Behind the myth: Black Panthers!
By the Black Panther Party

By Emory, Minister of Culture, Black Panther Party

The Black Panther party stands for revolutionary solidarity with all people fighting against the forces of imperialism, capitalism, racism and fascism. Our aims are manifest in our 10-point platform and program. We demand the right to self-determination for all third-world peoples and an end to imperialism (community imperialism) just as the people of the third world are demanding an end to imperialism (international imperialism). We are the victims of U.S. imperialism (community imperialism) just as the people of the third world are the victims of U.S. imperialism (international imperialism). Our struggle is not different from any other. If the struggle of the oppressed of the world is not successful, we believe the struggle of the world's poor and oppressed will be in vain. We demand the right to self-determination for all third-world peoples and we call for a united struggle of all third-world peoples and we call for a united revolutionary internationalism to be built. History has shown that the struggle of the third world, and the struggle of the world of the oppressed is inextricably linked. The Black Panther party stands for revolution. The struggle of the oppressed is the struggle of the world.

History has shown that while the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America were shackled in colonial bondage, black people in the U.S. were bound by the chains of slavery. We demand the right to self-determination for all oppressed peoples and an end to imperialism (community imperialism) just as the people of the third world are demanding an end to imperialism (international imperialism). We are the victims of U.S. imperialism (community imperialism) just as the people of the third world are the victims of U.S. imperialism (international imperialism). Our struggle is not different from any other. If the struggle of the oppressed of the world is not successful, we believe the struggle of the world's poor and oppressed will be in vain. We demand the right to self-determination for all third-world peoples and we call for a united struggle of all third-world peoples and we call for a united revolutionary internationalism to be built. History has shown that the struggle of the third world, and the struggle of the world of the oppressed is inextricably linked. The Black Panther party stands for revolution. The struggle of the oppressed is the struggle of the world.
The Alameda county jail contains an institution known to the black youth of the North Oakland ghetto as the "soul-breakers," the solitary confinement cells for black prisoners that rocked the jail during the peak months of the civil rights movement. One of the prisoners later said the time in solitary gave him time to think "about the relationship between being outside of jail and being in." The prisoner was Huey P. Newton, who joined the Black Panthers in 1966 and who is presently in jail.

Before being convicted and sentenced for a year on an assault charge, Newton had been a law student at Merritt College, where, like any number of militant young blacks, he was influenced by the writings of Malcolm X and entered the Black Panther Party. In March 1966, Newton and a few other students formed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in the Fall of 1966.

"We're going to draw up a basic platform," Newton told Seale and the others, "that the mothers who struggled hard to raise us, that the fathers who worked hard to feed us, that the families, that the struggle in the community, that the struggle in the city, that the struggle in the world is part of their struggle, that the struggle in the world is the struggle of the black people."

The 10-point program has been their hallmark within the left movement. At the same time, this has been the aspect of the party most obscured by the bourgeois news media which from the beginning has tried to pass the party off as a hand of apolitical, gun-toting crazies.

The press based its distortions on the fact that the party openly advocated and practiced the right of armed self-defense. And, given the reign of white police terror constantly directed at the black citizens of Oakland, the Panthers viewed this aspect of their program as a day-to-day necessity.

"Our message is one and the same," Newton said in February 1967. "We're going to talk about black people arming themselves in a political fashion to exert organized force in the political arena to see to it that their desires and needs are met."

The sight of armed and disciplined groups of Panthers soon became familiar in the Bay Area. The party went to great lengths, however, to stress two points about armed self-defense. First, they were operating within the law. Second, that the arms were to serve a political purpose and were not to be viewed in purely military terms.

Just how the party operated was shown in the action taken around the death of Denzil Dowell early in 1967. Dowell, a black youth living in North Richmond, Calif., had been shot and killed by the police, whose official account of the slaying contradicted dozens of black eye-witnesses. The Dowell family had called in the Panthers to investigate and the party decided to hold a streetcorner rally in the neighborhood to expose the facts of the slaying and try to stop the harassment of black people by the police.

Hundreds of black people turned out, many carrying their own weapons. The police who came to stop the rally quickly turned away, except for one, who sat quietly and listened to all the speeches.

At that point a police helicopter began buzzing over the crowd. At this time, the Panthers had about 75 members and were based primarily in the Bay Area. The party had to meet both the problems of spreading the word and defending their legal rights. An action was planned by Newton that was one of the more spectacular of the numerous actions taken by the party.

Newton pointed up and shouted, "And always remember that the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology!" The crowd cheered and hundreds signed up to work with the party.

At this time, the Panthers had about 75 members and were based primarily in the Bay Area. The action was planned by Newton that was one of the most spectacular of the numerous actions taken by the party.

Newton told the police, "We're going to take your black prisoners and put them in the courthouse. We're going to take your black prisoners and put them in the courthouse."

The police raid Chicago office, Dec. 4, 1969. At this time, the Panthers had about 75 members and were based primarily in the Bay Area. The action was planned by Newton that was one of the most spectacular of the numerous actions taken by the party.
Following is the 10-point program of the Black Panther Party.

**1. We want an immediate end to police brutality.** We want an end to the killing of Black people by police and Secret Service agents. We demand an immediate end to police brutality. We want a federal investigation of all police murders of Black people. Furthermore, we want the confiscation of all weapons from the police and the arming of the people. We will establish the People’s Police--a police force of the people, by the people, and for the people.

**2. We want full employment for our people.** The only solution to the unemployment problem is the liquidation of the whole capitalist system, and the establishment of a new society based on socialist revolution and Black power. We are determined to end poverty through the liquidation of capitalism. This is a modest demand that we make. It is a program for the total revolution of our society. Only through nationalization of all industry and resources can the Black masses be freed of their present poverty and social status.

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the landlords and multinational companies.** We demand the immediate termination of all acts of violence by Black people against landlords and multinational companies. We ask that all orders be terminated immediately. We ask that all support for landlords and multinational companies be terminated immediately.

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter and privacy.** There are millions of squatters in this country. We want an end to the eviction of people from their homes. We want an end to the oppression of the Black masses by the landlords. We demand that the Black masses be given their land and homes. We demand that all Black people be given a right to privacy and a decent home.

**5. We want education for our people that will give to our people a knowledge of self.** We want an end to the inferior education of our children. We want an end to the use of our children as pawns in the game of capitalism. We want an end to the use of our children as pawns in the game of international finance. We want an end to the use of our children as pawns in the game of the capitalists.

**6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.** We believe that Black men have no choice but to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that has been committing mass murder of the Black people.

**7. We want an immediate end to police brutality.** We demand an end to police brutality against the Black people. We demand an end to the violation of the rights of the Black people by the police. We demand an end to the murder of Black people by the police. We demand an end to the torture of Black people by the police.

**8. We want freedom for all Black people.** We demand an end to police brutality against Black people. We demand an end to the violation of the rights of the Black people by the police. We demand an end to the murder of Black people by the police. We demand an end to the torture of Black people by the police.

**9. We want all Black people when brought before any court to be tried in court by a jury of their peers and by impartial trial.** We demand an end to the violation of the rights of the Black people by the police. We demand an end to the murder of Black people by the police. We demand an end to the torture of Black people by the police.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, medicine, and freedom.** We demand the liquidation of the whole capitalist system and the establishment of a new society based on socialist revolution and Black power. We demand that all Black people be given a right to privacy and a decent home.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary organization, a movement of Black people to defend themselves against the mass murder of Black people by the police. We are determined to end police brutality and to establish the People’s Police--a police force of the people, by the people, and for the people. We are determined to end poverty through the liquidation of capitalism. We are determined to end the violation of the rights of the Black people by the police. We are determined to end the murder of Black people by the police. We are determined to end the torture of Black people by the police.

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The political prisoner, as well as demonstrate his innocence. The evidence of the trial became apparent. Newton was convicted of involuntary manslaughter, a charge of which he could not possibly have been guilty. The evidence of the trial was such that he could only be guilty or innocent of the charge. Following the Sacramento action and the legal press conference announcing the results of the trial, the Panthers continued to organize and develop further their party's coalition with the PFP, giving them an immediate public political exposure—among both blacks and whites—that would have been difficult to attain otherwise. And given the needs of Newton's defense and the probability of further repression, the move was seen as important, if not necessary, for the party's survival.

What made the debate so intense was the contrast.

Two political dynamics were at work. First, the political prisoner's condemnation made clear the class and racial bias built into the court system at every step. Within the trial, Newton managed to expose the class and racial bias built into the court system, and his opponents realized that they could not win the case.

Second, the Panthers benefited from the national exposure that came with the trial. The trial drew attention to the party's 10-point program and the establishment of the Black Panther newspaper.

The Panthers saw in the PFP's campaign machinery a chance for a wider educational campaign in the white mother country and you have two different factions of information. "You have a black colony and you have the white mother country and you have two different parties in the United States that would even be there if you didn't have the other, and you have two different struggle in the United States that would even be there if you didn't have the other." The Panthers continued to mobilize the black community and put the PFP on the ballot into the black community and put the PFP on the ballot petitions at the end of 1967, a shortage of signatures, and whites—that would have been difficult to attain otherwise. And given the needs of Newton's defense and the probability of further repression, the move was seen as important, if not necessary, for the party's survival.

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GUARDIAN/AN/PANTHERS/FEBRUARY 1970/3

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The party's defense. After the California PFP named him its Presidential candidate, several other states had followed suit. This had opened up a wide range of speaking engagements around the country, along with greater access to the news media.

Nevertheless, a number of black radicals outside the party viewed the alliance with whites with dismay, if not as a sell-out. The main thrust of black power-the legitimacy and necessity for blacks to form independent, all-black organizations-had only recently been established.

The party had dropped the "for self-defense" from its name to reemphasize its political character, was now larger than ever, with 30 branches and perhaps a membership of 30,000 nationwide. The Panthers were in the process of forming a "merger with SNCC, which was formally announced at an Oakland "Free Huey" rally... leading positions in the party, with the leaders of both groups announcing a plan to form a mass black political party.

The "merger" was short-lived and began to crumble. The Panthers were waging a political defense of their leader, but the police and press once again whipped up and intensified a racist, hysterical reaction to both Newton and the Black Panther party. For its part, the party mobilized its forces for a "Free Huey" defense campaign.

While thousands of people, black and white, rallied to Newton's defense, in the beginning the unequivocal demand to "Free Huey" was the cause of some footdragging in the radical community. Many argued that the demand should be "Fair Trial for Huey" which would supposedly win wider support.

"But the police and press once again whipped up and intensified a racist, hysterical reaction to both Newton and the Black Panther party," said Seale, commenting on the repression, "and thank them for organizing our organization.

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Black Panther Party activists Bobby Seale explains Panther politics.

Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale is serving a four-year prison term for contempt of federal judge Julius Hoffman's conspiracy trial court in Chicago. He was arrested June 7, 1969, during a hearing on a contempt of court charge. Hoffman convicted him of failing to appear in court when called and fined him $1,000. Seale has been in jail since August 1969.

Seale, a former lawyer and member of the Black Panthers, was one of the original founders of the organization. He has been on trial for murder in Connecticut since April 1969. Hyman Rackley, a former Panther who was killed in a prison riot, was found guilty of murder in the case of the New Haven Panther 14, convicted of murdering Rackley. Following is an interview conducted with Seale Feb. 11 in San Francisco County jail by Guardian staff correspondent Francis Furey.

You have been in jail since August. Could you give some details on your treatment in jail since then?

Well I've been in a number of jails since I was at rested Aug. 19--S.F. County and Cook County [Chicago] and a number of other jails across the country. In SF jail I was thrown in the hole for having a Panther party newspaper that one of the guards here actually let me have after my lawyer, Charles Garry, luted that I have it based on the fact that I had to Ina Le some notes and outlines on some speeches that I had made, the court order which was to come up in court would be postponed so that I could attend the hearing and get all the notes and outlines. They assumed that I had the notes, and I did have some.

Could you describe the hole?

The hole itself is a box five feet wide and seven feet long. You have no bed, no toilet, no bunk. There is only a hole in the floor where one could defecate, urinate and ... was ruled unconstitutional by state supreme court in 1966. The ruling stated that a man's supposed to have at least a.,.,, of some kind, full meals and a toilet. Recently there has been a grand jury investigation of county jail. The same thing has happened in the other jails. The police said, 'Are they being fed right?' and they have to check on the conditions.

The Black Panther party has been criticized for its rhetoric. What is your reaction to this?

When we use the term "pig," for example, we are referring to people who systematically violate peoples' constitutional rights—whether they be monopoly capitalists or others. We're talking about the police, the courts, the government. We're not talking about the poor, the underprivileged, the people who are really deserving of our constitutional rights. We're talking about the police who misuse their power, the courts who misuse their power, the government who misuse their power. When we use the term, "pig," for example, we are trying to say that the system is, in fact, the problem, that the system is the problem and we're trying to change the system. When we say "pig," we're saying that the system is flawed, that the system is broken, that the system is broken and we're trying to change it. When we say "pig," we're saying that the system is flawed, that the system is broken, that the system is broken and we're trying to change it.

Party chairman Bobby Seale.

Were you brought to trial in the conspiracy as a result of the continuing crackdown by Mayor Daley and Chicago authorities on the Black Panther party, which in December resulted in the deaths of Fred Hampton and

represent a gross violation of county jail and the county court. The decision to move the trial was made by the district attorney, who said that he wanted more time to prepare his case. The trial was moved to a federal court in Chicago, where it was held in January 1970.

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The Black Panther party was political exile and I think they also saw the need to listen to the Panther party. If we were black racists they could easily isolate us, but such is not the case.
The 1969 raids in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, and other cities throughout the United States resulted in the arrest and trial of over 200 Black Panther Party members. The raids were conducted by federal and local law enforcement agencies in response to the perceived threat posed by the Panthers, who were seen as radical and revolutionary by many in the U.S. government. The raids were part of a broader campaign of repression against the Panthers and other civil rights organizations, aimed at undermining their ability to organize and advocate for Black liberation.

Despite the raids, the Panthers continued to operate and grow, with chapters established in major cities across the country. The Party's leaders, including Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, and others, were arrested and charged with various federal and state offenses, including sedition and conspiracy.

The raids were met with widespread protests and criticism, both from within the Panthers and from civil rights organizations and activists. The Panthers argued that the raids were part of a larger campaign of repression aimed at weakening their ability to organize and advocate for Black liberation.

The statistics of repression documented in the Panther's February 1970 issue highlight the scale of the government's efforts to undermine the Panthers and other civil rights organizations. The raids and subsequent trials were part of a broader campaign of repression aimed at weakening the Panthers' ability to operate and advocate for Black liberation, and continue to be a point of contention and debate.
In regard to the Chicago conspiracy trial, defendant Davis has said that the single most important tactic dramatized by the trial was the use of black marshals. The court enshrined the presence of black marshals as a strong defense of the defendants' claims of racism. However, defendant Davis argues that if a black judge had employed the same fascist tactics as Julius Hoffman, he would have acted no differently. Davis further argues that the system itself is white and evident lately that there has been a need for more open forums to expose the political nature of the court.

The self-defense aspect of the trial is also present in the documents. The Panthers accused of murder in the Watts shootout brought a gun to the courtroom which they had caught in their jail cells. Davis argues that one doesn't have much choice but to expose his racism and fascism and stand up for his constitutional rights. All I did, he says, was protect my life and the lives of my family.

The self-defense aspect of the party is also prominent in the documents. The Panthers believe that the process of the American judicial system, including trial procedure and jury composition, presently violates the constitutional right to an impartial and representative jury. The Panthers believe that in the Watts shootout, the Panthers brought a gun to the courtroom in self-defense. The Panthers argue that in the Watts shootout, the Panthers brought a gun to the courtroom in self-defense.

Finally, the Panthers believe that the recent revelation by the Mayor of Seattle that federal authorities attempted to influence him to raid the Panther headquarters in that city is no revelation. They have been talking about a federally-led conspiracy against the party for some time. The Panther's argument is that the system is white and evident lately that there has been a need for more open forums to expose the political nature of the court.
Atmos hakur, protesting N.Y. 21 trial.

Male domination is perpetuated as such by the ruling classes in America. When we talk about women's liberation, what we're talking about is equality for women. All people talk, think, feel and human relationships have to be determined on that basis, not on a sex basis. The same goes for racial differences. The puritanical tradition also has a lot to do with male chauvinism. The taboo on sex with a woman of another race is perpetuated by the ruling classes, but the taboo on sex with a woman of another race is also perpetuated by the ruling classes. Therefore, the same goes for the taboo on sex with a woman of another race as it does for the taboo on sex with a woman of another race.

Even jail conditions violate one's constitutional rights. In that same jail recently, one of the deputies tried to beat a prisoner who was refusing to cooperate with the prison authorities. When the prisoner refused to cooperate, the deputies beat him. This is a violation of the prisoner's constitutional rights. When the prisoner refused to cooperate, the deputies beat him. This is a violation of the prisoner's constitutional rights.

The Black Panther party's position on male chauvinism is that it is a class struggle—that's hard for people to understand. To understand male chauvinism one has to understand that it is intimately connected with racism. Male chauvinism is directly related to the slave master's rape of a slave's mother. We see the taboo concept as being closely linked to racism. At the same time the party sees the need to stop using the term just so we can get a segment of the white population to understand the aims of the party. When we talk about obscenity in the courtroom, I think the most obscene thing is the refusal of the judge to relate to the person who has been arrested. The obscenity in the Chicago case is the violation of human and constitutional rights.

Much of the mass media has been playing up the circus aspect of the trial in Chicago and has been treating Hoffman as an exceptional case in a judicial system which is otherwise just and honorable. What do you think? People like Hoffman are the rule especially with respect to minority peoples. Murtagh, the judge in the New York Panther 21 case, is a notorious racist. It's just now that people like Murtagh and Hoffman are being exposed for what they are: fascist and racist.

Do you expect any changes in the structure or direction of the Black Panther party in the future? Our objective is the education of the people. I don't think we'll make the same mistake that the Communist party made in the 1950s as a result of the repressive measures the government took during that time. You have to go out and fight the battle for the oppressed people—white, black, red, brown—wherever they may be. The party's recent formation of the National Committee to Combat Fascism represents a change, a good one, in that it creates an organization in which movement groups can come together and coalesce to fight the oppressor. In any case I don't think there is any way for the party to stop doing what it's doing and I don't think it will undertake any significant policy change in the near future.
The entire Black Panther party and its political philosophy are on trial here, not just the young black men and women known as the Los Angeles 18. The defendants are charged with conspiracy to commit murder, a capital offense and other felony charges stemming from police raids on Panther offices in the predawn hours of Dec. 8. In one raid at a Panther office, the defenders held off 300 police for several hours in a wild exchange of gunfire.

Perhaps concerned that the police raids may be determined illegal or that the Panther role in the gunfight will be recognized as a clear instance of self-defense, the prosecution is attempting to divert attention by attacking the party. Even the Los Angeles Times recognized this method. At the end of the three-week preliminary hearing, the Times reported on Jan. 24: "Much of the evidence presented ... was an indictment of the Black Panther party. The prosecution charged that the ... party policy called for armed insurrection."

During the preliminary hearing, 56 witnesses—mostly police officers—attempted to connect the defendants with various crimes allegedly committed by other Panthers and to create the impression that the Panthers were planning a war of aggression against the police. One police witness described the defense of a Panther from entry to the Panther office—whereupon the deputy district attorney stated that the L.A. 18 were also parties to such acts of violence.

After almost a month in jail, the 18 defendants who had been held without bail finally got bail set Feb. 6. Bail, or ransom as they call it, ranges from $10,000 to $50,000.

Of the 22 Panthers originally charged Dec. 8, three were released before the pre-arraignment and one, Gilbert Parker, was released after the preliminary hearing for lack of sufficient evidence. Another Panther was released after the preliminary hearing for lack of evidence. Parker was arrested by the cops and charged with the same crimes as those inside the Central St. office. Only two of the remaining 18 defendants are presently out on bail, and these two were not at the Central St. office Dec. 8.

Defense strategy when the trial begins in March will be to try to hurry the proceedings along, since the first priority is to get the Panthers back onto the streets. The first defense action in the trial proper will probably be a motion to dismiss charges since the search warrant leading to arrest was illegal.

The search warrant, signed by superior court judge Antonio Chavez two days before the raid, set the strategy of trying the party for its beliefs, rather than its actions. The preliminary hearing and presumably also the trial are only extensions of the logic of the warrants. Lawyers here say they have never seen a warrant like this 18-page document, which purported to show that the Panthers had a plan to murder police. In fact, the warrant only describes the raid on the Central St. office, where police officers guarding the building were attacked by Panthers. The warrant does not mention any planning or intention to harm the police.

According to the warrant, the Panthers had a plan to murder police officers. They introduced false information and exaggerated the Panthers' role in the gunfight to create the impression that the Panthers were planning a war of aggression against the police. The warrant describes the defense of a Panther from entry to the Panther office—whereupon the deputy district attorney stated that the L.A. 18 were also parties to such acts of violence.

Los Angeles Black Panther Party and its political philosophy are on trial in Los Angeles court in a case that has captured the attention of the nation.
New Haven 14 under pressure

New Haven, Conn. - Months before the New Haven 14' Black Panther murder trial is to begin, the prosecution and police are increasing their coercion and intimidation of the Panther defendants.

Unwilling to wait until the trial starts, the officials are attempting to pressure the defendants into trying to save their own skins at the cost of betraying their comrades in the Panther party, in return for the possibility of lesser punishment.

To date, nine of the defendants, although submitted to eight months of pressure and brainwashing, have withstood this pressure. Two others, Loretta Luckes and Warren Kimbro, have given in to the pressure and have pleaded guilty to various lesser charges.

The Panther defendants, including national party chairman Bobby Seale, are charged with the kidnap-murder of Alex Rackley. If convicted, all face the death penalty. The party maintains that Rackley was a member in good standing of the Panthers and was murdered by police agents.

The police charge that the Panthers thought Rackley was an informer in the New York 21 case and was tried and executed by the Panthers.

Frances Carter, 22, is charged with accessory to murder, kidnapping, conspiracy, and binding. She was pregnant at the time of her arrest, and gave birth under armed guard. Her lawyer, Catherine Rotaback, moved last month

New Haven, Conn.
Panthers grow from ghetto oppression

By Renee Blakkan

Dingy stores multiply in all directions around the Black Panther party ministry of information office in the Bronx section of New York City. Tin cans and filth line the streets, clogged with traffic.

Inside the office, Brenda Hyson, a young Panther woman, described the conditions which gave rise to the Panther party.

"The ghetto," she said. "All the conditions of the ghetto make the formation of a revolutionary party necessary because all the conditions—from disease to poor housing to bad food—constitute a 'plot of genocide by the power structure against the black people of the United States."

As example she talked briefly of Brownsville, a sprawling black ghetto in Brooklyn where the party is also organizing.

"Brownsville resembles a bombed-out zone," she said. "There's not a block that is not run down, where there aren't buildings burned out, boarded up or completely torn down. Rats run in packs. There must be three, four or five bad fires a day."

From the President of the United States and the ruling class to the slum landlord and the cheating grocer—all, she said, profit from the exploitation and oppression of the black masses. "And that," she continued, "is why there is a Black Panther party."

Genocide, said Brenda Hyson, is when a black child dies of pneumonia in an unheated ghetto apartment. Genocide is when a young man or woman is denied a decent job or the education to get a job. "Genocide is when a man or woman is denied a decent job of the very existence of which he or she is a part; when there are no opportunities for advancement; when a man or woman is denied the right to vote; when a man or woman is denied the right to live in safety and security; when a man or woman is denied the right to control his or her own destiny."

The schools also condone this situation.

"Poverty programs?" said Brenda Hyson. "They have one going now where you are supposed to call up the Mayor and tell him your problems. These programs aren't meant to serve the people. They are set up to serve the ruling class—and the people know that. The people they get to work on the poverty programs are just hustling for themselves."

One of the reasons the government is cracking down on the Panther party, she said, was that the people in the black community are beginning to realize the Panthers are seriously trying to serve the people while the city, state and federal agencies are serving the hustlers.

The schools also serve the power structure, she said. "The rulers say, 'we will not let blacks get too educated because we need cheap labor; we need cheap labor."

The Panthers understand there will never be a decent life for black people under the capitalist system. "Huey [Newton] writes about how the black man blames himself if he fails. The party points out," she said, "that capitalism makes him fail. The only place outside the ghetto for a black person, in the capitalist's mind, is in the grave."

The Panther party was born out of the needs of the people in black America, she said, and the party has developed programs to meet these needs. The police and press try to depict the Panthers as totally absorbed in violence—but the reality, according to Brenda Hyson and party practice, is quite different.

The Panther free breakfast-for-children program in dozens of black communities is a serious effort to feed hungry children—to serve the people or at least that small number of people who can be served within the Panther party's limited resources by providing the semblance of an adequate diet for four hours of the day.

The Panthers understand there will never be a decent job for black people under the capitalist system. "Huey writes that education is the first line of defense against the exploitation and oppression of the black masses. "And that," he continued, "is why there is a Black Panther party."

Genocide, said Brenda Hyson, is when a black child dies of pneumonia in an unheated ghetto apartment. Genocide is when a young man or woman is denied a decent job or the education to get a job. "Genocide is when a man or woman is denied a decent job of the very existence of which he or she is a part; when there are no opportunities for advancement; when a man or woman is denied the right to vote; when a man or woman is denied the right to live in safety and security; when a man or woman is denied the right to control his or her own destiny."

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"The testimony in the first week of the trial hearing of police inspector William Knapp has clearly revealed the nature and extent of the police actions. The police Special Services Bureau has placed undercover agents in the Panther office from the moment of the party until April 2 last year when the Panther 21 were arrested on the conspiracy charges, according to police sources.

The undercover cops, according to the NY Post, are to be the Manhattan district attorney's key witnesses when he attempts to prove that the Panthers conspired to firebomb various police precincts and to bomb the Bronx Botanical Gardens, as charged in the grand jury indictment April 2.

Police harassment.

Panther attorney Gerald Lefcourt described the undercover surveillance as a clear indication that "the government wanted to try to set up the party from the beginning and to control its course." It also made it possible to imprison the Panthers on conspiracy charges, for crimes never committed.

During their brief history in New York the Panthers have been continually subject to police harassment. They were attacked by off-duty policemen in a Brooklyn courthouse Sept. 4, 1968; they have consistently faced arrests on petty charges and last October the Harlem office was ransacked.

In the months before their arrests, the Panthers were active in organizing around school decentralization in New York; specifically, the experiment in community control of schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. They established a breakfast-for-children program, a liberation school and organized a successful rent strike, in addition to setting up a center where welfare rights work was done.

Zayd Shakur, the Panther's New York deputy minister of information, has argued that when any militant black group begins relating concretely to black people, it is endemic to the police to try to destroy it. He said with typical directness and stature: "The government's actions against the Black Panther Party are the same as their actions against the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the left in general. They are a pattern of behavior that seems to be designed to keep black people from organizing to defend their own interests and to fight for the freedom and dignity that is theirs by right.

But to imagine that the party's original leadership enjoyed a period of at least eight months in which to organize in the black communities of Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant, free from the fear of police interference. That is an illusion. New York police fastened their hooks on the Panthers from the moment of the party's inception.

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oppression in America
By Randy Fiust

For 22 million black Americans in the United States, the daily struggle for survival is particularly acute. They are oppressed as blacks and as workers—and in capitalist America, they come out last, economically, politically and of course, as a race.

What follows are statistics outlining that oppression, derived from government reports except where otherwise noted:

- Infant mortality rate: Out of every 100 babies who die in infancy, 75% are black babies, the National Urban League said in its 1968 annual report.
- Life expectancy: For blacks in the U.S., the Urban League reports that life expectancy was 63.6 years in 1968 while for white Americans, it was 70.19 years.
- Income and poverty: Despite the rhetoric of the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations, corporate profits remained far more important than people's incomes and black... the Department of Labor reports. In 1968 the income of black families was only 60% of the median incomes of whites.
- Unemployment: The unemployment rate among blacks was 6.5% according to Labor Department figures that carry through January 1969, a figure that runs twice that of whites. At the same time, the unemployment rate for black teenagers was 24.4%, compared to 10.8% for white teenagers.
- Employment: About 40% of black and other non-whites were in service, laborer or farm occupations, more than twice the proportion of whites who must do such work.
- Capitalists: Nixon's promise of creating black capitalists in the U.S. is a myth. It can't happen here. The American ruling class is virtually all white and most black-owned businesses are in $28 million.
- Welfare: Black Americans are disproportionately on welfare. Some 3.8 million black and non-whites received welfare: allowances in 1968. An estimated 5.6 million whites received welfare.
- The law: According to the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1969, more than one-third of individuals in prison, reformatories, jails or workhouses were black.
- Education: On May 17, 1954; in Brown vs. the Board of Education the supreme court ruled school segregation was unconstitutional since "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Some 3% of medical students in the U.S. are black.
- Housing: The Bureau of the Census says that housing, which lacks basic plumbing facilities or is dilapidated does not meet specified criteria. A full 24% of black and other non-white households fail to meet this specific criteria. For whites, 6% of the households fell below this minimum standard.

The war in Vietnam: After all this, black Americans must fight in Vietnam against a people struggling for self-determination. In 1966 and 1967, 269,000 black Americans... 31,1969, 67,000 blacks had served in Southeast Asia, and 4000 blacks had died, according to the Defense Department.
Black Panthers: Serving people, fighting repression

By David Talbot

(Continued from page 6)

...to get their message across and to protect the rights of their children. The party's leaders realized that to survive the growing attacks, Seale had to effect a dramatic shake-up of the party's character. Along with chief of staff David Hilliard, he ordered a three-month ban on indulging in drugs or petty crime, or operating in a "purely military" manner—as well as conscious police agents.

Serve the people

Along with the internal changes, a renewed emphasis was placed on the party's original "serve the people" programs in the black community. Four programs were established to fight for community control of police: the breakfast program, the local police patrol, the petitions, and the community health mobile.

Breakfast for children.

In addition to its own merits, the breakfast program was also an aspect of the party's political defense. The media-created image of the Panthers as a "black mafia" was shattered by the nationwide practice of serving the people by feeding hungry children. The program became a great help in shattering the false stereotype of the Panthers as a gang.

The political reaction to the party's new turn was even more severe and was now being directed by the Nixon administration through the Attorney General's office and the Justice Department. Panther offices across the country were raided. Food supplies for the breakfast program were destroyed. The New York 21 and the New Haven 14—along with a number of smaller cases—were charged with conspiracy stemming from the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on March 20. Seale, along with 7 white antiwar activists, was indicted on conspiracy charges stemming from the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Faced with this onslaught—which decimated the party's leadership, placed hundreds in jail, tied the rest up in court cases, and resulted in at least 19 deaths—Seale and the remaining functional leadership called for a national conference in Mid-July to establish a "united front against fascism."

As far as the Panthers were concerned, fascism was not only a theoretical possibility in the U.S., it was something they felt the brunt of everyday. "People have to realize," said Seale, "that fascism is right in front of their very noses in new garments." The UFAF meeting was open to anyone—liberal, radical or whatever—who opposed fascism and had the sole purpose of approving and implementing one program: a nationwide campaign for community control of police.

Urgency about defense

Although widely attended, the success of UFAF was limited. Its positive achievement was a renewed sense of urgency among a wide spectrum of groups to rally to the Panthers' defense. However, the petition campaign, although verbally endorsed, never really got off the ground.

In the months since UFAF, the repression of the Black Panther party has continued to escalate. Seale has been imprisoned for four years after being bound and gagged and beaten to death. David Hilliard is charged with threatening Nixon's life. Yet the Panthers have continued to hold their own, to further their programs and to gain even wider support among growing numbers of people—black, brown and white. The party's message is sure and the assault against them will undoubtedly grow. But so will the party's demands and the chances of victory.

For information about the Black Panther party or to send contributions, address Ministry of Information, Black Panther party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, Calif. 94126. A three-month subscription to the party's weekly paper, The Black Panther, is available for $2.50.