


May 19, 1969, page 14

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May 19, 1969, page 2



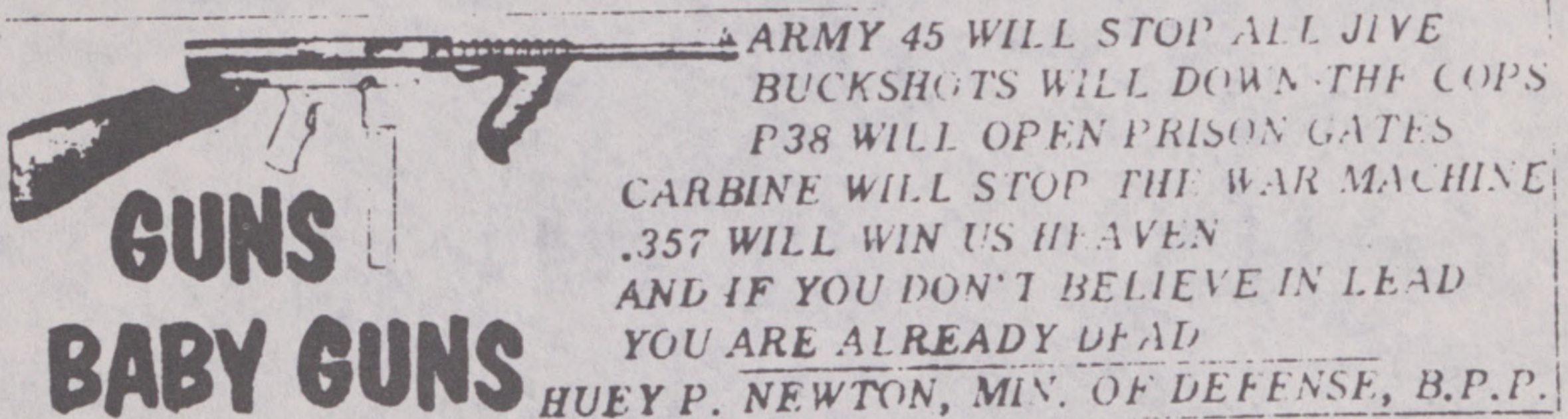


ONE GUN IN THE HANDS OF A GUERRILLA
IS THE SEED OF A REVOLUTION.

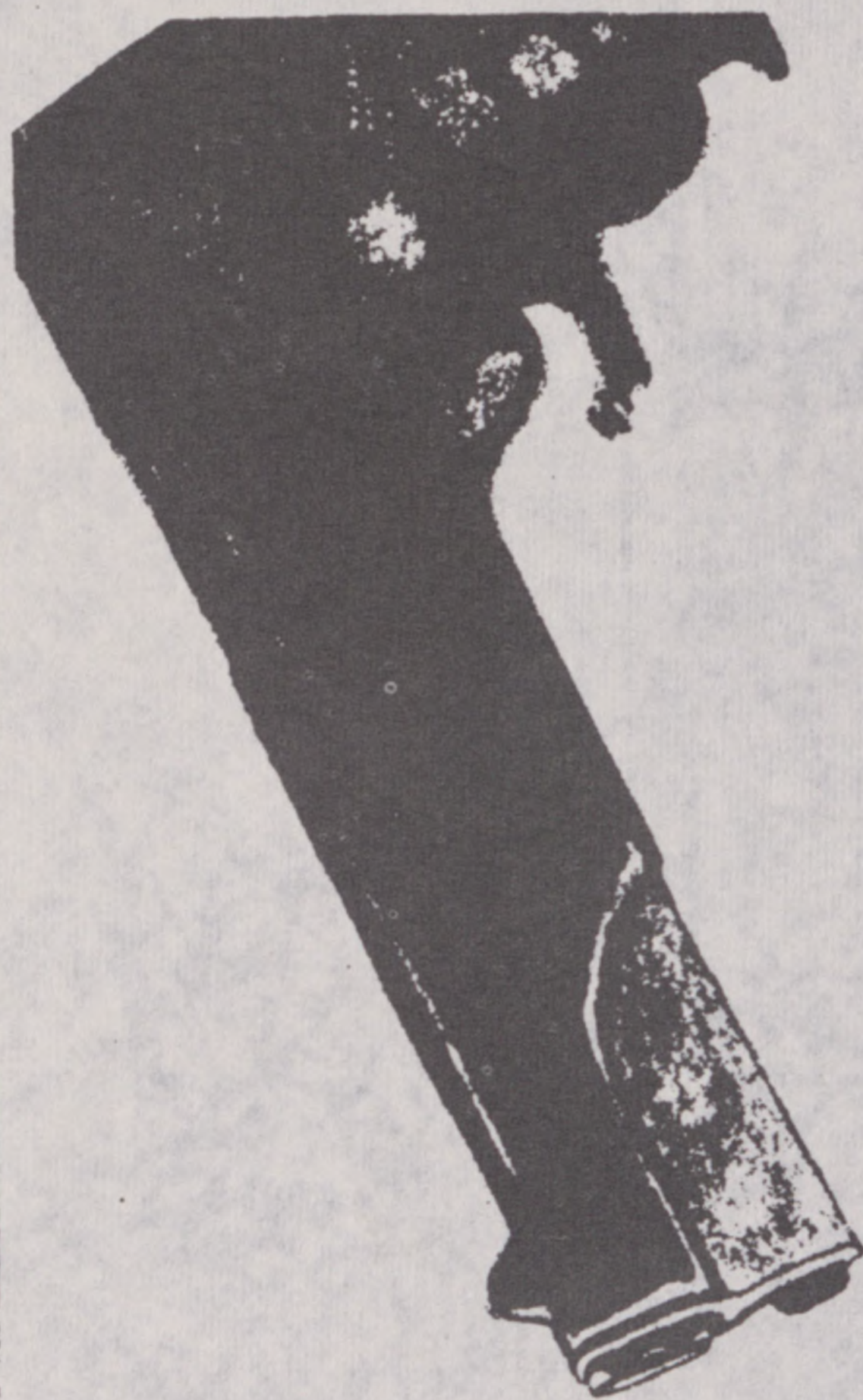
December 6, 1969, page 20



February 7, 1970, page 7



February 28, 1970, page 5

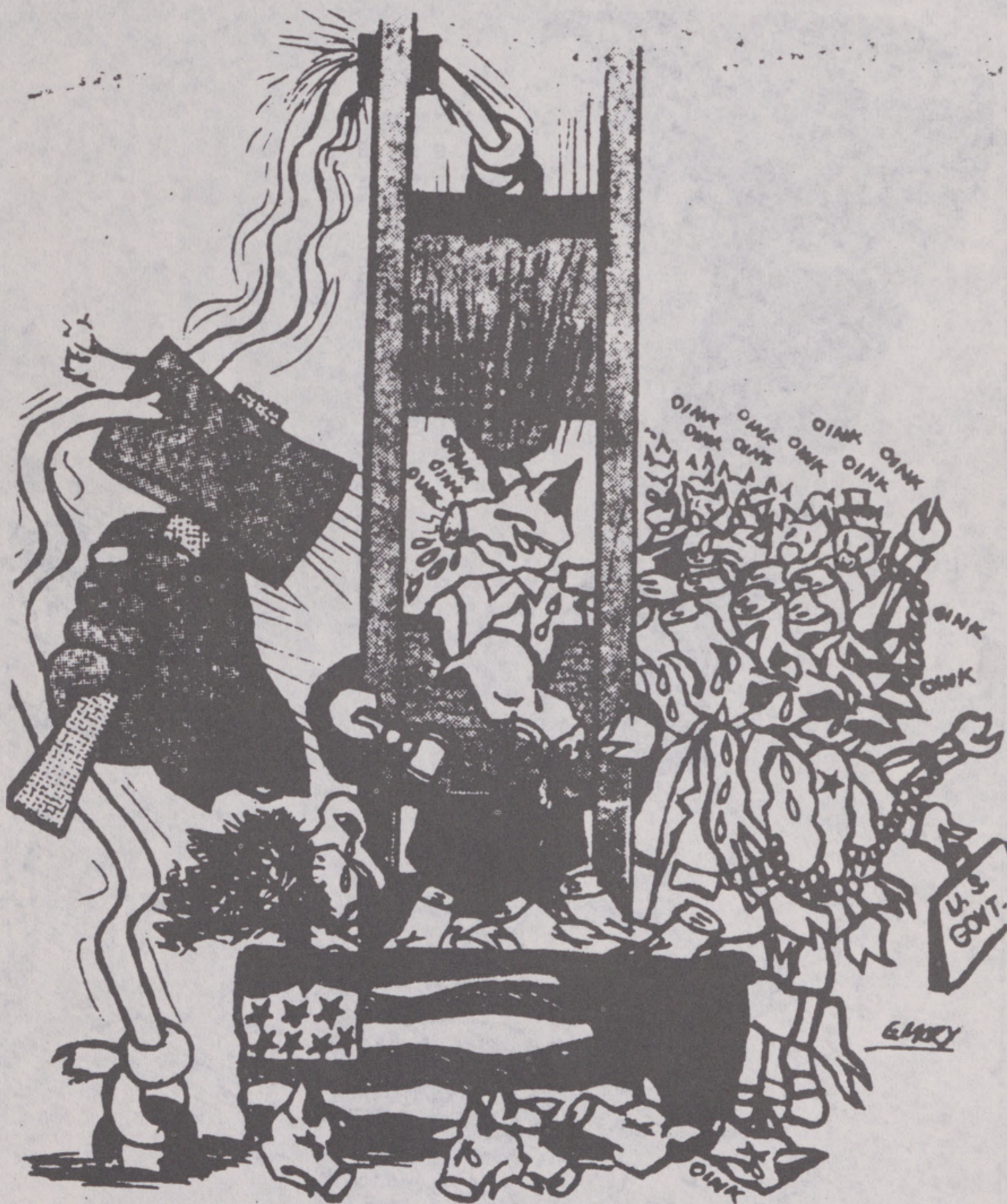


"... Only by taking up arms can we seize power. Without taking up arms we cannot attain power... In order to seize power we should wage an armed struggle; it is impossible to seize power by playing elections."

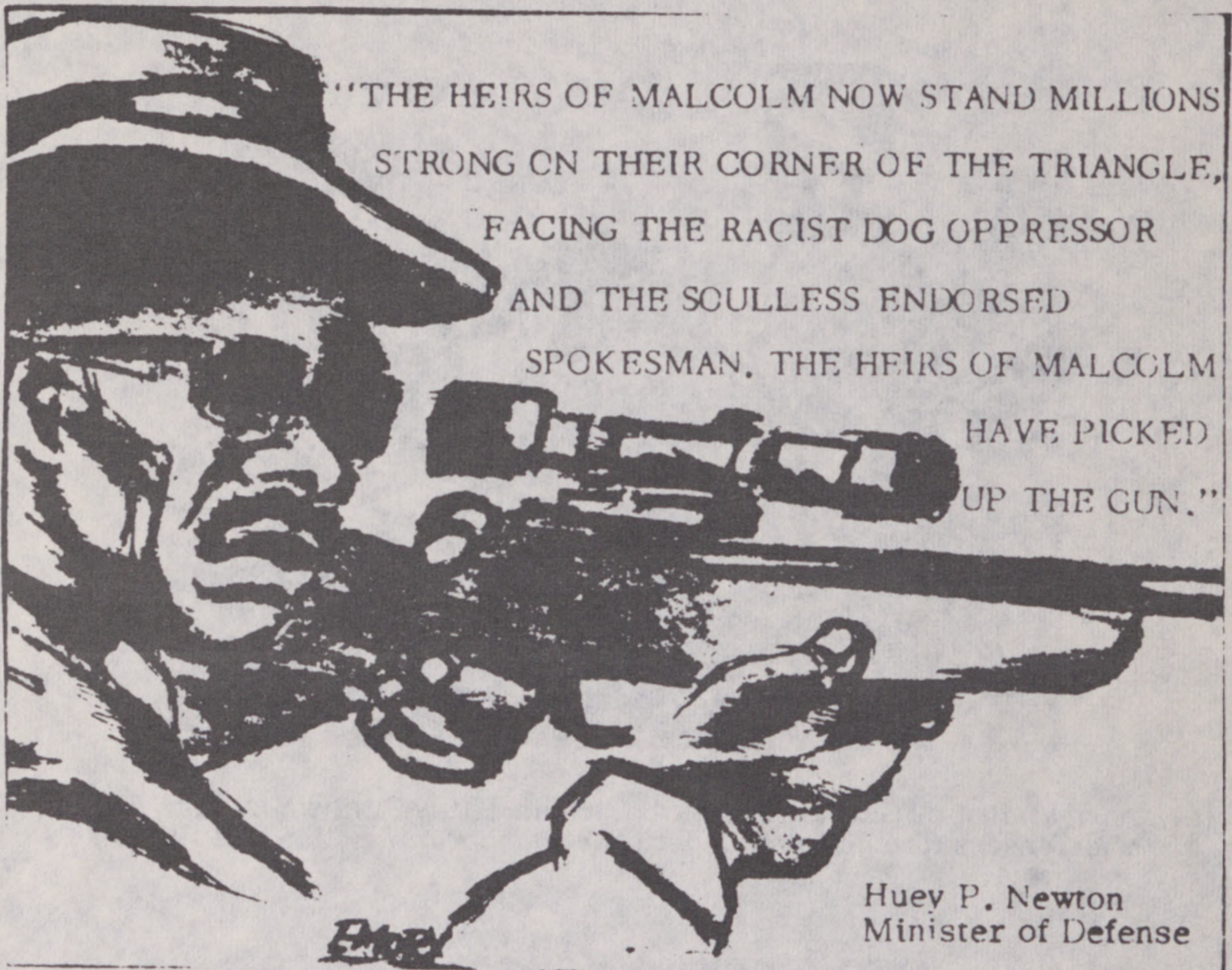
April 6, 1970, page 16



April 18, 1970, page 5



May 2, 1970, page 13



May 2, 1970, page 4



"ONLY WITH THIS GUN WERE THE BLACK
MASSES DENIED THIS VICTORY. BUT THEY
LEARNED FROM MALCOLM THAT WITH
THE GUN, THEY CAN RECAPTURE THEIR
DREAMS AND BRING THEM INTO REALITY."

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense

May 2, 1970, page 4

APPENDIX III

PHOTOGRAPHS OF NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



(Left to right) BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, chairman, HUEY PERCY NEWTON, minister of defense, supreme commander (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 24, 1970:6).



HUEY NEWTON (foreground), DAVID HILLIARD, chief of staff (colonel), (*The Black Panther*, Aug. 15, 1970:1).



Bobby Seale, Chairman, B



BOBBY GEORGE SEALE

(*The Black Panther*, April 25, 1970:11).

(*The Black Panther*, Nov. 22, 1969:4).



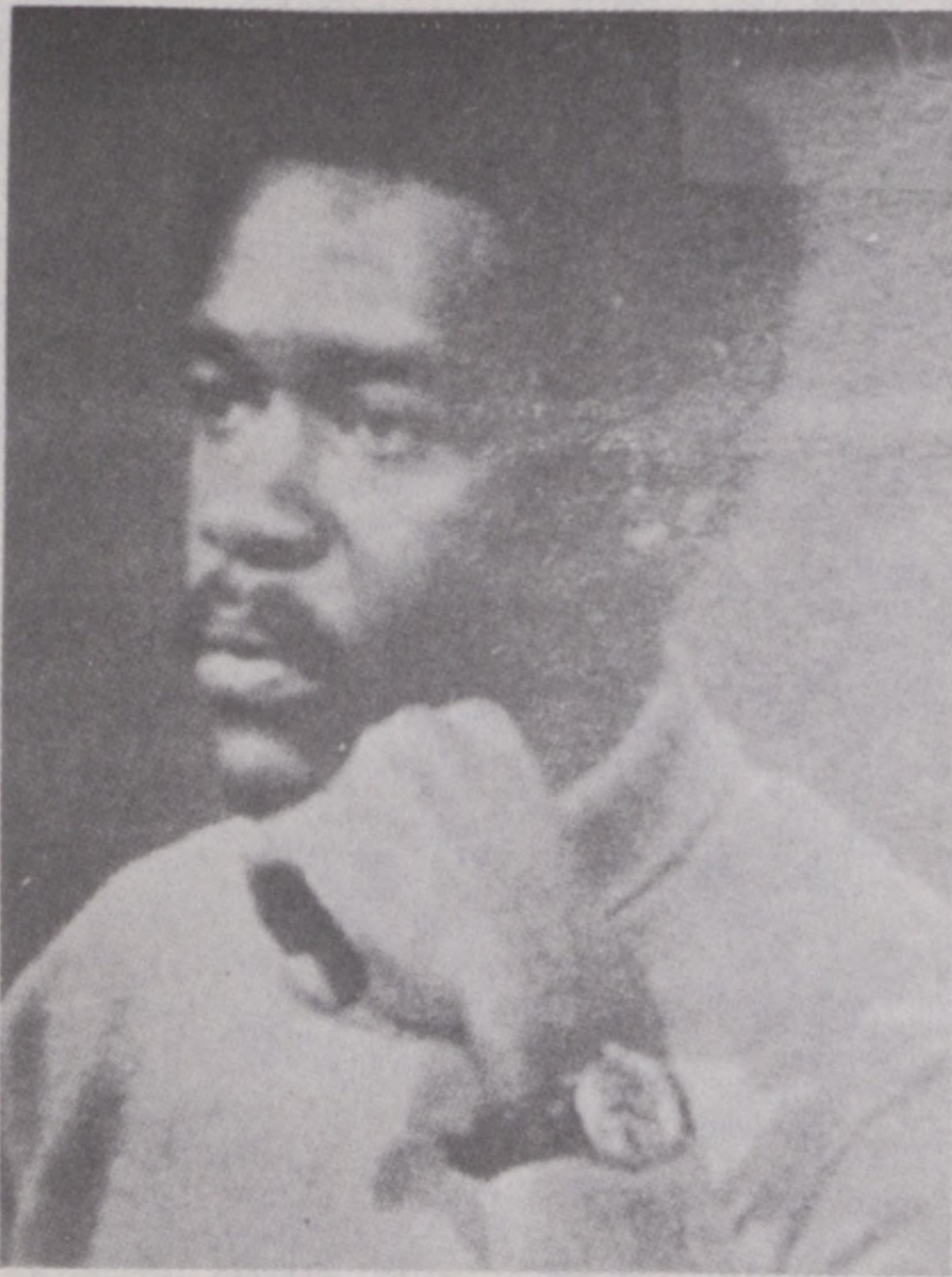
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Minister of information (*The Black Panther*, Nov. 22, 1969:5).



RAYMOND "Masai" HEWITT

Minister of education (*The Black Panther*, March 31, 1969:12).



DAVID HILLIARD

Chief of staff (colonel), (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 10, 1970:3).

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EMORY

and the preacher, the domestic

EMORY DOUGLAS

Minister of culture, revolutionary artist (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 24, 1970:5).



DON COX
FIELD
MARSHAL

Disposition - Stat

DON "D.C." COX

Field marshal (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 21, 1970:25).



KATHLEEN NEAL CLEAVER

Communications secretary (lt. colonel), (*The Black Panther*, March 31, 1969:19).



Elbert Howard (Big Man)

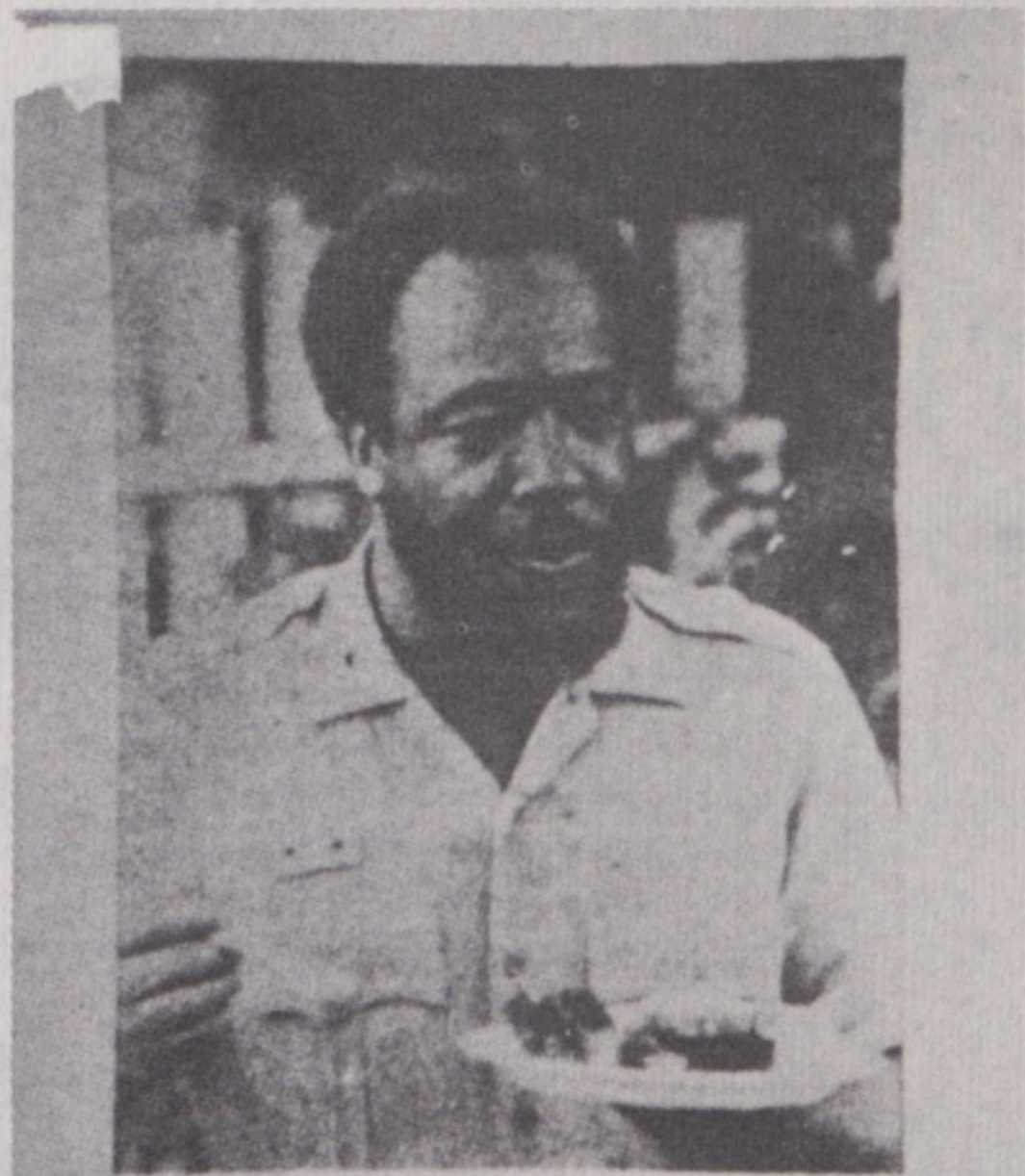


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ELBERT "Big Man" HOWARD, managing editor
(*The Black Panther*, April 25, 1970:11). (*The Black Panther*, Jan. 24, 1970:13).



Roosevelt 'June' Hilliard



JUNE HILLIARD
ASST. CHIEF OF STAFF

ROOSEVELT "June" HILLIARD, assistant chief of staff
(*The Black Panther*, April 25, 1970:11). (*The Black Panther*, Feb. 21, 1970:21).



John Seale

JOHN HENRY SEALE
Production manager of *The Black Panther* (*The Black Panther*, April 25, 1970:11).



JUDI DOUGLAS
Deputy communications secretary
(*The Black Panther*, Jan. 24, 1970:5).



CONNIE MATTHEWS
International coordinator (*The Black Panther*, May 9, 1970:15).

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¹ Spelled Dimitrov in some instances.

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