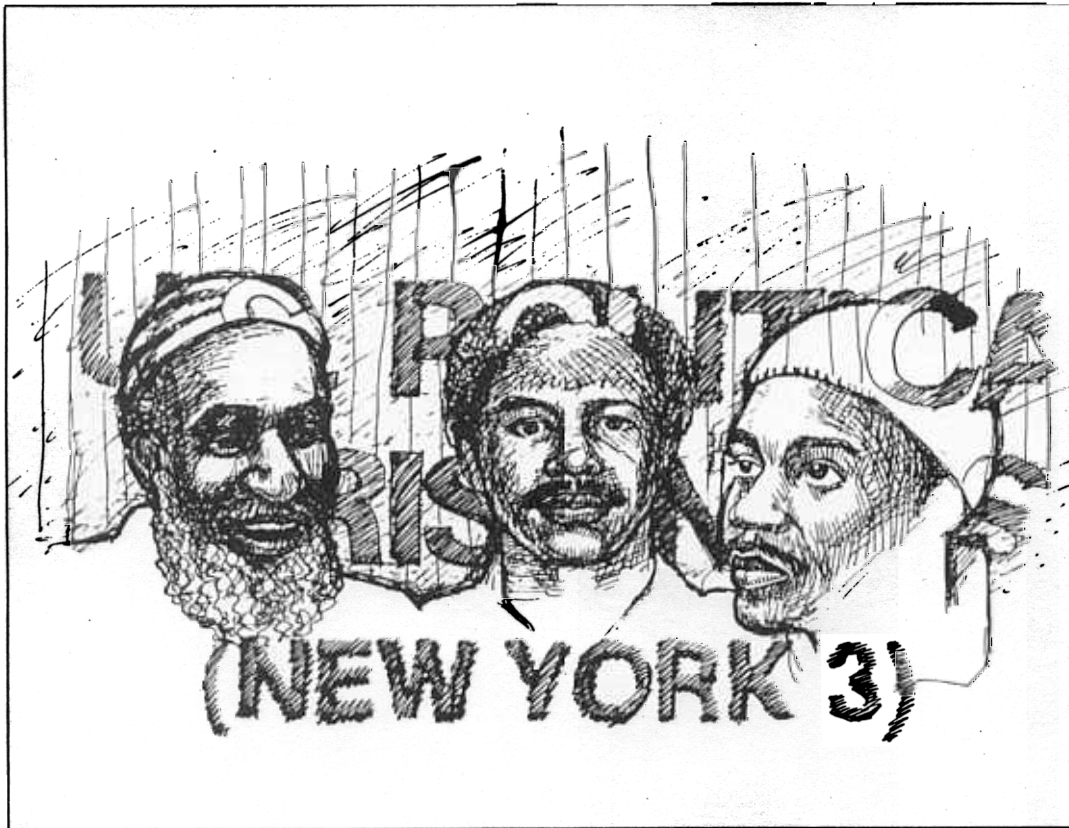


BLACK POLITICAL PRISONER PROFILE: ALBERT "NUH" WASHINGTON



My name is Albert Washington. I am a political prisoner. I am called Nuh (NOah) and like a handful of others, I am one of the longest held political prisoners in this country.

As a member of the Black Panther Party, I worked to raise the political consciousness of Black people and teach them self-defense. The government-sponsored COINTELPRO created situations that led to the split in the Black Panther Party and forced many of us underground. Underground we became the Black Liberation Army and engaged in active self-defense. In defending the Black community in San Francisco, I was shot and captured along with Jalil Abdul Muntaquin. Later I was charged with killing two New York City police officers with Jalil and Herman Bell.

The State has conceded that I have committed no act but that I taught political education classes. For that I have been sentenced to life imprisonment and subjected to the tightest security, not only in the states of California and New York, but in the country as well.

Just recently, I have been moved to a prison over 400 miles from New York to isolate me from family, friends and other prisoners. Special orders were put on me and I have been placed in a unit which houses 42 prisoners. There are seven or more on my tier. This block is called the White House because the majority of prisoners in it are white. The place has a triple fence, sensors, and cameras. I see only the sky in the yard which I go to by myself. All movement is

controlled and mine is more controlled. I can take 2 1/2 steps back and forth in the cell, 96 paces around the yard. This is the only prison in New York where your family and friends can not bring you anything. The light is always on outside the cell so my cell is never dark. Prisoners are encouraged to buy televisions and talk with the staff about themselves and others.

I am a political prisoner because I spoke out against racism and oppression. There is also another aspect to this imprisonment and that was in overcoming the negative life open to Black youth. My parents gave me love and I, in turn, tried to give it to others. Blacks are encouraged to be self-centered and individualistic and thus be weak against resisting organized oppression.

HERMAN BELL: BLACK POLITICAL PRISONER

On January 14, 1948, I was born into a family of share croppers in rural Mississippi. Sharecropping was feudalism in a modern day form in which white landowners were the feudal lords and black field-hands were the peasants or serfs.

In July 1955 I went to live with my father in Brooklyn, N.Y. and as the cultural shock diminished I observed the world through new eyes. During my early high school days I became a talented football star and later won a scholarship to play in the Bay Area.

In the fall of 1967, I arrived in Oakland, California on my football scholarship and shortly thereafter met the sista who later became the mother of our two sons, Johnas and Keith. The Vietnam War was escalating and many young blacks were sent to a fight a people they knew nothing about and while so many of them returned home in body bags, others returned on crutches mangled and maimed and psychologically scarred. College students demonstrated in the streets in the streets and on campus and some of them were killed by national guardsmen sent in to quell the rebellion. Malcolm and Dr. King had been murdered.

For me, joining the Black Panther Party

efforts to politically educate and organize the black community, then came COINTELPRO whose mission was to destroy all black political organizations in America at any cost and by any means necessary.

It is responsible for the death of and imprisonment of a major segment of the Black leadership of the 60s and 70s, and after it covertly disrupted targeted organizations, the government embarked on armed, search and destroy missions under the guise of BLA-related "criminal" investigations.

In January 1971, I went underground because of relentless f.b.i. and police attack on the Party. Revelations that Party leadership had reached irreconcilable differences merely added fuel to the fire. Given the prevailing circumstances one either went underground or left the country. I chose to stay as did many of my comrades and in anticipation that some of us would stay the authorities continued to beat the bushes in search of us.

On Sept. 2, 1973 I was captured, extradited to New York on trumped up charges of having killed two N.Y.C. policemen, and railroaded to prison for life with no possibility of parole until after serving twenty-five years. Under COINTELPRO there were

Since our capture and subsequent imprisonment, we political prisoners are singled out for special treatment (placement in Behavioral Modification Units) in an attempt to get us to renounce our political beliefs and to break our spirits. Shawangunk Prison has such a unit - I am in it now - but in opposition to our placement in here we locked in our cells on 10/5/88 and refused to come out and we are still locked in.

And in closing I find it necessary to tell you that we get no support from you, nor does the Black Liberation Movement as a whole because it has been successfully criminalized by the government, which is why so many of you young people and older activists flock to Central America demos and organizations but ignore your own social movement. Poor organization and ineffectual leadership is partly responsible for your attitude but what of your attitude toward your future and the future of our children? You should know that the life expectancy of our people is on a serious decline. In the 60s and 70s our people organized forums to address our problems and then mapped out a plan of action and took to the streets. Today you seem disinclined to be assertive in dealing with the very things that determine the quality of our material existence. Without sacrifice there can be no victory.

Outside Contact:

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Address:

Herman Bell, #790262, Shawangunk

My family instilled in me values and a sense of pride in myself, family and people. They were always there. I am not allowed family reunion visits because I am considered a high-security escape risk, while others who have escaped, can get them. It is now harder for my mother to visit me. My friends must make plans to get here. I have not held my wife in a long time.

I tell jokes and educate my fellow prisoners, which is why I am transferred a lot. The Black Panther Party is physically gone but the spirit lives in a lot of us. Just recently a brother asked me for the goals and rules of the Black Panther Party, and a few people wish to be part of it again.

Eighteen years as a prisoner and the memory of being with the people still brings a smile to my face and it is something I share with my fellow prisoners. The concept of unity, movement and love.

I am a Prisoner of War as well as a Political Prisoner because of the historical and contemporary acts of war carried out against Blacks/New Afrikan people inside and outside these United States by the government and those who believe in white supremacy.

There is very little in here of me yet it is all me. I am kind to my fellow prisoners and I feel for others. I would like to take a walk at night and hug my baby.

I'd like to do all the things that people take for granted in their so-called freedom. Not being able to touch and share special moments with another makes one generalize. I tell myself I am all right. But who can be all right after all these years under these conditions. Still I am in command of my politics.

I can laugh and love so the damage is not that bad. Whatever strength I have comes from the knowledge that I am a political prisoner and the things we stand for were/are correct.

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Albert Nuh Washington

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Wende Prison

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ANTHONY JALIL BOTTOM: BLA POLITICAL PRISONER

I was born October 18, 1951, in Oakland, California, the first of four children in my family. My early years were spent in San Francisco.

During the civil rights movement, I participated in NAACP youth organizing and was one of many who engaged in street riots against racism and police brutality in San Francisco. At the age of 16 1/2, on April 6, 1968, the night Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, the BSU Chairman of S.J. State and City College, myself and a couple of high school students were arrested in a car for possession of high powered rifles and molotov cocktails. After the assassination of Rev. King, I begin to believe a more militant response to national oppression and racism was necessary, and began to look towards the Black Panther Party for Self Defense for leadership.

I became affiliated with the Black Panther Party when I was 18 years old. Having moved back to San Francisco from San Jose, I was recruited into the Black underground by old elementary school friends who had since become Panthers.

Less than two months from my twentieth birthday, I was captured along with Albert Nuh Washington in a midnight shoot-out with San Francisco police. I was subsequently charged with a host of revolutionary underground activity, including the assassination of two NYC police officers, for which I'm currently serving a life sentence. Having been imprisoned since

UPDATE ON POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BALTIMORE: MARSHALL EDDIE CONWAY

By Paul Coates

Marshall Eddie Conway has been jailed since April of 1970. Eddie was originally charged with the shooting death of one Baltimore city policeman and the attempted murder of two others. He was always maintained his innocence. He insists he was singled out for punishment because of his role in exposing several undercover agents within the Baltimore BPP Chapter. His reasoning on this point is supported when the extraordinary tactics the state used to convict him are examined.

This was a case in which the state had no evidence to connect Eddie to the crime he was charged with. The state fabricated a circumstantial case which rested wholly on the testimony of a paid jailhouse informer, planted in Eddie's cell after his arrest, and the testimony of a police officer, who claimed that Eddie shot at him shortly after the first officer was killed.

The informer was an experienced operative. Placed in someone's cell for a day or two, he would emerge claiming his unsuspecting cellmate had taken him into his confidence and had confessed everything to him. In return for his testimony, he was compensated with cash and good word here and there to help him with other charges he was facing. The police officer identified Eddie only after he was shown two different stacks

of photographs. Of the two stacks, Eddie's picture was the only picture which appeared in both stacks. In court it was called a "stacked deck identification." Eddie's arrest was part of a concerted attack on the Baltimore Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

His defense was organized at a time when arrest by local police and federal agents had decimated the Baltimore Chapter and left it in a virtual state of confusion and disorganization. No less than 21 members, former members, and community workers were either in jail or hiding under threat of indictment when they were arrested.

Those who remained were overwhelmed by the complexity and volume of its new legal predicament.

With hardly any financial resources available and no legal defense team in place, Eddie went to trial. Against his wishes he was represented by a court-appointed attorney who the presiding trial judge praised at the end of the trial for presenting "such a wonderful defense for Eddie." This same lawyer held two brief interviews with Eddie before trial, one while Eddie was locked in the city jail. It lasted less than one hour. The second interview was conducted while Eddie was preparing to enter the court room before his trial. That one also lasted less than an hour.

The court-appointed lawyer presented no pre-trial motions, and could not seem to

understand why Eddie did not want him for a lawyer. The judge insisted that it was in Eddie's best interest to proceed with this court appointed-lawyer.

Eddie has remained a model of strength. He provides leadership to inmate councils and coordinates programs of value and substance.

Eddie demanded that he represent himself. Initially his request was approved. But as the case proceeded, it became clear that the judge intended for Eddie not to defend himself, but for him to sit passively at the defense table while his "lawyer" defended him. In protest Eddie refused to stay in the court room. Handicapped without adequate legal representation, he was convicted in what is still remembered as one of Baltimore's most publicized cases.

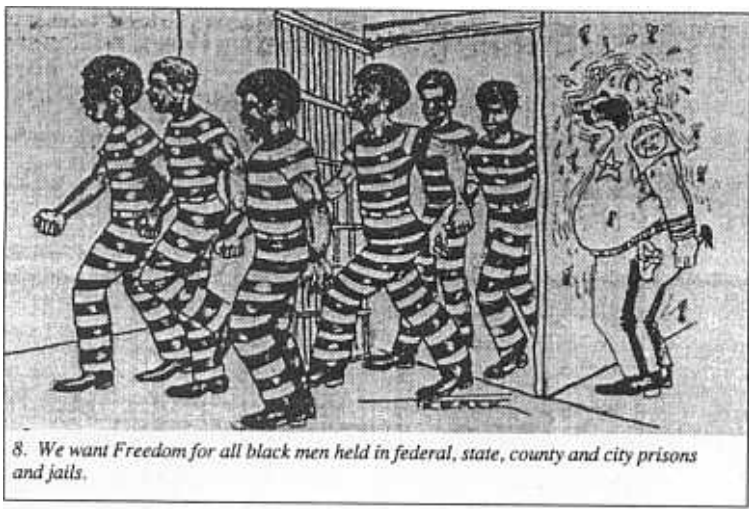
It took several years to move Eddie's case to the appellate level. During that time with the help of primarily volunteer lawyers, we

have been able to identify a number of what we believe are unconstitutional decisions rendered by the trial judge, including his authorizing Eddie at one time to conduct his own defense and at another, permitting the court-appointed lawyer to conduct Eddie's case. This, in fact, resulted in what we contend to be a "hybrid" representation. This situation has been held to be unconstitutional in several cases. Yet, the Maryland courts recently turned down our appeal on this and other points. While this was somewhat of a setback, Eddie continues to seek legal remedy as relief to his incarceration.

Throughout the last two decades, Eddie has been supported by a network of family, loved ones and comrades, and a community of people who refuse to forget him or the miscarriage of justice that he now suffers.

For his part, Eddie has remained a model of strength. He continues to provide leadership to inmate councils and coordinate programs of value and substance to other inmates. He also actively conducts legal research to aid with his ongoing defense. Recently he experienced the joy of having a son graduate from college, who was an infant when his father was arrested.

The legal work around Eddie's case continues. Presently, our efforts are focused on moving the case into the federal courts and exposing the acts of injustice committed against Eddie before and during his trial. ■



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

ANTHONY JALIL BOTTOM

continued from page 14

1971, Nuh and I are two of the three longest held Black political prisoners outside of South Africa. The other one is Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt who has been imprisoned since 1971.

Since my imprisonment, I have been held in four major maximum security prisons in California, and six different maximum security prisons in New York State. It was while in the infamous Adjustment Center in San Quentin, celled next door to the indomitable Ruchell Magee, that the idea was first generated to petition the United Nations on the existence of political prisoners in the United States. Hence, in 1976 I launched the National Prisoners Campaign to Petition the United Nations. With Sundiata Acoli being the East Coast representative, and many BLA comrades in prison across the country supporting this endeavor, along with a thousand progressive prisoners signing petitions, we successfully had a petition submitted and discussed in Geneva, Switzerland. This effort created the conditions for Lennox Hinds and the National Conference of Black Lawyers to have the UN International Commission of Jurists tour U.S. prisons and speak with specific political prisoners. The International Commission of Jurists then reported to the UN Subcommittee on Discrimination and Treatment of Minorities, and other UN bodies, that political prisoners did in fact exist in the United States.

had been under the direct investigation of a Nixon White House inspired conspiracy to imprison members of the BPP/BLA group. This conspiracy was developed on May 26, 1971, in a White House meeting and code named "Newkill", five days after the May 21, 1971, assassination of two New York city police officers. We have since learned that the prosecutor withheld thousands of pages of exculpatory material in collusion with the FBI and the Nixon administration. We now possess Newkill documents with the signatures of "Watergater" John Erlichmann and FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, and with specific instructions to ensure a cover-up of Newkill, and that such information be withheld from our defense. This includes an FBI ballistic report that determined the weapon claimed to have been used by me could not be conclusively determined to be the murder weapon. Witnesses had been tortured, bribed and imprisoned in order to obtain a conviction. This is the only BPP/BLA case in which the prosecutor made millions of dollars in writing a book and having a TV movie aired on CBS.

The case of the New York 3 is one of the most significant political prisoners of war cases since the BPP leadership trials. In this case, progressive people will learn to what extent the government will act to imprison those persons they feel are a threat to continued practices of national op-

FREE AHMAD ABDUR-RAHMAN

By James Ricci, Detroit, Michigan.

The time has come for Michigan Governor James Blanchard to set Ahmad Abdur-Rahman free. Ahmad, a former Black Panther, is serving a life sentence without parole for first-degree murder. The truth, however, is that Ahmad has never killed anyone. His sentence was the result of an incident that occurred when he was 19, in a climate of racial fear and retribution that existed at the time, and of a law that has since been recognized as unfair and consequently changed by the state legislature.

Ahmad, formerly known as Ronald Irwin, has spent his entire adulthood - 18 of his 38 years - in prison. He is considered a model inmate. "At this point in time, we would parole him, except for the life sentence," says William Hudson, chairman of the state parole board. Abdur-Rahman's only hope is having his sentence commuted to make him eligible for parole. Only the governor can give commutations.

Ahmad and three other young members of the Black Panther Party raided an old mansion in Detroit they believed was a heroin den early on Easter Sunday 1971. The Black Panther Party considered heroin dealers parasites on the black community. Some of its members, among them Abdur-Rahman, had organized into armed squads and invaded dope houses, flushing drugs down toilets and expropriating dealers' money for such community projects as the free breakfast program the Black Panthers ran for poor children. The raids were exceedingly dangerous, and the raiders kept none of the money for themselves. Ahmad lived in poverty.

The house on Virginia Park, however, was no dope house, but the communal residence of 15 Wayne State University students and other young people. One of the Panthers held a rifle on the assembled occupants while Abdur-Rahman and the others searched the house for drugs. While they searched, a young man named Franklin Abramson, who was among those being guarded, moved to quiet his barking dog. The man with the rifle shoved him with the gun, which accidentally discharged, killing Abramson. Ahmad was on another floor of the house when the gun went off.

person to be found guilty of first-degree murder if he was involved in committing another felony (in this case, armed robbery) during which a person died. Since then, the law has been changed and now requires that a defendant have intended to kill someone.

Abdur-Rahman's entire prior criminal record consisted of one misdemeanor, also incurred in connection with his activities as a Black Panther. But given the old law and the animosity society at large held for the strutting belligerent Panthers, his conviction and sentencing to life without parole were nearly a foregone conclusion. Abdur-Rahman's accomplices long since have been paroled; he has already been incarcerated six years longer than any of the others. The man who accidentally killed Franklin Abramson has been free since 1983.

Abdur-Rahman's entire prior criminal record consisted of one misdemeanor, also incurred in connection with his activities as a Black Panther.

Abdur-Rahman is incarcerated at G. Robert Cotton Correctional Facility in Jackson, Michigan. While in prison, he has earned a bachelor's degree in sociology from Wayne State, compiling a near-straight-A average, and credits toward a master's degree in Near Eastern studies from the University of Michigan. He has earned certificates as a paralegal and in video production, marketable skills both.

Help us free Ahmad. Write to the Governor of Michigan asking him to commute Ahmad's sentence. ■

Profile: Mutulu Shakur

New African Political Prisoner



Mutulu Shakur is a 37-year-old Doctor of Acupuncture.

Shakur's political and social consciousness began to develop early in his life. His mother suffered not only from being Black and female, but she was also blind. It was Shakur's first confrontation with the state. The experience of helping his mother negotiate the social service system made him realize that the system does not operate in the interests of Black people and that Black people must control the institutions that affect their lives.

It is not surprising then that one of the first struggles in which he became involved was Ocean Hill Brownsville in Brooklyn, where Black parents were struggling to control their children's educational destiny. His participation was also based on his own experiences in the New York public school system. "I was involved because I had been miseducated, abused, and disrespected," said Shakur. "Ocean Hill Brownsville was similar to the struggle in Soweto in 1976 in which the people struggled against the system of Bantu education."

As an acupuncturist and health-care worker, Shakur worked from 1971 to 1978 for the Lincoln Hospital Detoxification Program in the Bronx, New York. From 1978 to 1982, Dr. Shakur was the Co-Founder and Co-Director of the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America (BAAANA) and the Harlem Institute of Acupuncture.

The Lincoln Detox Program was recognized as the largest and most effective of its kind by the National Institute of Drug Abuse.

At Lincoln, Dr. Shakur led a program which used acupuncture to assist in the detoxification of thousands of drug addicts. The Lincoln Detox Program was recognized as the largest and most effective of its kind by the National Institute of Drug Abuse, the National Acupuncture Research Society, and the World Academic Society of Acupuncture.

At BAAANA, Dr. Shakur continued his remarkable work against drug addiction. He also treated and/or supervised the treatment of thousands of elderly and poor patients who otherwise would have received no treatment of this kind. Patients were able to receive

Moreover, the clinic at BAAANA served on a regular basis many community leaders, political activists, lawyers, doctors, and various international dignitaries. At BAAANA, Dr. Shakur and his co-founder, Dr. Richard Delaney, trained over one hundred students in the medical science of acupuncture. Some of the trainees at the Harlem Institute of Acupuncture were already medical doctors, licensed by various states in the United States.

In the late 1970s, Dr. Shakur traveled with Dr. Mario Wexu, Director of Education at the International Association of Traditional Chinese Acupuncture in Montreal, to the People's Republic of China, where he observed and studied acupuncture

applied as the primary form of medical care. Dr. Shakur and his colleague, Richard Delaney, by invitation attended and lectured on their work at many conferences.

Brother Shakur also worked with the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) in his early years. This was a Revolutionary Black Nationalist organization which struggled for Black self-determination and socialist change in America.

Brother Doctor Shakur has furthermore been a dedicated worker and champion in the struggle against political imprisonment and political convictions of Black activists in America. He has also been a leader in the struggle against the illegal U.S. and local American law enforcement programs designed to destroy the Black movement in America, and has worked to expose and stop the secret American war against its Black colony.

Brother Shakur served on the Committee to Defend Herman Ferguson, a leading Black po-

litical activist and educator charged with conspiracy in the RAM conspiracy case of the 1960s. Dr. Shakur was a member of the National Committee to Free Political Prisoners. He has worked to legally defend and support political prisoners and prisoners of war like Imari Obadele, Ph.D., and the R.N.A 11, Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10, Geronimo Pratt of the Black Panther Party, Assata Shakur of the Black Liberation Army (BLA), and Sundiata Acoli of the BLA. He contributed to the development of a petition to the United Nations by the National Conference of Black Lawyers and others. The petition is now documented in the book, *Illusions of Justice*, by Lennox S. Hinds. He has worked with the National Conference of Black Lawyers in developing defense committees for numerous political prisoners and prisoners of war.

Brother Shakur was most importantly a

co-founder and director of the National Task Force for Cointelpro Litigation and Research which investigated, exposed, and instigated suits against the FBI and other American law agencies for criminal acts, domestic spying, dirty tricks, repression, and counterinsurgency warfare maneuvers against the New Afrikan Independence struggle and others struggling against oppression in America.

Dr. Shakur has a wife and two children who lived with him in New York until 1982. His wife now lives in Texas with their children. Dr. Shakur also has a daughter from a previous relationship who lives with her mother in Baltimore.

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STATEMENT BY HERMAN BELL

The legacy of COINTELPRO haunts us still. Through COINTELPRO, under the direction of F.B.I. Director Hoover, the government embarked upon a well calculated campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party, and in the process, many of its members were killed (Fred Hampton, Lil' Bobby Hutton) and imprisoned. Some of us have been in prison for almost twenty-years.

Our children should be at the top of our agenda. They are our future.

Much has come to pass. In retrospect, I think we need to look the situation over, to do some re-thinking, and return to the basics. By basics I mean revitalize our survival programs. In its protractedness, the struggle continues to be about bread, shelter, and basic human rights. Our children should be at the top of our agenda. To invest in them is to invest in our future because they are our future.

We need to put in place carefully thought out and administered survival programs which will be our life-line in this heavy sea of political despair. Not that the 60s and 70s can be characterized as the "Good Ol' Days," because they were not, but they were the best we had at the time. To compare them with now, it's fair to say that social conditions have grown worse, not better as more and more people are being put in jail. Today we face an unprecedented inflow of crack in our communities. It's an epidemic! Without official sanction you know crack would not be in this country in the amount that it is. There is more than high profits and unscrupulous businessmen involved here.

If you feel up against the wall as deteriorating social conditions press on you, then go back to the basics. Get with those you feel you can trust and work with. Figure out what you can do and do it. After all, a journey of a thousand miles is shortened by the first step.

By virtue of our humanity, let me impress upon you that we do have an obligation to one another. Marcus Garvey said it best; "Every Generation has a job to do in the betterment of the African People here in the U.S., and when one generation fails to struggle and sacrifice and do their job, then it makes it harder for the next generation." ■

PROFILE HUGO A. "DAHARIKI" PINELL

BLACK POLITICAL PRISONER

Hugo A. Pinell, also known as "Dahariki," has been incarcerated by the California Department of Corrections (CDC) since 1964. For nearly all of the last two decades, Hugo has been held in administrative solitary confinement. It is said that Hugo has been mistreated, isolated, and brutalized more than any other prisoner in the CDC.

By birth, Hugo A. Pinell is a Nicaraguan of Black and Brown heritage. He came to the U.S. at age 12, and lived the life of the ghetto streets. In 1964, at the age of 19, he turned himself over to the authorities, made a plea bargain on a count of rape, and has been in prison ever since. The Sandinista Government of Nicaragua has offered Hugo political asylum, but California authorities refuse to even hear of it.

While in California prisons, Hugo began to realize the political nature of his situation, observing that Blacks account for over 50 percent of the California prison population, while being only 10 percent of the state's population. In 1967, he began to associate himself with other prisoners constructing a front of the Black Liberation Struggle behind prison walls, including W.L. Nolen, Howard Tole, William Christmas, and other Black political prisoners. Hugo A. Pinell was also a close friend of George Jackson.

Hugo and these men were all part of a ... we believe in the human element to revolt against oppressing forces ... we believe in

guide to freedom ... political movement by Black prisoners in the 1960s which sought to examine the social roots of their predicament, and to reconceive their position vis-a-vis the system which was imprisoning them.

While in prison, Hugo realized the political nature of his situation, observing that Blacks account for over 50% of the California prison population, while being only 10% of the state's population.

Hugo and his comrades were famous in the California prison system for setting an example of resistance to attack on their dignity as human beings. Whether the attacks

supremacist "Aryan Brotherhood" prisoners, Hugo Pinell's stance was for Black prisoners to meet the attacks exactly the way they unfolded.

Hugo is remembered and beloved as one of the "Soledad Brothers," a famous political case which pitted the Human Rights Consciousness of outstanding Black political prisoners against COINTELPRO-minded prison authorities. The CDC also managed to convict Hugo on additional charges of assaulting two guards in the "San Condone Six" case in 1976.

Despite witnessing the prison administration isolate and kill Jackson, Christmas, Tole, Nolen, and others from the Black Prisoners Movement, Hugo A. Pinell has never abandoned his principles. His writings from prison emphasize the "transformation of mentality" required of those seeking to function in the cause. Hugo himself has stated:

"We are revolutionaries because we believe in revolution as our protein, vitamin of life... we believe in the human element to revolt against oppressing forces... we believe in this new mentality as the ultimate and only guide to freedom."

Hugo A. Pinell's life has been an example of his teaching.

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What We Want, What We Believe (October 1966)



- 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 the 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 Con-

stitution 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 a 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 United States 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 bonds 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. ■

AFRIKAN AMERIKANS & MIDEAST WAR

continued from page 10

News about what's is going on in that country has been relegated to small articles buried on page 6 or 8. While our attention is diverted to the MidEast war, the framers of apartheid have increased their efforts to disrupt and destroy Afrikan nationalism. Critical time and energy is being diverted away from helping South Afrika. Our community must respond and help keep the light of the world on the brutal South Afrikan regime. And we lose because, sadly, once again, Afrikan Amerikans are fighting people of color under a banner which has meant exploitation, starvation, and death to people of color for two hundred years.

What does our community gain by the war? The Afrikan Amerikan generals will most certainly gain. As Black soldiers distinguish themselves in battle dying and killing people of color for the racist Amerikkkan government, General Powell and his ilk will get promotions and accolades from the Congress and the military industrial complex. The average soldier, however, will gain little or nothing when he or she returns from the MidEast. Just as the Afrikan Amerikan veterans returning from World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam returned to face a persistent and pervasive racism in education, employment and all other facets of Amerikan

life, Afrikan Amerikans who fight in the MidEast will return to the same old racist place. There are few jobs currently available for our youth today; and the prospect for additional jobs in the future is not good. Just as the military provides one of the few job markets for our youth today, it will continue to provide jobs in the future. But with the MidEast war, the nature and mission of the U.S. military is undergone a fundamental overt change. For the first time, other countries are paying a substantial part of the cost for U.S. soldiers to fight and die. The U.S. military is being transformed into a mercenary force bought and paid for with Japanese, German, Saudi Arabian, and Kuwaiti Royal Family oil dollars to the U.S. Treasury. It fights not for democracy, mom, and apple pie but straight up for money.

There have always been Afrikan Amerikans who identify with and want to be as Amerikan as the Fourth of July. Malcolm X described them as the house slave. "If the Masta got sick, the house slave would say, 'we sick Masta'. If the Masta's house caught on fire, why the house slave would fight harder to put out the fire than the Masta himself." Today we have General Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, proudly stating, "we're going to kick their asses," when referring to

the U.S. attack on Iraq. It is a disgrace that he should say that about Afrikan Amerikan troops killing people of color. Attacking a people who have never discriminated against Afrikan Amerikans or called them nigger - or lynched one! Its clear to see what General Powell gets. He gets to bootlick and kiss ass in the White House and a high paying job in the industrial complex upon military retirement. For a house nigga, that's as good as it gets.

But what about the rest of the Afrikan Amerikan community? What does it get? After all, the white workers get jobs making high technology (aerospace) weapons and computer systems, and "cheap" gas for their Mercedes, BMWs and Audis. We Afrikan Amerikans, we get jobs in the volunteer armed forces and an opportunity to fight and die to help keep strong the descendants of the kidnapers who brought us here. ■



CHRONOLOGY OF BPP THE FORMATIVE YEARS (1966-1971)

1966

October 15: Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seal conclude draft of a 10-Point Program and Platform — What We Want, What We Believe — related to fulfilling long-standing needs and desires in Black and poor oppressed communities, found the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Bobby Hutton (Little Bobby) becomes the first member.



October: The BPP begins to implement its 10-Point Program, emphasizing Point 7: "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people." Armed patrols of the police by the BPP, carrying both guns and law books, begin in the Oakland Black community.

1967

January 1: The BPP opens its first official headquarters on 56th and Grove Streets in Oakland.

January: BPP begins to sell copies of *The Red Book, Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung* on the U.C. Berkeley campus.

February 21: Armed BPP members are confronted by police outside the San Francisco offices of *Ramparts* magazine while escorting Betty Shabazz, the widow of El Hajj Malik el Shabazz (Malcolm X). The Panthers were exercising their constitutional right to bear arms and no arrests were made.

April 25: The first issue of *THE BLACK PANTHER, Black Community News Service*, the official political organ of the BPP, was published. A four-paged mimeographed newspaper, the first issue was headlined "Why Was Denzil Dowell Killed," and dealt extensively with exposing the vicious police murder of an innocent unarmed Black youth in Richmond, California.

May: Black Panther Party formed in Jersey City, NJ.

May 2: Gun-carrying BPP members and supporters demonstrate at the State Capital in Sacramento on the Constitutional right to bear arms. In response to a proposed Mulford Gun Bill to restrict this right BPP issues Executive Mandate #1 on the Capital steps: "...Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy..." 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 pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We be-

the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction."

Thirty BPP members were arrested at a gas station while leaving Sacramento that day.

June 29: BPP issues Executive Mandate #2, drafting Stokely Carmichael into the BPP and investing him with the rank of Field Marshall.

August 1: In a significant BPP victory in community organizing, construction begins on a traffic light on the corner of 55th and Market Streets, the site of several traffic accidents in which Black school children were killed. The City of Oakland updated placement of the signal light scheduled for late '68 after BPP members threatened to direct traffic themselves.

August 25: An FBI memo circulated to all Bureau field offices (41 nationwide) details plans to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" Black liberation movement groups.

October: BPP office opened in Newark, NJ.

October 28: BPP Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton is attacked and seriously wounded by two White Oakland police officers in an early morning incident in which officer John Frey is killed and patrolman Herbert Heanes is wounded. Newton is arrested without bail.

November: Noted San Francisco Attorney Charles R. Garry, a longtime advocate for social justice and a brilliant trial lawyer, meets Huey Newton and becomes his attorney of record.

November 13: The Alameda County Grand Jury returns indictments on the charges of murder, assault with a deadly weapon upon a police officer, and kidnapping against Huey Newton.

1968

January: Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter forms the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

February 17, 18: In honor of Huey Newton's birthday on February 17, two major "Free Huey" rallies are held, one in Oakland on the 17th and the other in



Los Angeles on the 18th. The Oakland rally filled the Oakland Auditorium, was attended by SNCC activists Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and James Forman, and a short-lived "alliance" of SNCC and the BPP was announced. Carmichael was made BPP Prime Minister; Brown became BPP Minister of Justice; and Forman BPP Minister of Foreign Affairs.

March: Kansas City BPP office raided. Five Panthers arrested.

those who approach our doors in the manner of outlaws, who seek to enter our homes illegally, unlawfully, and in a rowdy fashion; those who kick our doors down with no authority, who seek to ransack our homes in violation of our HUMAN RIGHTS, will henceforth be treated as outlaws, as gangsters, as evildoers. We have no way of determining that a man in a uniform involved in a forced outlaw entry into our homes is in fact a Guardian of the law. He is acting like a lawbreaker, and we must make the appropriate response. We draw the line at the threshold of our doors..."

Arthur Morris, the brother of the BPP Southern California Chapter, founder/coordinator "Bunchy" Carter, is shot and killed by agents of the U.S. government.

March 4: FBI memo directs Bureau offices to "Prevent the coalition of militant Black nationalist groups...Prevent the rise of a Black 'Messiah' who would unify and electrify the Black nationalist movement."

March 16: At a Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) convention in Richmond, a "coalition" between that majority White radical group and the BPP was announced. Several BPP members run for electoral office in 1968 on the PFP ticket.

April: Black Panther Party office opens in New York City.

April 3: Shotgun-wielding Oakland police break into a BPP meeting at St. Augustine's Church in West Oakland.

April 6: Li'l Bobby Hutton, 17, the first member of the BPP and its national treasurer, is murdered in cold blood by Oakland police following a police-instigated shootout. Seven BPP members are arrested on conspiracy to murder charges.

July: Seattle, Washington, BPP office raided.

July 15: Over 5,000 people rally outside the Alameda County Courthouse as the trial of BPP Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton began. News of the massive "Free Huey" rally received worldwide attention.

August: Newark, New Jersey, BPP office firebombed.

August 25: BPP members Steve Bartholomew, Robert Lawrence and Tommy Lewis are murdered by Los Angeles police who fire over fifty bullets and shotgun blasts into their VW bug as they stop at a service station to buy gas.

September 8: After 28 hours and 15 minutes of deliberations over the course of four days, in a compromise verdict, the jury convicts Huey Newton of manslaughter and acquits him of the assault charge.

September 8: FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover calls the BPP "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

September 28: Huey Newton is sentenced to 2-15 years in prison.

September 28: Two on-duty Oakland police, admittedly drunk, shoot up the BPP headquarters, firing their weapons in such a manner as to shoot up their own patrol car and fire bullets into apartments occupied by sleeping members of the community. They receive only a verbal reprimand from then Police Chief Darryl Gates (currently Police Chief in Los Angeles) for their wanton disregard for lives and property

any offense saying they were "a little tense and were blowing off some steam")

October: Denver BPP office shot up in police attack.

October 15: BPP member Welton Armstead murdered in Seattle.

November 7: BPP member Sidney Miller murdered in Seattle.

November 25: FBI memo details plans to promote violence between the BPP and the reactionary, southern California-based US organization led by Ron Karenga, who was later exposed as cooperating with federal and local police agencies.

December 5: Jersey City Panthers Charles



"Count" Hicks, Isiah "Duberry" Rawley, and Victor Perez charged with November 1968 machine-gunning of South Police Precinct.

December 7: Denver BPP office raided by police looking for "stolen military rifles". No rifles were found but during the raid, police and firemen destroy the office with incendiaries destroying thousands of dollars worth of food and toys BPP members had been collecting in donations from Denver residents to distribute to Denver's poor community during the upcoming holidays; Newark BPP office bombed.

December 18: Indianapolis, Indiana, BPP office raided and ransacked.

December 27: Des Moines, Iowa, BPP office attacked by police.

December 30: Franko Diggs, a member of the BPP Los Angeles Chapter, shot in the back of the head — murdered by police agents.

1969

January: The first BPP Free Breakfast for School Children Program is initiated at St. Augustine's Church in Oakland.

January 17: BPP Southern California Chapter leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, 26, and John Jerome Huggins, 23, murdered while leaving a student meeting on UCLA campus by members of the US organization. Almost simultaneously, LAPD raids several BPP offices in the Los Angeles area.

January 24: Chicago police and the FBI conspire to prevent BPP leader Fred Hampton from appearing on a TV talk show.

January 30: FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover approves mailing of anonymous letter to provoke Blackstone Rangers to attack BPP in Chicago.

April: BPP Los Angeles office raided.

CHRONOLOGY OF BPP THE FORMATIVE YEARS (1966-1971)

- April 26:** Des Moines, Iowa, BPP offices totally destroyed in an anonymous bombing. Police refuse to investigate.
- April 28:** San Francisco BPP office raided.
- May:** FBI orders all Bureaus to sabotage BPP Free Breakfast Programs.
- May 1:** Close to 10,000 people rally outside State Building in San Francisco, as the California State Supreme Court takes up the appeal of Huey P. Newton's conviction.
- May 21:** BPP member Alex Rackley murdered outside New Haven, Connecticut.
- May 22:** New Haven BPP office raided and eight BPP members, including Ericka Huggins, arrested on a variety of "conspiracy" and murder charges.
- May 23:** BPP member John Savage murdered in San Diego by the US organization.
- May 26:** Chicago BPP leader Fred Hampton arrested and charged with stealing ice cream and distributing it to neighborhood youth.
- June:** Racist Arkansas Senator John McClellan leads an Internal Security Committee "witch hunt" against the BPP.
- June 4:** Detroit BPP office raided.
- June 6:** BPP Central Committee member Landon Williams and Rory Hithe arrested and charged with murder and conspiracy charges.
- June 7:** Chicago BPP office raided.
- June 15:** San Diego and Sacramento BPP offices raided.
- July 18, 19, 20, 21:** BPP sponsors a highly successful United Front Against Fascism Conference in Oakland.
- July 24:** Internal Revenue Service creates an Activists Organization Project (later called Special Services Staff) and targets BPP.
- July 31:** Chicago BPP office raided.
- August 15:** BPP member Sylvester Bell murdered in San Diego by US organiza-

- November 13:** BPP member Spurgeon "Jake" Winters murdered by Chicago police. Only 19, Jake is said to have killed four policemen and wounded seven in the attack.
- November 20:** Albany, New York, BPP office attacked.
- November 22:** San Diego BPP office raided.
- December 4:** Illinois State BPP leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark murdered in Chicago by police raiders from State's Attorney's Office. Hampton, 21, drugged beforehand by an agent provocateur who infiltrated BPP, was shot and killed as he slept. Clark, 22, from Peoria, was killed as he answered a knock on the apartment door. Seven BPP members, several of whom were wounded, survived.
- December 8:** BPP members in Central Avenue, Los Angeles Headquarters, withstand a five-hour predawn police attack. In all, 18 BPP members arrested as LAPD simultaneously raids several offices.
- December 25:** BPP member Sterling Jones murdered in Chicago.

January 1, 1968, to December 31, 1969: During this period, the BPP suffered 739 arrests (an average of more than one a day), with close to \$5 million (\$4,890,580) spent on bail costs.

1970

- January 4:** Dedicated on December 25, 1969, the Spurgeon "Jake" Winters People's Free Health Clinic, the first BPP preventive medical clinic opens in Chicago.
- February 8:** Mayor Uhlman of Seattle, Washington, denies request from Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of U.S. Treasury Department for Seattle police to participate in a raid against BPP because it "smacks of Gestapo-type tactics."
- April:** Central Committee member Louis (Randy) Williams arrested along with three other Panthers and charged with an armed assault on police.
- May 1:** Over 25,000 people gather on the New Haven Green in a major BPP-sponsored rally to garner support for Panthers Lonnie McCluskey (on trial) and Bobby Seale/Ericka Huggins' subsequent joint trial.

MAY 1: Baltimore BPP office raided.

May 11: FBI memo to S.F. office directs a "disruptive and disinformation" operation aimed at furnishing BPP National Headquarters with false and divisive information.

May 15: FBI order to all Bureau offices directs agents to disrupt distribution of *THE BLACK PANTHER* newspaper.

May 29: The California Court of Appeals, in a 51-page opinion, reverses Huey Newton's manslaughter conviction. Although it agrees Huey should have been acquitted, the Court refuses to grant him bail pending the prosecution's appeal.

July 27: BPP member Babatunde

of People's Party II in Houston, Texas, an organization modeled after the BPP, murdered by police.

August 5: After serving close to three years in jail and prison for a crime he did not commit, Huey Newton is released from prison.

August 7: BPP member Jonathan Jackson, a 17-year-old Black "man-child," is murdered by sheriff's deputies at Marin Civic Center following his heroic bid to win the release of The Soledad Brothers, one of



whom was his brother, George Jackson, and expose the systematic torture and murder of Black prisoners.

August 20: New Bedford NCCF (National Committee to Combat Fascism) a BPP affiliate, raided by police.

September 1: Philadelphia BPP offices raided. Police order BPP members to strip naked after being lined up on the street. Among those arrested is Mumia Jamal.

September 4, 5: BPP convenes Plenary Session for Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Attendance numbers into the thousands.

September 16: New Orleans NCCF office raided.

December: FBI memo discusses plans for microphone and telephone surveillance of Huey Newton's Oakland apartment.

December 4-5: BPP convenes Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C.

1971

January: BPP founds Huey P. Newton Intercommunal Youth Institute in Oakland.

February: BPP member Fred Bennett, murdered in Santa Cruz mountains.

February 13: *THE BLACK PANTHER* newspaper changes from a Black Community News Service to an Intercommunal News Service.

March 5: BPP sponsors Intercommunal Day of Solidarity dedicated to "Freedom for all Political Prisoners."

March 8: Deputy Field Marshall Robert Webb murdered in New York City.

April: FBI begins payment of rent on apartment across the hall from Huey P. Newton's apartment.

April: FBI claims its infamous COINTELPRO operations ended this month. (Later, FBI admits the BPP was

April: Counterintelligence efforts successfully create open split and initiates fratricide within the BPP.

April: Black Liberation Army formed. Initiates armed struggle in response to years of police terror and murder.

April: Jersey, New York and others solidify for publishing BCNS now called "RIGHT ON."

April 10: BPP initiates nationwide campaign to research and eradicate Sickle Cell Anemia, a deadly hereditary blood

disease, primarily affecting Black people, in a front-page story in *The Intercommunal News Service*.

April 17: BPP member Samuel Napier, distribution and circulation manager of *The Intercommunal News Service*, murdered in New York. Distribution office burned to the ground.

April 17: Major statement by Huey Newton, "On the Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community," announces that the BPP has returned to its "original vision."

April 17: Panther Harold Russell shot and killed in New York City.

May: Panther 21 trial ends in acquittal after 26 months. Panthers Michael 'Cetewayo' Tabor, Richard 'Dhoruba' Moore and Edward 'Jamal' Joseph acquitted *in absentia*.

May 24: Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale are to be released from over two years' incarceration when no verdict is reached due to a hung jury and the judge subsequently declares a mistrial, granting defense motions to dismiss the charges.

June 28: Second trial of Huey Newton begins at Alameda County Courthouse.

July: BPP begins boycott against two liquor stores owned by Bill Boyette, president of Cal-State Package Store and Tavern Owners Association, for refusing continual donations to BPP Survival Programs.

July 23: Three days after opening of L.A. 18 trial, former BPP member Melvin "Cotton" Smith, reveals himself as a longtime agent provocateur and testifies for the prosecution.

August 8: Second trial of Huey Newton ends in a hung jury.

August 18: Cleveland, Ohio, BPP Free Health Clinic dynamited.

August 21: BPP Field Marshall George Jackson assassinated at San Quentin



tion members.

September 4: BPP member Larry Roberson dies of police-inflicted gunshot wounds in Cook County Hospital, Chicago.

September 8: Watts BPP Free Breakfast Program raided by armed police.

September 12: BPP member Nathaniel Clark murdered in Los Angeles.

October 4: Chicago BPP office raided.

October 18: BPP member Walter "Toure"

From the Program

Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party

In order to achieve its goals of organizing and serving Black and oppressed communities, the Black Panther Party developed a wide variety of Survival Programs after the Party's founding in October, 1966. The programs, which covered such diverse areas as health care, food services as well as a model school, The Intercommunal Youth Institute (later renamed Oakland Community School), were meant to meet the needs of the community until it all could move to change social conditions that make it impossible for the people to afford the things they need and desire.

The Survival Programs provided another important service — they served as a model for all oppressed people who wish to begin to take concrete actions to deal with their oppression.

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the



INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE (Oakland Community School)

The Intercommunal Youth Institute was established in January, 1971, by the Black Panther Party. The Institute was initiated in direct response to the

in the Black community, and the Clinics developed a Child Health Care Program to meet this community need. The Child Health Care Program provided immunization; screening for Sickle Cell Anemia, iron deficiency anemia, and tuberculosis; referrals; and complete physical examinations as well as treatment of illnesses. Follow-up is key to this program, and participants are encouraged to come in for periodic check-ups, and special problems are given careful ongoing attention.

FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

The Black Panther Party's People's Free Clothing Program provided new, stylish

and quality clothing free to the community. Black and poor people, especially children, often lack the necessary clothing to maintain good health. The People's Free Clothing Program was a means whereby people unable to buy decent clothing or lacking funds to buy a good quality of stylish clothing can outfit themselves at no expense.

This program was very beneficial to the community. For instance, if a person was looking for a job but has no good clothes to wear to interview for the job, the People's Free Clothing Program was of great help to them. Dress and good grooming are very important to prospective employers. Thus,

the People's Free Clothing Program

further aided the community's survival through the gaining of employment.

In addition, many Black children could not attend school during the cold winter months because they



didn't have proper clothing. The People's Free Clothing Program made it possible for them to attend school.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

The Black Panther Party's Free Food Program provided free food to Black and other oppressed people. The spiraling of food prices made it increasingly difficult for Black and other poor people to buy good quality, nutritious food for their families. The long-range effect of high food prices can be devastating for children who need nourishing food in order to develop strong, mentally alert adult bodies.

The intent of the Free Food Program was to supplement the groceries of Black and poor people until such time as economic conditions allowed them to purchase good food at reasonable prices.

The Free Food Program provided two basic services to the community: (1) An ongoing supply of food to



survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation.

When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors.

"All of our survival programs are free. We have never charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs and we will not do so. We will not get caught up in a lot of embarrassing questions or paperwork which alienate the people.

If they have a need we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land. Survival programs will always be operated without charge to those who need them and benefit by them..."

public school system, which has systematically produced individuals that are totally incapable of thinking in an analytical way. The failure of the public school system to educate Black and poor youth has caused generation after generation of our people to be inadequately prepared to participate and survive in our highly technological society. In order to begin to break this seemingly endless cycle of oppression, the Black Panther Party established the Youth Institute. Our plan was to provide an example in the education of Black children; to guide our children toward becoming fully capable of analyzing the problems they will face and to develop creative solutions to deal with them.

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

The Clinics provided comprehensive health care for the community. Doctors treated patients for common physical ailments and referred them to specialists if necessary. Laboratory testing was provided in conjunction with local hospitals.

Along with the Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation, the Clinics



From the Program

Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party



meet their daily needs and (2) Periodic mass distributions of food to reach a larger segment of the community than can be serviced from the ongoing supply.

The community was provided with bags of fresh food containing such items as eggs, canned fruits and vegetables, chickens, milk, potatoes, rice, bread, cereal, etc. A minimum of a week's supply of food was included in each bag.

Publicity was key to the success of the program, both in its ongoing aspect and for the mass distributions. Two people were required to run an intensive publicity campaign. Flyers were distributed in large numbers throughout the community in a variety of places such as churches, schools and colleges, grocery stores, at sports events, etc.

THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

THE BLACK PANTHER was the official organ of the Black Panther Party. It was a tabloid size newspaper that was published regularly every week beginning April 25, 1967, usually 24 pages, and distributed nationally and internationally.

THE BLACK PANTHER provided news and information about the work of the Black Panther Party Chapters throughout the country, news and news analysis of the Black and other oppressed communities in the U.S.A., in Africa and around the world, theoretical writings of Party ideologists and general news features on all matters relative to the liberation of humankind from oppression of any kind.

THE BLACK PANTHER also provides service and survival information of every variety, such as guides including addresses and telephone numbers for city services as well as free services available.

THE BLACK PANTHER was one of the chief tools of consciousness raising of the Black Panther Party.

1. The publishing of news and information from the Black and oppressed communities that is generally ignored by the establishment press, exposes the true nature of that media as a tool of those responsible

establishment press exposes the failure of that press and media to report honestly or fully on matters concerning Black and oppressed peoples.

3. The consistent reporting of all news and information from the point of view of the interests of Black people, workers, oppressed peoples, youth, the aged, and the handicapped or disabled, provides readers with a built-in interpretation of the news that is in their interest and consequently raises their understanding of the nature and condition of our society.

BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

The Free Busing to Prisons Program maintained the bond between prisoners and their families by providing free transportation to (California)

penal institutions. It was later broadened into the Community Committee for Prisoners, Families and Friends United, The Free Busing Program includes frequent trips to county jails, state penitentiaries and other prisons.

Initiated in southern California in 1970, the Free Busing Program first utilized rented buses, cars and vans. Due to a massive increase in the number of Busing Program participants, a 40 passenger bus had to be acquired in 1972. The number of participants exceeded the transportation available.

Trips to the prison were made on a regular, and in most cases, weekly basis. A schedule comprising several weeks was made up in advance and circulated in the community. It was also published in THE BLACK PANTHER and several local newspapers. Occasionally, special arrangements were made at the community's request to take a trip to a prison which generally has few visitors.

The visitors gathered at a central

location, usually a Party facility or church, before boarding the bus. The Program also transported them afterwards. Food was provided free of charge during the trip.



FREE BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN PROGRAM

The Free Breakfast for School Children program was the first Survival Program to be implemented by the Black Panther Party. Initiated in Oakland, California, the Breakfast Program provided a free, hot, nutritionally balanced breakfast for any child who attended the program. By 1969, there were hundreds of breakfast programs throughout the country. A top government official was forced to admit: "The Panthers are feeding more kids than we are."

As was the purpose of the program many groups, individuals, and organizations have taken the example and initiated programs of their own. Breakfast Programs were completely taken over by such groups and are functioning on their own.

Funds for operating a Free Breakfast Program came from a variety of sources. They came from local merchants in surrounding communities, from private donors, from foundations, from churches, and others.

Having the program operating out of a church as the advantage of a tax free status as a nonprofit organization. With the church receiving the donations on behalf of the Free Breakfast Program letters soliciting funds and goods may be mailed out. People working with the program may openly solicit donations from businesses in the community, giving those who donate a receipt so they can legally claim their donation as a tax exemption.

Consciousness raising through the program occurred in the form of people participating in a program that they put together themselves to serve themselves in serving their children. The consciousness of the children was raised in that they saw someone outside the structure of their own family working in their interest out of a motivation of love and concern. ■

Breakfast Program provided a free, hot, nutritionally balanced breakfast for any child who attended the program.



Historical Analysis

SPLIT AND UNDER

By A. Nuh Washington (Denver and San Francisco Branches)

Editor's Note: Al "Nuh" Washington joined the Denver Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in 1969. At the time of the "split" in the Party, in 1971, Nuh (pronounced Noah) was working in the San Francisco Branch. He, along with many of our S.F. comrades, joined the Black Liberation Army (BLA) and became members of its network of underground cells. Nuh, Anthony Bottom, and Herman Bell were arrested in 1971, in San Francisco, and charged with killing two New York police officers.

Although FBI counter-intelligence (COINTELPRO) documents have shown how FBI

In the Black Panther Party (BPP), we were taught that the oppressor exploits all differences, but we didn't believe it. We were told that in order to resolve contradictions, it is necessary to struggle along the ideological and political fronts, but we didn't understand how to do that. And above all else, we were told that as comrades, we were to be open and above board with each other — "Say all you have to say and say it without reserve." — but we didn't practice it. The failure to bring theory and practice into accord crippled the Black Panther Party. Not only was it crippled as an organization, but it also lost its focus. A time came when party work revolved around the defense of its leadership. As a result, the primary contradiction between the oppressed and oppressor became a secondary contradiction as the BPP engaged in fratricide. What should have been non-antagonistic contradictions among comrades, became antagonistic ones.

There were signs that something was amiss when the "Panther 21," (21 N.Y. Panthers indicted on conspiracy charges and later acquitted after many of them had spent over two years imprisoned), and Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt, Panther Deputy Minister of Defense, were expelled from the party. The "21" were on trial in New York and Geronimo was underground at the time. This action intensified the pressure on these comrades and denied them needed support. Comrades like Zayd Malik Shakur, who was in charge of east coast communications, were placed in the people's jail for speaking out about the expulsions. Deputy Field Marshal Robert Webb came from New York and took Zayd out of the "prison." Rank and file Panthers found out about these contradictions in March, '71, on television when they watched a satellite hook-up between Huey Newton in Oakland and Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria that allowed the Bay Area to witness how intense contradictions had become, i.e., to the point that the Party was split into two factions.

The government had targeted the leadership of the BPP for neutralization and carried this out under the FBI's COINTELPRO. This program was a war fought on many levels by the country's police and counter-intelligence agents designed to destroy the BPP and other Black Nationalist organizations.

The purging of good comrades sped up the process. Many were left out in the cold; but fortunately, other comrades who had gone underground were able to take them in. These comrades had been forced underground prior to the split, and had cut off communications with BPP National Headquarters in Oakland. This allowed for the creation of a haven for many disenchanted and expelled Panthers. Some expelled Panthers were even directed to the underground by Panthers still working for the party.

From a political perspective, what has been characterized as a split between the east and west coasts was not so much a regional one as it was an ideological or tactical one. Very few took into account that there were plenty of comrades in San Francisco and Los Angeles that sided with the "east coast." Furthermore, the dismantling by the National leadership of the local cadres and cut-backs on political education classes left many comrades unable to correctly analyze the situation. Others followed personalities and therefore saw the contradictions in their terms.

When, in March, '71, Robert Webb was assassinated on a Harlem street corner in New York, rumors abounded that hit squads from National were responsible. In the San

agents, under orders from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, lied to convict them, Nuh, Anthony, and Herman have been incarcerated for over 18 years. Nuh is not scheduled to go for a parole hearing until the year 2002. By then, he will have been separated from his family, comrades and friends for 30 years.

When the BPP lost its political base, Nuh lost part of his support base. A video tape of Nuh's case is available from Black Panther Community News Service

In this article, Nuh shares some of his perspectives on the BPP experience and COINTELPRO, and on the need for a re-analysis of the role of the BPP in our historical development. His message is clear: Pick yourself up, wipe your bloodied noses, learn from the experience, and move forward.



There were signs that something was amiss when the "Panther 21," and Geronimo Pratt, Panther Deputy Minister of Defense, were expelled from the party.

BPP newspaper was publishing pictures of expelled and other Panthers calling them "Enemies of the people." This was seen by comrades who were underground as a way of identifying them for the "hit squads" of the state.

If we had studied, or learned our lessons well from history, we would have realized that none of our experiences were unique, for contradictions exist in everything. Ideological and regional differences are common to all struggles. There are militants, centralists, and even revisionists within the vanguard party. Oppression is not uniform, nor is resistance. Both are relative to objective and subjective conditions. The poverty of New York's Black community varies from Harlem to Brooklyn, just as it does from Fillmore to Hunters Point in San Francisco. How people choose to deal with these problems is determined by both subjective and objective conditions.

An error in judgement was made by the Central Committee in 1970 in trying to impose a centralized method of dealing with the conditions confronting the various regions. Commandism and the chauvinism of the national office served to fuel the flame of antagonism and disobedience to the national leadership. The Panther newspaper became the hammer the national leadership used to beat back dissent and discredit dissenters. This ruined the credibility of the paper to

Marcus Garvey was a victim of internal contradiction. First, the Pan-Africanists were turned against him, then his own people. Malcolm X was criticized by the moderate Black leadership, then expelled from the Nation of Islam, then assassinated. Covert action took Robert Webb and Sam Napier, BPP Newspaper Circulation Manager, because we failed to learn from history. In fact a brief history lesson will remind us that J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI cut their eye-teeth on Garvey by spreading lies to discredit Garvey. The FBI exploited existing contradictions in the Black community to set Garvey up for a coup-de-grace delivered by the federal government (See Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* for one analysis of this activity.)

For a period, our attention was taken away from the people as we concentrated on former comrades who were viewed as a more serious threat than our enemies. "Off the Pig" was replaced in New York with "Off Huey Newton." In San Francisco, paranoia was rampant as comrades struggled over whether to strike first rather than wait on the "hit squads." These so-called "hit squads" were seen as mindless robots doing the bidding of "the Servant" (Newton). Consequently, comrades holed-up in safe houses, snuck in and out of San Francisco and Los Angeles for meetings, played whisk, cooked communal meals and drank "bitting." Such living divorces one

cally educating the community as to the nature of the contradictions, people began going to party functions in San Francisco and Oakland wishing something would happen. In the end, ideology held and the underground moved on.

However, without a BPP political direction and training cadre, the BLA could not survive underground. In a memorandum, the New York Police Department said it believed that the BLA was the result of FBI and police infiltration and covert action against the BPP. J. Edgar Hoover described the BLA as an armed group with political objectives. When asked by the press why there was still BLA activity after the police had announced that they had broken the back of the BLA (with the FBI machine-gun murder of Twyman Myers, a 21-year-old Panther in N.Y.), the N.Y. Police Commissioner replied, "It is a matter of consciousness. As consciousness rises, so does the level of political activity."

Former BPP members who were in the underground and were captured during the COINTELPRO war, have become some of the longest-held prisoners in the world outside of South Africa. Many of us have spent years in Security Housing Units under the tightest security the prison authorities have; and even when we're in general population, we are monitored and classified as High Profile, Security Risk, Escape Risk, and Central Monitoring Cases because of our political beliefs and affiliations.

Additionally, New York State works with the Joint Terrorist Task Force in the monitoring and transfer of "special, revolutionary prisoners" under the control of the N.Y. State Department of Corrections. The idea is to break the spirit of the prisoners and to show others just how relentless the state is against freedom fighters. Our political and physical isolation over the past 18 years gives one an indication of how successful the state was against the BPP.

Today, there is a great deal of interest in the BPP, especially in an analysis of what went right and of what went wrong. Many people are not familiar with the programs that the party implemented — such as Free Breakfast for Children which is now served by the state in numerous cities and towns throughout the nation. And as the community rises to meet the challenge of drugs, it is significant and appropriate that many grassroots groups have the active participation and support of former Panthers.

This is the time for comrades to be open and above board with each other. Our history, the good and the bad, must be analyzed and summarized for other revolutionaries. Only then can they avoid making the same mistakes. As Mao said, "A fall in the pit and a gain in the wit." Let us learn from our mistakes and not feel ashamed. After all, we did a lot, knowing little. Few of us understood democratic centralism, but it is not something one learns without practice and without honing one's technical and organizational skills. We used to speak of protracted struggle, of arduous struggle; yet we were defeated because COINTELPRO was able to isolate us politically from the people. Mao said, "Try, fail, try, fail, try again, fail again, try, succeed."

We've tried and in the trying, some died, others went on with their lives for good or bad, and some of us are still imprisoned. Is this then our legacy — failure? If so, then history and future generations will condemn us — not for failing, but for not trying again.

Dare to struggle, dare to win.

A. Nuh Washington

WHAT EVERY BLACKMAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE BLACKWOMAN by Shahrezad Ali

Ali's book depicts the Blackwoman as "narrow," "selfish," a worshipper of money, engaged in a constant, unceasing and ruthless war against the Blackman. She describes her work in the preface:

"While this book is not an *intentional negative* portrayal of the Blackwoman, I will stay singularly focused on her problems — and I will tell the truth about her condition." (emphasis added)

That this book is a "negative portrayal" and is singularly focused on the Blackwoman is true. However, there is only enough truth within its pages to appeal to the negative personal experiences individual Blackmen have had or have with individual Blackwomen. Ms. Ali appeals to subjective, emotionalist reasoning, and offers an intraracial war of the sexes (which it is mandatory that the Blackwoman lose) as an alternative to organization, and objective, principled, unified struggle against the problems of the Black Nation (African-American people) by saying also in her preface:

"This book is for every Blackman in America, and it doesn't matter who he is or what he's got — *his woman is his problem*. The Blackman has suffered and continues to suffer in all aspects of his life *generated* by the problems he has with his woman." (emphasis added)

Ms. Ali equates the struggle the Blackman faces with the "white man" (and here I must surmise she is referring to the white economic and police state in which the Blackman *as well as* the Blackwoman are forced to struggle against racism, low wages, unemployment, injustice, etc.) with the struggle *she says* he faces with the Blackwoman. She enjoins the Blackman to:

"...bring the Blackwoman into submission...It is likened to stepping into the ring with a wild savage boar, a reckless fire-breathing dragon that *must be tamed* if the Black family is to survive. It is the Blackman's responsibility to win this *battle*...before he can stand up and reclaim his nation." (emphasis added)

The idea that the Blackwoman has injured the Blackman's manhood is an old one, but it is not quite as old as chattel slavery. In fact, it is historically accurate to state that this idea is the result of chattel slavery promoted by slave holders and the descendants of slave holders for economic purposes. The fact that Blackwomen did not ever, and do not now have control over the mass media which gave us "Amos and Andy," "Stepin' Fetchit," "George Jefferson," and the "Fresh Prince of Belair," escapes Ms. Ali's attention as well as the fact that these same interests also gave us "Saphire," Florence," "Aunt Esther," and "Nell." These stereotypical images — combined with the lack of a true education as to the role of African men and women in the history of civilization past and present — are responsible for any injury to the manhood or self-esteem of the Blackman. These same forces have proclaimed Ms. Ali "a marketing genius," and have given her a great deal of attention and notoriety; as she has in fact taken over their function as producer of demeaning stereotypes and freed them from charges of racism being herself of African descent. Franz Fanon describes this function in his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, in his chapter Concerning Violence:

"As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply described as a society lacking in values.... H-e [the native] represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values.... H-e is the deforming element, disfiguring all that has to do with beauty or morality..."

Courtesy of the American electronic mass media, Ms. Ali has defended herself from the charge of creating a negative stereotype by saying her book does not apply to all Blackwomen. This, however, contradicts her own statement near the end of her

the Blackwoman discusses variable levels of indoctrination. Certainly not all Blackwomen suffer from these traits to the fullest extent. But rest assured that all of them are tainted on some level with every ailment mentioned. Overtly, covertly, or both." (emphasis added) While Ms. Ali claims to offer solutions to the

they kill her incentive. And killing her incentive, she kills the incentive in her children. And the man himself has no competition so he doesn't develop to his fullest potential. So in the African countries where they opt for mass education, whether it be male or female, you find they have more valid society, a more progressive society."

means of saving the Black Nation; again referring to Fanon's, *Concerning Violence*, the psychology of intraracial violence in a neo-colonial context is illuminated:

"Where individuals are concerned, a positive negation of common sense is evident...for the last resort of the native is to defend his personality vis-a-vis his brother....It is as if plunging into a



One Struggle, woodcut by Woody Johnson

problems faced by African-Americans (a term she derides in her book), she has in fact created an atmosphere of emotionalism which precludes any rational discussion. If we are in fact to attain any goals as a people, we must achieve them as a people — as men, women, and children. We must not be convinced to fight amongst ourselves. Only through unity is there any hope of freedom from the genocidal oppression we face as a people. Thanks to Ms. Ali, it is crucial to our survival to remember the words of Malcolm X:

"One thing I noticed in both the Middle East and Africa, in every country that was underdeveloped and backward, it was to the same degree that the women were undeveloped, or underdeveloped and backward.... I t's noticeable that in these types of societies where they put the woman in the closet and discourage her from getting a sufficient

THE LAST SPEECHES OF MALCOLM X

"Our People Identify With Africa." Pathfinder.

At a time when 50% of the women with AIDS in this country are women of African descent, Ms. Ali advocates sexual relations with multiple partners for Blackmen, a practice which has been demonstrated repeatedly to dramatically increase the risk of transmission of HIV and other sexually-transmitted diseases. Indeed she condemns any Blackwoman who would assert any control over her sex life with her mate, unless that sex is brutal and painful, as just another method of controlling the Blackman. She advocates sex after childbirth, during illness and despite injury, all of which have great potential for destroying the Black Nation.

fraternal bloodbath allowed them to ignore the obstacle, and to put it off till later the choice, nevertheless inevitable, which opens up the question of armed resistance to colonialism."

Malcolm X taught us to be suspicious of anything the enemy advocated.

In the past, the mass media has applauded the mainstream publishers — Ms. Ali's book is self-published — and the White art critics have approved of literature which came from within the Black community which enhanced the policy of divide and conquer. We as a people are a nation within a nation; until we realize the implications of our existence as a nation, we will continue to be

HOUSTON CHAPTER

By Ayanna Ade (Gwen Johnson)

During the reunion of 1986, Bruce Richards, a member of the Los Angeles chapter who had been incarcerated gave a presentation on the political prisoners in the Black Panther Party. During his presentation he mentioned that Chip Romaine, a comrade from Los Angeles who has been in jail for 20 years, sent a message for us not to forget him or the other brothers and sisters still locked up from Party related matters. I left Oakland feeling blessed to have been able to see old friends/family/comrades, but, I also left feeling depressed that there were comrades who could not be with us because they were in prison.

Initially, several comrades discussed the possibility of organizing an effort to identify, contact and determine if anything could be done for these brothers and sisters. After a few months the enthusiasm died and we went back to doing whatever we were doing before the reunion.

However, I have not been able to dismiss Chip's plea to not be forgotten. I have passively waited for someone else to initiate some effort to address this problem, for I recognize that it is a difficult task to generate enough energy from those of us scattered around the country to be effective.

I attended Huey's funeral in August, and seeing comrades reconnected me to the reality that I will be a Panther in my heart until I die. It's always good to see family members; to meet those family members that you've only heard of and see others that you have known and loved.

Discussing Comrades still incarcerated brought back a feeling of despair at the lack of effort to help secure the release of at least one or two comrades. It made me realize that we can't cast them out of our consciousness any longer. Many of them have been in prison for 10 to 20 years. They were young and full of fire; burning to change the oppressive conditions that continue to exist. We can not afford to forget them, for it could have easily been any one of us locked away and forgotten.

This is a plea to those interested in working for the release of these comrades to pull together to work (in whatever capacity possible for you) for their release. If we don't, Who Will?

This is an effort to: (1) Reestablish communications with comrades who made supreme sacrifices and (2) Determine if there are any legal avenues available to secure their release.

There are sisters and brothers who have maintained contact with these comrades. Let us know who they are and their current status.

These comrades deserve to be free. They deserve our support and compassion. Please let us hear from you soon. There is another reunion planned for 1991—the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the BPP. It would be wonderful to have Dhoruba, Geronimo, Chip and whoever else possible among us at this occasion.

Send names and addresses of political

Committee P.O. Box 510 Berkeley, Ca.

Power to the People ■

THE BPP & POLITICAL

Continued from page 10

not motivated by any high revolutionary

NEO-COLONIALISM PHILLY STYLE

After seven (7) years of the Wilson Goode administration, there are very few social programs left that serve the poor and needy. The city, county and state are overflowing, here's a rebellion somewhere in the state



May 13, 1985 after police bombs exploded the MOVE house.

every month that is ruthlessly suppressed and followed by a press conference full of distortions.

The heads of the state prison system, state police, the Philadelphia police chief, the sheriff, city council, and Mayor Wilson Goode bombed Osage Avenue where the MOVE family lived. They allowed the surrounding community to burn for 2 hours before the fire department attempted to put it out. Physical damage was 11 people murdered, (including 5 children), 62 houses totally destroyed and many more damaged.

Police murder and brutality have continued as it was under Goode's comrade and former mayor Frank Rizzo. The big differ-

ence was prevalent during the Rizzo administration. Narrow nationalism put forward the erroneous idea that one's own people or country

should be supported regardless of how unprincipled they might be, got Wilson Goode re-elected. Wilson Good will stop at nothing to suppress any genuine mass movement.

After his election, the first political move by Goode was to buy off many community leaders with city jobs and to make limited funding available to community groups who supported him. The crack problem was allowed to grow for years before the city even admitted there was a problem.

In a neighborhood oriented city like Philadelphia where there never has been a major drug problem, nor were vices allowed to function openly in most areas. Only on the so-called strips was crime allowed to

function. With so many suburban African-Americans in elected positions, it has been

SEKOU ODINGA

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the meeting and decided to join and help build the B.P.P. in New York. I became the section leader of the Bronx section, sharing the office with the Harlem section in Harlem.

On January 17, 1969, the day Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were murdered, I went underground. I was told that Joan Bird, a sister in the Party had been busted and severely brutalized by the police and that the police were looking for me in connection with a police shooting.

On April 22, 1969, I awoke at 5:30 A.M. to the sound of wood splitting around my door. When I investigated, I found that my house was completely surrounded with pigs on my roof, fire escape, in the halls, on the street, etc. I was fortunate enough to evade them and go deeper into hiding. In 1970, I was asked to go to Algeria to help set up the

split in the Party, caused by the COIN-TELPRO program, I decided to come back to

people and neighborhoods:
hands of people they elect

We must rebuild organizations.

We must rebuild community organizations that are militant and scientific with their approach to our many problems. We still need the Party with liberation schools and survival programs to guarantee our long term survival as a people and to educate our youth to the science of revolution. In Philadelphia the system is using its last and most deceptive form of oppression: neo-colonialism. When the African-American community becomes clear on its internal enemies, and narrow nationalism is replaced with revolutionary

the U.S. to continue the struggle.

I continued to work until my capture in October of 1981. I was charged with six counts of attempted murder of police, for shooting over my shoulder while being chased and shot at by police. I was also charged with nine predated acts of a RICO indictment. I was convicted of the attempted murders and given 25 years-to life for it. I was convicted of two counts of the RICO indictment (the liberation of Assata Shakur and expropriation of an armored truck), and given 20-years and \$25,000 fine for each RICO charge, (40 years and \$50,000), all sentences run consecutively.

Directly from court, I was sent to the Federal Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. After 3 years, I was sent to Leavenworth, where I am now being held. The pig judge recommended that I never be given parole.

Address: USP Leavenworth

Kansas 66048 ■

ORGANIZING STUDENTS

By Tom Burke

It was 4:00 in the afternoon on November 4, 1989, sunny and warm, on the Campus of Jackson State University. A group of four African-American student leaders from the Jackson State National Association for the Advancement of Colored (NAACP), and six white students from the Progressive Student Network (PSN), stood outside a Women's dormitory gaping. Gaping at the bullets left in the metal plates under dormroom windows where almost 20 years before, the Mississippi State Police, backed up by the National Guard, fired hundreds of bullets for approximately 30 seconds. The target of their lethal barrage was a group of African-American student protesters.

One May 13, 1970, students at Jackson State were out protesting Nixon's escalation of the Vietnam War into Cambodia and the shooting and killing of students at Kent State by the Ohio National Guard. Students at Jackson State were also angered at the U.S. Government persecution of the Black Panther Party; the killing of six African-American men in Augusta, Georgia; the repression of African-American students at Mississippi Valley State College and the University of Mississippi, where the all-white Board of Trustees was openly carrying out racist attacks.

Students were out on the streets the following day, May 14, 1970, and a small group failed at an attempt to firebomb the Jackson State ROTC building. Earlier that day, police

State Highway Patrol arrived with their "tank", an armored truck, equipped with spot lights and a machine gun turret. They indiscriminately opened fire in an unprovoked attack, wounding dozens and killing two young Black students — Philip Gibbs and James Green.

The recent meeting of students at Jackson State was the initiation of the Student Organizing Committee (SOC) for the Jackson State and Kent State Commemorative Conference. The SOC met for a total of six hours planning how best to remember those students slain by the Powers That Be in May 1970, and to learn from their struggles so as to continue the fight and carry it into the '90's. As Davina L. Farmer, Secretary of the Jackson State NAACP, recently said in a phone interview, "People talk about how to change things at the school now... can we change things if we don't understand the system?" In response to whether there was a difference between what happened at Jackson and Kent, Ms. Farmer commented that "There is a difference between North and South. Here the reaction to the shootings was less because it was not totally a civil rights issue, but was presented as that."

Students have been active across the country in the 1980's, from the Anti-Apartheid/Divestment struggles on campuses, to the Reproductive Rights struggles led by Women, to the Anti-Racist Education Rights battles waged by Students of Color.

DRUGS & RACISM

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natal clinics for women addicts. At some Washington, D.C. hospitals, as many as 40 percent of women having babies are drug addicts resulting in the highest infant mortality rate in the nation at 32.3 per 1,000 live births. Howard University hospital had no boarder babies until May 1988; this year it had 21 in one week, five with AIDS. In central Harlem, 21 percent of all pregnant crack users receive no prenatal care.

In lieu of government action, the Black community has taken the struggle in its own hands.

In lieu of government action, the Black community has aggressively taken the struggle in its own hands. From Dick Gregory's work in Louisiana to the Muslim Dope Busters in the nation's capital, community-based groups have fought drug-dealers on their own turf as well as launched education and prevention projects.

These groups have also taken the lead in calling for, more treatment centers and a more positive responsive from local, state and federal authorities.

While most African-American leaders have been reluctant to embrace radical solutions such as legalization, decriminalization and "clean" needle distribution, there are a few notable exceptions. Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke, in a speech before the U.S. Confer-

SOLIDARITY STATEMENT FROM THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE TO THE HEROIC CUBAN PEOPLE

The Black Panther Newspaper Committee sends a message of profound solidarity to the Cuban people on the 30th anniversary of the meeting between our brother, Malcolm X, and the Premier of Cuba, Commandante Fidel Castro.

It has been 30 years since the Cuban people successfully threw off the yoke of imperialism and completed the efforts of Antonio Maceo, Jose Marti, Camilo Cienfuegos, and countless other patriots. Since that time, your nation has served as a beacon of principled anti-colonial struggle for Africa, Asia, Latin America, and freedom-loving peoples everywhere. It has also served as a haven and refuge for African-American and other freedom fighters. Though intense struggle, the Cuban people have raised their living standards, health care, and educational systems to some of the highest in the world. These concrete advances of the Cuban Revolution are to be applauded by all people interested in justice and human rights. They should be defended not only by the Cuban people, but by their allies all over the world.

Today, we are witnessing the birth of a so-called "New World Order." This "New Order" is tantamount to the Old Colonial Order which was exemplified by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 that divided the African Continent into European spheres of influence and colonial adjuncts for economic exploitation. The retreat of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union represents not just a defeat for their own peoples, but a loss of material support for Third World nations as well. This loss of support may prove disastrous by forcing these countries into the arms of their enemies, as in the case of Angola and the counterrevolutionary UNITA, led by the chief bandit Jonas Savimbi. We adamantly oppose a similar plan for the Cuban people.

The African-American people must be aware of the dangers of this international isolation of their brothers and sisters, and oppose it by actively strengthening existing fraternal ties and building new ones. In line with this thinking, the Black Panther Newspaper Committee extends



Safiya Bukhari-Alston, Evelyn Williams (Standing), Assata Shakur's aunt, Doris Johnson, mother of Assata Shakur, Margarita Delgado, First Secretariat and Cuban Ambassador to the United Nations (seated, left).

greetings of revolutionary solidarity to the Cuban people, and pledge our continuing support for the revolution.

Venceremos, A Luta Continua

The Black Panther Newspaper Committee
October 16, 1990

WE TOO ARE VETERANS

POST TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDERS AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Safiya Bukhari-Alston

I was nineteen (19) when I joined the Black Panther Party and was introduced to the realities of life in inner city Black America.

From the security of the college campus and the cocoon of the great American Dream Machine I was suddenly stripped of my rose colored glasses by a foray into Harlem and indecent housing, police brutality, hungry children needing to be fed, elderly people eating out of garbage cans and the hopelessness and despair everywhere. If I hadn't seen it for myself I would never have believed this was America. It looked and sounded like one of those undeveloped Third World countries.

The horror of Vietnam became real to me in 1967. I didn't experience anything close to that again until I joined the Black Panther Party realized you didn't have to travel around the world to experience the ravages of war.

Between 1966 and 1975 thousands of young Black men and women from all walks of life and backgrounds joined the ranks of the Black Panther Party, eager to be a part of the fight for the freedom and liberation of Black people in America from their oppressive conditions. They were met with all the counter force and might of the United States' war machine.

Not unlike the young men who went off to fight in the Vietnam War — believing they were going to save the Vietnamese from the ravages of "Communism" the brother and sisters who joined the ranks of the Black Panther Party, with all the romanticism of youth, believed the rightness and justness of the cause guaranteed victory. We were taught the contradictions that existed between what America said and what it did. We were shown examples of its duplicity and became victims of its Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), an all out multi-phasic war designed to stifle dissent in America in general and the Black community in particular. We came into the struggle believing two things:

1. That all we had to do was present an

sured, and

2. Because our struggle was right and just 'we shall win without a doubt!'

We theorized about what we were up against. We marched, sang and rhetoricized about being in 'the belly of the beast' and what the implications of this was. We disassociated ourselves from anything or anyone that was close to us and regurgitated the bravado about the struggle being primary and in order to win we must be willing to sacrifice mother, father, sister or brother. We did all of this, much in the same manner that the drill sergeant in the Marine Corps psyches the recruits up to fight in Vietnam.

In 1967 my brother came home from Vietnam. He looked good. There were no scars or missing limbs. We were ecstatic. His bedroom was next to mine on the second floor of our duplex apartment in the Bronx. In the middle of the night I heard agonized hushed screams coming from his room. Not knowing any better, I went to him and touched him to soothe him. He instantly went on the attack. He grabbed me with one hand and his other was like a claw. I don't know what saved me, whether it was my screaming his name or throwing myself on him, but he came to himself before he harmed me.

Before going to Vietnam, my brother had wanted to become a doctor. After returning from Vietnam he could not stand the sight of blood, he drank gin straight, continuously without getting drunk, like ice water, after that night when he told me about watching his entire platoon get wiped out and gouging eyes out with his bare hands, not knowing who was the enemy and what direction it would come from the next time and some of the other nightmares of Vietnam, we never talked about it again.

The horror of Vietnam became real to me in 1967. I wasn't to experience anything remotely close to that again until I joined the Black Panther Party and came to realize that you didn't have to travel around the world to experience the ravages of war. The physical conditions that made the Vietnam War the horror story it is were not present here, but the psychological conditions were just as intense for those of us who had been raised to believe that America was the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave and now were involved in a struggle for liberation and human rights for Black people.

Those of us who became a part of the Black Panther Party and therefore, the Black Liberation Struggle, went into it with a lot of hope and faith. We believed that the struggle

freedom was still not assured, we were left with no one to debrief us or to tell us the next step (where to go from there and what to do next). We were left with no sense of direction or purpose and the knowledge that the job was not done. We hadn't just mouthed the words 'Revolution in our Lifetime', we believed them. We sincerely believed that the Black Panther Party would lead us to victory and the only way we wouldn't live to see it is/ was because we would have died in battle. Bunchy Carter, in his poem Black Mother, summed up how we felt very well.

Black Mother i must confess that i still breathe
 Though you are still not free
 What could justify my crying start
 Forgive my coward's heart
 ... But blame me not the sheepish me
 For i have just awakened from a deep, deep sleep
 And i be hazed and dazed and scared
 And vipers fester in my hair
 BLACK MOTHER, i curse your drudging years
 The rapes and heartbreaks, sweat and tears
 ...but this cannot redeem the fact
 You cried in pain, i turned my back
 And ran into the mire's fog
 And watched while you were dogged
 And died a thousand deaths
 But i swear on seize night's dark and gloom
 A rose i'll wear to honor you
 And when i fall
 A rose in hand
 You're be free and i a man
 For a slave of natural death who dies
 Can't balance out two dead flies
 i'd rather be without the shame
 A bullet logged within my brain
 If i were not to reach our goal
 Let bleeding cancer torment my soul.

By Apprentice 'Bunchy' Carter

We had experienced the death and/or imprisonment of countless of our brothers and sisters who had struggled right along beside us, slept in the beds with us, ate at the same table with us. (As I write this the picture of Twymon Myers' bullet riddled body flashes before my eyes. Shot so many times that his legs were almost shot off. Then the desecration of his funeral by the FBI jumping from behind tombstones and out of trees, at the cemetery, with sawed off shotguns and machine guns pointed towards the mourners.

we can see you clearly"). Pictures pop in and out of our minds with no prompting. Still, I think I'm one of the lucky ones.

Then there was Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, Bunchy Carter and John Huggins, Sandra Pratt and Lil Bobby Hutton, not to mention Fred Bennett, the countless shootouts, the infiltrations and setups that left you leery of strangers and people getting too close or acting too friendly. This left you constantly on guard and under the pressure of not knowing who your friends were and from which direction the next threat was coming.

In 1983, after serving eight years and eight months of a 40 year sentence, I was released on parole. While I was in prison I maintained my commitment to the struggle for the liberation of Black and oppressed people. The thing that kept me going was knowing that the reason that they were killing and locking



up Panthers was to break them and therefore break the back of the struggle. I was determined that I would survive and, one way or the other, live to fight another day. We languished in the prisons and watched the growing lack of activity on the streets and promised ourselves that things would be different when we came home.

It is my contention that it is this intense belief in the rightness and justness of our cause, that things would be different when we returned to the streets and the fact that we are still alive and our conditions have grown worse rather than better despite all the sacrifices that we made is a traumatic shock to our system. This is the ultimate shock. We survived while others died and, despite all their intents and purposes, their deaths were in vain. The struggle hadn't been won!

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders defines Post Traumatic Stress Disorder as "an anxiety disorder caused by the exposure to a psychologically distressing event that is outside the range of usual human experiences" such as watching a friend die violently or unexpectedly, even

WILL WE SEE THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY?

By Dale Roscoe

Editor's note: As of November, 1990, 50% of all new AIDS cases among women in San Francisco occurred among Black women; 26% among Hispanic women. Also, poor patients have greater difficulty securing transportation to and from medical appointments; in many cases are restricted to a limited number of doctor visits with state and/or federal medical coverage; have difficulty securing social services; and endure long waits in overcrowded city and county clinics and emergency rooms.

"If you're White you're right; if you're Brown sit down; if you're black get back." Most of us grew up with these familiar words. Today, we face a more malicious proclamation. The updated version is: If you're Brown or Black — you're dead.

A disproportionate number of persons with AIDS are African-American or Hispanic. People of color survive for a shorter period being diagnosed as having AIDS than do Whites with the disease. And AIDS is occurring even more frequently in women and children of color. The escalation of the AIDS epidemic has created an even greater problem of access to health care for people of color in the United States. From the homeless to the homosexual, we represent tortuously expanding numbers of the AIDS population.

In recent years, the risk groups for transmitting/contracting AIDS has changed. Prior to 1986, information on prevention of AIDS transmission among non-White, non-homosexual people was virtually non-existent. The result of this neglect has been a rise in the number of African-American and Hispanic young, homosexual, bi-sexual, and intravenous drug abusers (IVDAs) with AIDS. This preventable catastrophe is attributable to the high mobilization of the White homosexual male population versus the scant mobilization in Black and Hispanic communities. Due to the wide media coverage, AIDS was originally perceived as a gay man's disease. Apathy and a false sense of security supported unsafe, heterosexual behavior. And greater stigmatization against Black and Hispanic gays exists within their communities than is the case with their White counterparts. In fact, the homophobia and hostility of community leaders, churches, and other institutions towards gays and IVDAs impede the spread of vital, preventive health-care measures.

Expensive state-of-the-art medical equipment, comprehensive health-care services, and clean, modern quarters await the White homosexual person with AIDS. The White gay person with AIDS is more readily accepted into AIDS medical units, and these individu-

als are more successful at completing the entrance interview for the AIDS units (units that are pressured by administrators and financial managers to display compliant, pleasant and appealing patients). In our communities, our paltry reply is a handful of individuals staking cavernous drug-shooting galleries

access to health care via the spectre of AIDS. AIDS hits our community hardest. Over 31% of New York City's AIDS cases in 1986 were among African-Americans; 23% were Hispanics; 86% male IVDAs; and 90% of women with children who have AIDS are Black or Hispanic.

than Whites.

Little or no insurance coverage means no primary health care provider which translates into a late diagnosis. Day-to-day survival issues are paramount to the poor, making participation in their medical treatment a secondary matter. Poor patients are less compliant with their health care plan, and have a high rate of "no shows" on return appointments. Health care professionals, such as physicians, nurses and dieticians who would prefer to render their services to the better educated, more compliant, White gay male, often neglect the welfare mom or IVDA patient.

These biases exacerbate our poor health-care access. Unfamiliarity and fear of the health-care system are fostered from years of avoidance. Previously healthy homosexual men, IVDAs, prostitutes, and female partners of bi-sexual men who have no rapport with a physician must fearfully and suddenly place their lives in their hands. AIDS, which requires sophisticated treatments, intense personal care, and high resource utilization, further jeopardizes the tenuous health-care position of people of color.

The fastest growing segment of the population to suffer with AIDS is young Black women between 25 and 35 years of age. Epidemiological studies have been done on the transmission of AIDS among homosexual and bi-sexual men and IVDAs. The progression of the disease in the male body is well documented. To date, not a single study exists on AIDS in the female body, except for the studies exploring the role a woman has as a human vector (a vehicle to transmit AIDS). The degeneration of the female body caused by AIDS demands immediate attention. Even the criteria for AIDS diagnosis is based upon males.

As a consequence of male bi-sexuality and IVDA, women of color contract AIDS in greater numbers than White women. This psychosocial phenomenon may be attributable to the following possibilities: (1) compared to White men, there is a higher number of men of color that have been or are participating in unsafe homosexual and heterosexual behavior (i.e., male former prison inmates, who also happen to be over-represented by Blacks and Hispanics); (2) use of condoms is less practiced among men of color; (3) society will allow an ex-IVDA man of color to re-enter the main stream and select a low-risk sexual partner, but an ex-IVDA female is less readily embraced and therefore has a constricted pool of sexual partners from which to choose. This increases her risk of AIDS infection. Of women with AIDS, 21% became infected through sexual contact with infected men. Another 52% of women with AIDS are IVDAs and 80% of the total AIDS cases in women are 13-39 years of age and in their child-bearing years. If we do not quickly move to reverse this trend of exponential growth of Brown and Black AIDS babies, the dismal implications for all people of color are clear.

It appears that Blacks and Hispanics also have a higher rate of infection secondary to unidentified factors. Their rate of infection is two to three times higher than among Whites. Even after calculating the established risk factors of needle sharing, multiple sexual partners and anal-receptive sexual contact, there is an unexplained higher rate of HIV infection of Black versus White homosexual and bi-sexual men, as reported in a recent San Francisco study. Compounding our present poor prognosis is the higher rate of HIV seroconversion that Blacks experience over Whites (seroconversion is the change from being HIV negative to HIV positive.).

We cannot wish back the hundreds of babies that have painfully wasted away from AIDS. Just as we allowed their tears and agony to happen, so did we allow the purloining of their lives. We have lost them. Drug abuse and unsafe sexual behavior are conditions that have existed, they are not conditions that have to exist.

Whether or not we wake up or sleep-walk to our death is in our control. How many of us make it through the '90s is up to us. We must



armed with a bottle of bleach and a bag of condoms. Our homophobia and negative attitude toward chemical dependency, coupled with institutional racism and the general tendency to withdraw from the terminally ill, promote a deadly discrimination.

The most vulnerable segment of the population — young, poor, homeless, IVDA people of color — have sunk into the morass of poor

A more recent study reported AIDS as "the leading cause of death" of Black women in New York. Nationwide, 26% of AIDS patients are Black and 13% Hispanic, while these groups are only 12% and 6% of the population respectively.

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Thus, in reported AIDS cases, Blacks and Hispanics are doubly represented in propor-

STRESS DISORDERS, *continued from page 25*

living under constant or prolonged fear or threat of life and limb, etc. Its symptoms include the following:

- Recurring dreams (while asleep) or intrusive thoughts (while awake) of the traumatic events;
- Flashbacks to the incidents triggered by sounds or pictures or illusive smells;
- Inability to make and/or maintain relationships or friendships; emotional isolation; fantasies about living alone on a mountain or other isolated place; feelings of no one being able to understand his/her situation or no one would believe it if he/she tried to explain it;
- Constant fear of 'losing control' therefore cannot allow oneself to show or feel emotions;
- Sense of helplessness, worthlessness, dejection.
- Feeling of guilt because comrades/friends who worked along side you are in jail or prison and you survived;
- Suppressed rage that surfaces inappropriately at family or is controlled through the use of narcotics or alcohol;
- Inability to sleep;

- Substance or alcohol abuse, usually to numb the "pain" or drown out the memories and/or guilt;
- Inability to maintain a job or deal with authority figures; etc.

Since coming home from prison I'd become more and more disillusioned with my comrades and the things that I saw happening around me. I'd become dismayed by their seemingly lost of principles and vacillation. I knew that I couldn't go back on my beliefs and principles because the ghosts of Twymon Myers, Robert Webb, Anthony 'Kimu' White, Timothy 'Red' Adams and all those other 'rades wouldn't let me and I couldn't turn my back on my comrades inside prison either. More and more there seemed to be some kind of pattern developing in the behavior of these comrades who had survived the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army. I then decided to do a psychological study of the problem because WE TOO ARE VETERANS: and suffer from POST TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER.

As I looked over these symptoms I recognized myself. And the first step to resolving

Key BPP Writings

Rules of the Black Panther Party

EIGHT Points of Attention

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:

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.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Central Headquarters

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 viola-

tion of these rules to the leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the Black Panther Party.

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. ■

ART FOR THE PEOPLE

By Emory Douglas

On October 2, 1972, Emory Douglas, the popular People's Artist for the Black Panther Party whose works regularly adorned the back page of *The Black Panther newspaper*, spoke at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. In speaking to the assembly of predominately Black students and professors, Emory explained in relationship to a Black artist's responsibilities, how art could be used as a vehicle to elevate the consciousness of Black and poor communities: "... No artist can sit in an ivory tower... The artist has to be down on the ground; he has to hear the sounds of the people, the cries of the people, the suffering of the people, the laughter of the people, the dark side and the bright side of our lives."

Emory's drawings appear interspersed throughout the text of that Nashville speech, which follows.

(Emory Douglas' works have been exhibited throughout the U.S. Africa, Asia and Latin America and have been reproduced widely by Third World publications as well as filmed for TV both within this country and abroad. In addition, Emory is a University Lecturer on "Art in Service for the People" and is the art instructor at the Community Learning Center.)

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

"I'm very happy to be here as a representative from the Black Panther Party. Tonight, I would like to discuss with you the relationship of the Black artist to the Black community. We must take that as a very serious thing, because when we look at the world today, we see that we have very serious problems.

"We have to understand that we have been duped into believing that we are supposed to criticize Greek, the Roman, and all the ancient European art. We have been taught how to criticize them; we have been told how to criticize them. But what happens when we criticize them? We begin to try to duplicate them. We begin to spend our time in trying to copy something that is old, that is decadent, that is out of date like the work of Leonardo Da Vinci, and those other painters.

"But we have a greater enemy in relationship to art. We have a greater enemy, I would say, in commercial art. What is commercial? It is a method of persuasion, mind control; it oppresses Black people.

If we look around our community, what do we see? We see billboards, with advertising, that tell us what to buy, how to buy

NEW CONTENT

"It (advertising) tells us to go out and buy a house, for 6% interest; we buy the house and suffer for the next 20 years trying to pay for that house. What am I trying to tell you? Is this: We have to take that structure of commercial art and add a brand new content to it, a content that will serve the interests of black people. We see that they (the capitalists) have done what we should be doing. They have analyzed how to appeal to Black people, so that Black people will go out and buy. They have begun to analyze how to relate to Black people so that we will continue to suffer peacefully.

"But we say that if we take this structure of commercial art and add a brand new content to it, then we will have begun to analyze Black people and our situation for the purpose of raising our consciousness to the oppression that we are subjected to. We would use commercial art for the purpose of educating Black People, not oppressing them. So I made that statement, in the beginning so that perhaps I could get off into an outline with few questions in regards to who art is for. I would say that art is for the masses of Black people; we must bombard the masses with art. We cannot do this in an art gallery, because our people do not go to art galleries; we can't afford to go to art galleries.

"We have to put our art all over the United States, wherever Black people are. If we're talking about an art that serves our people, if we're truly talking about an art that is in the interest of Black people, then we have to use, again, the structure of commercial art.

"Isn't it true, that wherever you look, all over the country, you see billboards selling a product? Isn't it true, that whenever you look in a magazine, it's selling a product? Why can't we use that same structure, in relationship to ourselves, to raise the consciousness of Black people; in regards to using our art in that same form; putting it into posters, thousands upon thousands of posters, so that they can be distributed, so all Black people across the country can get the message.

"We also have the question of how to define art (for ourselves)? Many would say that we define art from a dictionary, but we know that the problems are too complicated, too complex, to define art from a dictionary. We cannot even define art by a board of directors. We say that art is defined by the people, because the people are the ones who make art.

"If we are truly drawing the people: if we are



Emory Douglas and Barbara E., Oakland, Calif., August, 1968.

people; but the people are the real artists. No artist can sit in an ivory tower, discussing the problems of the day, and come up with a solution on a piece of paper. The artist has to be down on the ground; he has to hear the sounds of the people, the cries of the people, the suffering of the people, the laughter of the people—the dark side and the bright side of our lives.

"The dark side is the oppression, the suffering, the decadent living, which we always expose. But the bright side is that which we praise; beautiful Black people who are rising up and resisting. There is a difference between exposing and praising. We don't expose the people, we expose the system (of the U.S.) in relationship to art, but, we praise the people in relationship to art, but, we praise the people in relationship to art. We show them as the heroes, we put them on the stage. We make characters of our people (around the idea of what they know life should be about).

"We can talk about politics in art, and many people will get confused on the issue, in regard to what is primary. Is it the political situation, or the artistic situation? Art is subordinate to politics. The political situation is greater than the artistic situation. A picture can express a thousand words, but action is supreme. Politics is based on action, politics starts with a hungry stomach, with dilapidated housing. Politics does not start in the political arena, it starts right down there in the community, where the suffering is. If art is subordinate, to the political situation, wouldn't it be true that the artist must begin to interpret the hungry stomach, bad housing, all of these things and transform these things into something that would raise the consciousness of Black people? I think that would be the most logical thing to do.

"In regard to criticism in art: We praise all that which helps us in our resistance for future liberation. We condemn all those things in art that are opposed to our liberation.

"If we, as artists, do not understand our role

how can we create art that will project survival? How can we begin to create an art that shows a love—a true love—for Black people? When the artist begins to love the people, to appreciate them, he or she will begin to draw the people differently; we can begin to interpret and project into our art something that is much greater than it was before; Freedom, justice, liberation; all those things that we could not apply to our art before.

"How do we judge art... By the subjective intentions of the person (the motive)? Or do we judge art by the effect it has? We have to take both of these things into consideration. The motive is the idea; the idea that I believe a drawing should be drawn in a particular manner is only my personal thought. So, what I have to do is take into consideration, if the art is going to correspond to what's happening in the community; if it is going to elevate the level of consciousness of Black people in the community. That means that I have to go out into the community and investigate in order to find out if what I want to draw is going to elevate the level of consciousness of Black people in the community. That means that I have to go out into the community and investigate in order to find out if what I want to draw is going to correspond with the reality of the community. Then I will be taking into consideration, not only my motive, which is my own personal feeling, but I would also be taking into consideration the effect; the actual, practical everyday activity that goes on in the community. We have to link up the two.

"You see, another thing that the reactionary system does, is to carry on a pacification program by using art. They tell us that we should not draw things that deal with liberation, that we should not draw things that deal with violence. But at the same time they perpetrate the worst violence on the planet Earth while they have us drawing pictures of flowers and butterflies.

We must understand, that when there are over

