

# THE BLACK PANTHER

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# FREE NY

# THE 21

## AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS





**JUNE 6** ONLY  
**LOS ANGELES**

**EUROPA THEATRE**

LA BREA & BEVERLY BLVD L.A.

4:00p.m. **\$3.00**

**ROYCE HALL DONATION**

U.C.L.A. CAMPUS LOS ANGELES

8:00p.m.

**PREMIERE SHOWINGS IN AMERICA**

OF THE MOTION PICTURE



**JUNE 7** ONLY

**S.F. OAKLAND  
 BAY AREA**

**MARTIN LUTHER KING  
 SCHOOL AUDITORIUM**

GRANT & ROSE ST.  
 BERKELEY, CALIF.

1:00 p.m. 3:30 p.m. 6:00 p.m. 8:30pm

**SURF THEATRE**

46th and IRVING  
 SAN FRANCISCO

11:00 a.m.

**\$3.00 DONATION**

# THE CIA AS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

*President Nixon has made a surprising alliance with certain forces of black militancy. This may seem audacious, even dangerous, like playing with the fires of a revolutionary black consciousness. But it is actually a time-tested technique.*

## (I. BLACK POWER COMES TO WASHINGTON)

Black Power has come a long way since that night in 1966 when Stokely Carmichael made it the battle cry of the Mississippi March Against Fear. For a time it was a slogan that struck dread into the heart of white America -- an indication that the ante of the black man's demands had been raised to a point where the whole society would have to be reoriented if they were to be met. But Black Power hardly seems a revolutionary slogan today. It has been refined and domesticated, awarded a prominent niche in the American Dream. And Carmichael's statement of a few years ago, that the President of the United States might say "We shall overcome" over national television but would never call for Black Power, has also been disproven -- by Richard Nixon, seemingly the most unlikely of men. The country needs "more black ownership," Nixon said during his campaign, "for from this can flow the rest: black pride, black jobs, and, yes, Black Power."

It is obvious that the Nixon Administration has made some crucial decisions concerning the possibilities of Black Power during its short time in office. With great fanfare it unveiled an elaborate program of black capitalism. And while it failed to lure Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins or others in the moderate civil rights establishment into cabinet posts, it did find a man with even better credentials as a militant -- James Farmer, former national director of CORE. The President has indicated since assuming office that he sees nothing dangerous in the upsurge of a black militancy, provided that it seeks a traditional kind of economic mobility as its end, even if it wears Afro costumes and preaches a fiery race pride while it sets up businesses and replaces white capitalists as our society's most visible contact with the ghetto. Of course, other black militants, the thrust of whose political programs cannot be absorbed by black capitalism or by a mere cultural renaissance, who do not look to the ruling powers of society for assistance in their revolution, will continue to be denounced, imprisoned, hunted and destroyed. For them there is the method of the stick. But in other cases the use of the carrot is preferred as more potent -- and less predictable, as Mr. Nixon has well demonstrated.

He has made a surprising alliance with certain forces of black militancy. This may seem audacious, even dangerous, like playing with the fires of a revolutionary black consciousness. But it is actually a time-tested technique. The Nixon Administration's encouragement of cultural nationalism and its paternal interest in black capitalism are little more than an updating and transposition into a domestic setting of a pattern established years ago by U.S. power abroad. Although the State Department, the U.S. Information Agency, the Ford Foundation and hosts of other organizations were involved, it was primarily the Central Intelligence Agency which discovered the way to deal with militant blackness. It found that the U.S. could maintain a foothold in the newly independent African states by creating and subsidizing an American elite of Afro-oriented black leaders (James Farmer himself was only one of many) whose positions in the civil rights movement were an invaluable, if often unconscious, cover for the Agency's primary aim -- to emasculate black radical-

## (II. AMSAC'S AFROS)

IT WAS THE SPRING OF 1963, and at first glance it looked like a revolutionary round table in Havana. The list of participants in the conference read like a Who's Who of the Southern African independence movement: Oliver Tambo, acting president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Eduardo Mondlane (recently assassinated), leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front; Jariretundu Kozonguisi, president of the Southwest African National Union; leaders from virtually every other political faction of these countries as well as Zimbabwe, Angola, and Zambia. They were all wanted men at home, engaged in directing armed struggles against hated colonial regimes. But the meeting hadn't been convened by Fidel Castro. In fact, it took place at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

The architects of a Southern Africa liberation movement had agreed to come to Washington because the convening organization was a black group meeting at the nation's leading black university. The American Society for African Culture (AMSAC), composed of important black American scholars, writers, artists and professionals, was the most prestigious and articulate of all black groups interested in advancing African culture and building bonds between U.S. blacks and their African brothers. This conference was AMSAC's fourth international meeting in as many years. It looked like the beginnings of a black revolutionary's dream-come-true, the linking up of African and Afro-American freedom struggles. But what most participants didn't know was that the whole affair had been sponsored by the CIA.

The Howard University meeting provided an ideal opportunity for the CIA to look over the top African revolutionaries while providing an illusion of U.S. concern for their cause. AMSAC itself had begun as a way of keeping an eye on the resurgent African independence movement. It was organized in the aftermath of the first International Conference of Negro Writers and Artists, held in Paris in late 1955. This conference had been convened by a group of African exiles and European intellectuals organized into the Société Africaine de Culture (SAC), which published the journal *Présence Africaine*, featuring men like Camus, Sartre, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire. But giving impetus to an organization like AMSAC was by no means on SAC's agenda.

SAC had asked the late Richard Wright, the black American writer self-exiled in Paris, to invite some American Negroes to the international gathering. Wright did so, although many whom he invited were unable to afford the trip. Those who did show up were among the most influential of America's black bourgeoisie, and many later became influential in AMSAC. Headed by Dr. Horace Mann Bond, a leading black educator and father of Georgia legislator Julian Bond, the American delegation included Mercer Cook, who later received the ambassadorship to Niger during the Johnson Administration; John A. Davis, later to become head of AMSAC; James Ivy, editor of the NAACP magazine, *Crisis*, and eventually AMSAC treasurer; Thurgood Marshall, and Duke Ellington. These were AMSAC's founding fathers.

At the outset of its career, AMSAC shared its New York offices with the Council on Race and Caste in World Affairs, a largely paper organization founded some years earlier by the CIA, specializing in information about and analysis of racial problems affecting international relations. The council merged formally with AMSAC in 1957, and acted as the major financial conduit to the new group, which was not officially incorporated until February 1960. The CIA conduits reporting contributions to AMSAC over the years included the Pappas Charitable Trust (\$65,000), and these foundations: Marshall (\$25,000); Benjamin Rosenthal (\$26,000); J. Frederick Brown (\$103,000); Colt (\$47,000); C. H. Dodge (\$28,000); Rabb (\$40,000), and Ronthelym (\$20,000). AMSAC's statement of purpose declared an intention "to study the effects of African culture on American life; to examine the cultural contributions of African peoples to their societies; to appraise the conditions affecting the development of ethnic national and universal culture; to cooperate with international organizations with a view to... exchange of information on African culture..."

"I joined AMSAC because I thought it would be really pursuing the ideas advocated by the Société Africaine de Culture," Harold Cruse, author of *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, told us, "but I was quickly turned off when they began to move in another political direction. It was composed of a combination of careerists, slick articulate operators with little conviction, and leaders of the integrationist Negro intellectual establishment. They were liberals without a base whose legitimacy came entirely from their association with established groups like AMSAC. I even doubt they were capable of thinking this kind of operation up themselves."

It will never be clear to what extent the "AMSAC Afros," as Cruse calls them, did think up the organization for themselves; but even if they did, they certainly didn't pay for it. That was taken care of by the CIA, which realized that AMSAC's brand of non-radical cultural nationalism could be useful abroad and perhaps eventually at home. The organization's 1962 conference report declared, "American Negroes do not hold important posts in the great corporations doing business in Africa. Nor can it be said that they seek to make or have been given the opportunity of making money in Africa. Mainly they bring service and love to the complex of Afro-American relations." This they indeed did, but often without knowing what and whose ends they were serving.

AMSAC's cultural and educational programs--the frosting on the political cake the CIA was serving up to emerging Africa--involved some of America's most prominent black artists: Odetta, Randy Weston, Nina Simone, Lionel Hampton

to Africa by American Negro scholars, writers, lawyers and intellectuals. AMSAC's representatives included scholar Saunders Redding, the man whom Harold Cruse describes as the chief of intellectual spokesmen for the American Negro establishment; artists Jacob Lawrence and Elton Fax, and former NAACP counsel Robert Carter. Men like these provided the cultural camouflage which not only disguised the political nature of AMSAC's work, but deepened its impact on Africans as well. But the careers of others, far less celebrated, tell more about the real AMSAC enterprise.

## (III. BLACK CIA AGENT)

ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING case studies of AMSAC's use of its Afros centers on the man who was the organization's assistant executive director from its early days through 1961--a tall, frequently goateed, black CIA agent named James T. ("Ted") Harris.

Born in Philadelphia in 1924, Harris won a DAR medal for good scholarship at La Salle College. After service during the war, he returned to La Salle where he built a reputation as a concerned and outspoken liberal. Visible, articulate black collegians were a rarity in those days, and Harris' reputation grew nationally when he became involved in student politics. In 1948, when the newly formed National Student Association elected him president, he quickly won admission to the inner circle, the CIA's "old boy network" which came to dominate NSA activities for almost 20 years.

Early in the '50s, Harris moved to Geneva, where he served as assistant secretary-general for the CIA-supported World University Service. From that post he returned to the U.S. for more training. After receiving a master's degree at Princeton's Public Affairs Institute, where he studied on a CIA Whitney scholarship, he was off to Cairo for field experience, this time on a Ford Foundation Research Fellowship. He returned to the NSA after his stint in Egypt, to run the important CIA-funded Foreign Student Leadership Program to "assist active student leaders in the Third World." Through this job, Harris came to know and befriend many African students in the U.S. His next assignment followed naturally. He moved on to AMSAC.

Harris was active in AMSAC through 1961. In that year, while the U.S. was desperately trying to stabilize a friendly national government in the Congo, Harris went back to the Ford Foundation, which made him secretary-general of a Ford-funded National School for Law and Administration in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa). Harris spent two years there, shaping an educational program which, as he was later to tell AMSAC's Howard University conference on Southern Africa, provided a way to instruct the Congolese in Western administrative techniques. Congolese sources strongly suspected that the school also served as a conduit for CIA money which was pumped into the pockets of selected Congolese politicians. As soon as a dependable Congolese was groomed to take over the school, Harris returned to New York to help the Ford Foundation shape its overseas development programs for Africa and the Middle East. In 1964, he left Ford to direct education and training for the Corning Glass Works in New York, working under Amory Houghton, the man who had headed the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA), the CIA's principal agency for funding its international student programs. In 1966, while remaining a consultant to Houghton, Harris moved on to join yet another CIA creation, the African-American Institute. At the AAI, he directed field programs, traveling frequently to Africa.

By January 1969, when Harris left AAI and international work, he had compiled an impressive record. He had traveled to all of Western Europe and to the Middle East, to India, Pakistan and 23 countries in northern, eastern, western and central Africa (as well as 49 states of the U.S.), often on speaking tours. His languages included Arabic, French, Italian and Spanish. He was a member of the powerful and prestigious Council on Foreign Relations and the NAACP, and a director of an offshoot of CORE, the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality.

The CIA backed AMSAC and supported people like Harris because its strategists had a sophisticated understanding of how a certain brand of African cultural nationalism could be dangerous to America's international objectives. They realized that cultural radicalism often stimulated political radicalism and that cultural issues, especially in the emerging African states, were often latent with explosive political implications. Maintaining an effective political presence in resurgent Africa thus required an active cultural dimension, and the CIA took an early interest in attempting to control the emerging cultural-political elites and, as much as possible, making sure that their concerns stayed at arm's length from revolution. The Agency saw cultural nationalism and new notions of "negritude" as alternatives to the type of revolutionary culture called for by such radicals as Frantz Fanon, who once said, "It is around the people's struggles that African Negro culture takes on substance and not around songs, poems, and folklore."

The architects of the CIA's covertly-backed cultural program selectively encouraged those black writers most friendly to the West. Through its program of enlightened patronage, these writers found a ready outlet for their work in a whole series of cultural magazines in and about Africa, funded by CIA-backed foundations: Africa Report (African-American Institute); Transition and The New African (Congress of Cultural Freedom); Classic (Fairfield Foundation); and others. And finally, AMSAC had its own magazine, African Forum. The writers favored by these publications were not agents, but simply men whose politics were acceptable to the American cultural brokers. And what Fanon later called "a charmed circle of mutual admiration at the summit" quickly emerged. Patronage

and promotion won international recognition for the CIA's cultural elite while providing a cultural framework important to the directed development of African consciousness.

The CIA did not become the leading international impresario of black culture for the aesthetic pleasure of the experience. The great question during the heyday of AMSAC and similar organizations was what formal African independence would actually mean once it became a reality. And at some point, the CIA decided that the development of a safe cultural nationalism was critically important to U.S.

when it served the right purpose. As Vice President, Nixon reported to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee following his 1957 African tour: "American interests in the future are so great as to justify us in not hesitating even to assist the departure of the colonial powers from Africa. If we can win native opinion in this process the future of America in Africa will be assured." The trouble with old style colonialism in Africa, Nixon perceived, was that it was so un-American.

The CIA's program in Kenya could be summed up as one of selective liberation. The chief beneficiary was Tom Mboya,

the chief of the CIA's covert funding program. Speaking for the group, Lodge wrote: "The obscure trade unionist of today may well be the president or prime minister of tomorrow. In many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, trade unions are almost the only organized force in direct contact with the people and they are frequently among the most important influences on the people." Aid to Mboya, he added, "has not only strengthened [ICFTU] but the whole cause of freedom and democracy in Africa."

The British were uncomfortably aware of what their "special ally" was doing in Kenya. In a British Cabinet Annex marked for "UK EYES ONLY," dated December 21, 1959, they complained: "The aim seems to be to take advantage of the difficult situation in which the United Kingdom and other European powers find themselves and to replace their influence and interests by direct U.S. machinery of the ICFTU and American contacts that have been built up with American leaders for this purpose." The document concluded that "Americans are not interested in the creation of genuine African trade unions as we know them. America has no Labour Party. . . . As a result, the American trade union leaders such as Meany, Reuther, and Dubinsky can afford directly and openly to execute governmental and particularly State Department and CIA policy."

The ICFTU often works through the mainly U.S.-based international union secretariats. In Africa, where unionization has been concentrated in government employment, the most important secretariat—and accordingly the main CIA instrument—has been the Public Services International (which was also instrumental in the overthrow of the Cheddi Jagan government in British Guiana). W. C. Lawrence, a PSI representative in East Africa, laconically expressed the organization's role in a February 15, 1962 letter to his superior, Paul Tofahrn: "It seems to me that it is up to us to see that they [East African unionists] know what is right."

In 1963, just after Mboya left his post with the Kenya Federation of Labor, it looked as if the Federation might be losing sight of "what is right." Strikes threatened throughout the economy, and PSI feared some kind of class polarization of the society during the critical transition to independence, perhaps leading to the wrong kind of independence entirely. PSI records reveal how it stepped in. General Secretary Tofahrn sent a "Dear Tom" letter to Mboya on January 29, 1963, reading in part: "Perhaps the Government can do nothing else but say 'no' to their claims, but then the question arises how to say 'no' in a manner so convincing that the people concerned accept 'no' for an answer." He added that he was sending a special representative, T. Nynan, to Nairobi "to seek to avoid a strike," and he concluded with the comment that "this letter is written in order to urge you to drop hints in the appropriate quarter."

Mboya's hints were right on target, and on February 13, Nynan was able to report that the situation was in hand. "I was very lucky," he wrote, "getting the support of Brother Tom Mboya in my tries to avoid the strike."

[V. PEACE WITH FREEDOM]

**U**NDERWRITING MBOYA AND HIS Labor Federation was a natural strategy for the U.S. in Kenya during the '50s and early '60s. It advanced responsible nationalism; and it was painless, because the employers faced with higher wage demands were British, not American. By 1964, however, American investments, which would reach \$100 million by 1967, were becoming significant, and some of the Kenyan union demands began to lose their charm. But even more important, 1964 also brought dangers of "political instability" serious enough to make radio communications with the Nairobi Embassy eighth highest on the State Department roster for the year. Zanzibar revolted and Tanzania's Nyerere was nearly overthrown. Rebellion was spreading through the Northeast Congo, and Kenya lay astride the natural supply route. The CIA decided that a new approach was in order.

Mboya had long been supported as a force to the right of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, but an accommodation with Kenyatta was now seen as necessary, particularly to insure that he did not support the Congolese rebels, and more generally to get him to close ranks against the agitating Kenyan left. It was a strategy which has since become familiar enough: utilize the credibility of the appropriate flexible militants to crush the rest.

In June 1964, U.S. Ambassador to Kenya William Attwood met with Kenyatta and agreed that Western labor groups would stop subsidizing Mboya and the KFL; for balance, Kenyatta assured him that Russian and Chinese aid to the leftist leader, Vice President Odinga, would also end. Simultaneously, the CIA was making appropriate shifts in its operations, throwing its resources into a new kind of vehicle which would embrace the whole Kenyan political mainstream, while isolating the left and setting it up for destruction by Kenyatta. To this end the CIA shifted its emphasis to an organization by the name of "Peace With Freedom."

Continued Next Issue

FREE  
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POLITICAL  
PRISONERS



Pork chop cultural nationalist murderous pigs Ron Everett (Karenga) and four henchmen. They plotted and murdered Alprentice 'Bunchy' Carter and John Huggins of the L.A. B.P.P. Chapter. These dogs (or piglets with a fascist U.S.A. ideology of Black Pork Chopism) are in cahoots with the C.I.A. and is backed by white businessmen, bankers and other U.S. industrialist; these criminals of U.S. imperialism enslave, exploit and colonialize colored peoples of the world, Africans, and black Americans with the help of Moise Tshombe, papa docs, black racist and black capitalist, such as the U.S. organization run by Ron Mama Lama Ringo Karenga.

interests in Africa. It was essential not only as a way of keeping cultural energies in line, but primarily (though the two are intertwined) to channel the explosive force of nationalism itself in directions suitable to the U.S. The tide of decolonization rolling over the continent could open the way for a new American Empire to break the old imperial monopoly of the European order that had controlled Africa. Or it could produce the kind of radical nationalism which would guard the new Open Door with inhospitable vigilance, and might even make accommodations with the communist powers. Thus the CIA made every effort to promote a kind of cultural nationalism in Africa which would be satisfied with the removal of the most obvious forms of foreign domination; one in which concern for cultural integrity did not reinforce, but rather replaced, demands for basic economic and political autonomy.

This was the scope of the enterprise in which American blacks became indispensably involved, through AMSAC and other vehicles. But to appreciate the effect of this misalliance on African development and to see what the alternative of cultural nationalism meant in its social and political context in Africa (and could mean in the United States, if the Nixon Administration is successful), one must also view the operation from the receiving end. A particularly vivid example of America's ideological manipulation of African society in transition is seen in the role played by the CIA in shaping the nationalist movement in Kenya.

[IV. A CIA JET SET]

**T**HE NIGHTMARE OF PRIMAL BLACK SAVAGERY that pervades white fantasies about Africa has been evoked most vividly by Kenya, scene of the bloodlust and carnage of the Mau Mau. This myth of the Mau Mau (as the Kenya Peace and Land Army was known in the West) is the inverse of the reality: Throughout the entire Mau Mau "Emergency," fewer than 100 whites were killed—including 57 counterinsurgency police; among Africans the toll was greater than 11,000. Colonial security forces, like the American "scalphunters," hunted men for bounty. Tens of thousands of Africans were herded into British detention camps. In one roundup, 35,000 were arrested in a single day.

The Mau Mau myth and similar racist inventions still hold firm in the popular mind, but responsible agencies of the U.S. government cannot afford to hamper their own effectiveness with such unsophisticated views. Thus, in the decade preceding Kenyan independence and since that time, the CIA has provided carefully selective support to elements of the same independence movement which most Americans could think of only with revulsion and horror.

The United States may seem in any case to be an unlikely supporter of national liberation struggles in the Third World. But the fact is that U.S. policy has never stopped at sponsoring

who in 1953 became general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor. During the "Emergency," when all other African political organizations were banned, the KFL was the leading vehicle for the independence movement. It was harassed, its offices were ransacked, and many of its leaders were detained. But it survived and Mboya became a hero. Both a credible nationalist and an economic conservative, Mboya was ideal for the CIA's purposes—the main nationalist hero and eventual chief of state, Jomo Kenyatta, not being considered sufficiently safe. Mboya even propounded a brand of African socialism which favored "free" (i.e. anticommunist) trade unions and encouraged foreign investment, foreign banking, and foreign land ownership. African socialism, he said, meant "those proven codes of conduct in the African societies which have over the ages conferred dignity on our people and afforded them security regardless of their station in life. I refer to universal charity, which characterizes our societies, and I refer to the African thought processes and cosmological ideas, which regard men not as a social means, but as an end and entity in society."

Like America's black capitalism today, this prescription hardly struck the strategists of white America as a threat. Mboya's cultural socialism was seen as something which *juju* inoculate against the actual disease of revolution; it clearly deserved support. Mboya soon joined the CIA jet set, traveling the world from Oxford to Calcutta on funds from such conduits as the Africa Bureau and from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (ICFTU, which played a key role in Kenya, is an aggregation of international trade union secretariats set up in 1949 to counter an upsurge of left-wing trade unionism outside the communist bloc. Its extensive international operations in Africa and elsewhere were funded and manipulated by the CIA through various of its U.S.-based affiliated secretariats. Recently, however, there has been a split with U.S. labor organizations.)

Mboya later became ICFTU representative in the region. His articles were published by other CIA recipients, including the International Union of Socialist Youth, the International Student Conference, and the World Assembly of Youth. Meanwhile the American press was touting him as a future leader of East Africa. Even the Wall Street Journal's article on Mboya was headed: "Businessmen Favorably Impressed."

The ICFTU also supported Mboya and his African socialism through his KFL, a model "free trade union"—aid which reached £1000 a month in outright grants during the early '60s. In addition, the CIA-supported Fund for International Social and Economic Education contributed more than \$25,000 to the Federation's coffers. One of the directors of this Fund, George Cabot Lodge (Henry's son), explained the importance of this aid in *Spearheads of Democracy*, a book which grew out of a Council on Foreign Relations study group

# DEPUTY CHAIRMAN FRED HAMPTON TAKEN POLITICAL PRISONER

Once again the decadent power structure, has acted to destroy another who worked to see that power be placed in the hands of the people. It has tried to destroy Huey, Eldridge, and now Illinois Chapter Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton. On Monday, May 26, Fred was sentenced to 2-5 years in Statesville Penitentiary by pig judge Sidney Jones for alleged robbery of a Good Humor ice cream truck. He was convicted on April 7 for stealing 710 ice cream bars last summer. Bond was denied to Fred because as pig Jones said, "He advocates armed revolution."

Thus, a clear indication that Fred has been jailed, not for some "illegal act" (which he did not even commit), but because of his political beliefs. In court, the state and pig Jones working jointly, resorted to every kind of piggyish tactic to see that Fred be taken off the streets as soon as possible. A hearing was held -- aggravation and mitigation - where the state tried to show that Fred should be given 5-10 years in jail and the defense counsel tried to show that he be given the minimum sentence. Defense Attorney Fred Cohen asked pig Jones to stay the execution and give Fred bail pending appeal of the entire case. This was denied. Pig Jones' sentence varied only slightly from the one requested by the state. Cloaked in the black robe that surely smells of the mire that he lives in, pig Jones-Black puppet manipulated by the pig power puppeteers of Chicago - has carried out this system's policy of "legal and sanctioned persecution. (Fascism) The state attorney's every effort was not to show that Fred was a thief (which is what they called him), but it was to show that Fred's political ideas are in direct opposition to his and all others who embrace injustice.

And what are Fred's political ideas and actions? What has he done that has made a "criminal"? If it is criminal to help initiate a

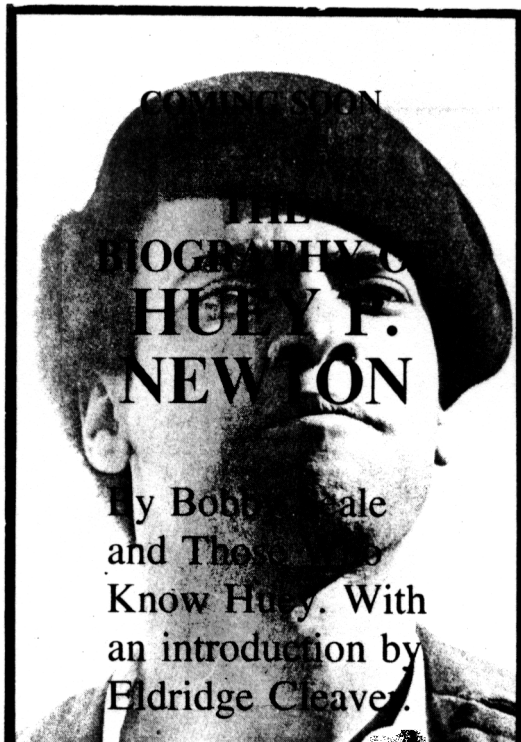


Breakfast for Children Program, then Fred is a criminal. If it is criminal to help open a free health clinic, provide heat in the winter for families who don't have it, and remove power from slumlords, then Fred is a criminal. If it is criminal to teach people verbally and through example how to rid themselves of the oppression which stifles them, then Fred is a criminal. Yes, he's a criminal, the kind of criminal that Malcolm, Huey, and Eldridge are -- the kind that says (as only he can say), "No matter what anybody says, I am a revolutionary." And every since he has made that statement, he has been harassed, arrested, beaten, shot at and now framed by pigs, proving that the only crime that Fred has committed has been his love for the people and his acts for their liberation. His political views have resulted in him being placed into a kind of hell that the pigs have tried to make into a permanent home for all who have moved to destroy this treacherous system. Fred is a political prisoner.

The next step that the defense counsel will take will be to challenge pig Jones' decision to hold Fred without bond. That step is only one small step, for we will exhaust all legal means and all other means to see that Fred be released.

To the pig justices, the demagogic politicians, and all who are responsible for Fred being incarcerated into a "sanctioned hell", you will suffer the consequences for your vile acts. You may think that it is a hope, a wish, a dream, but we the people say that it will be a reality: Fred again will walk the streets with the people; he again will educate the people, Fred will help the people. Fred will be with us because he belongs with us. Deputy Chairman Fred has said: "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail revolution." We, the people, are saying: "Pigs, we refuse to let you jail either."

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION**





# THE CHICAGO ICE CREAM FRAMEUP

The masses of working people are being repressed through an unjust war. The pig (racist) monopoly class are trying to lure an unarmed people into counter-revolutionary war they are waging against them. They realize a class struggle, the armed struggle will destroy their resistance; and their fear of the socialist revolution is mounting everyday.

The counter-revolutionary war being waged by these reactionaries is being opposed by the people's army, the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party is set-

and framing the only friends the masses have. We have put our faith in the masses and they will respond to our call.

Deputy Chairman, Fred Hampton, of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party was sentenced 2 to 5 years in prison. The Black Panther Party sees this as another attempt to destroy the people's army. He was tried for robbery in Maywood, Ill., July 10, 1969. The "pig" state attorney

"I am a revolutionary."

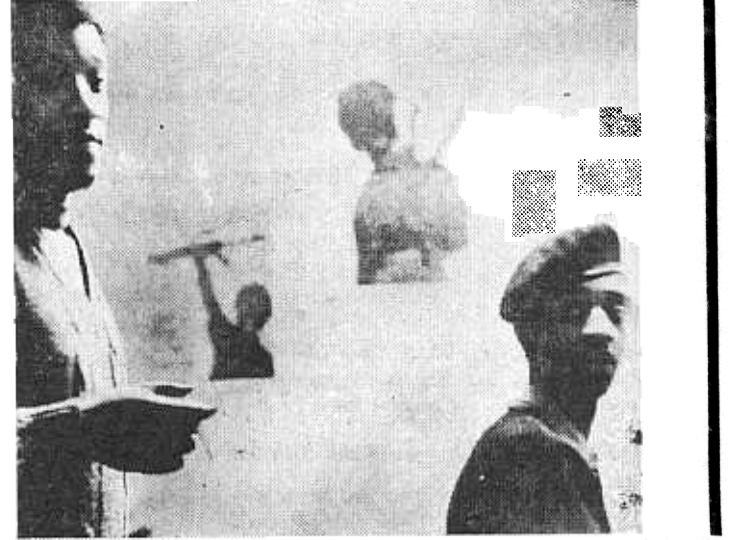
Chairman Fred helped the masses to find who were their real friends. He told them, in order to determine who our friends are, we must make a class analysis. He said, the same analysis could be used to determine who are our real enemies. The Chairman's interests were the same as the people's interests. He saw to it that the people were not led astray by their enemies.

"The people must be made to understand that without a people's army, the people have nothing," Chairman Fred often exclaimed.

The Black Panther Party is laying down the foundation for a socialist government, a people's government. Chairman Fred was working night and day to help, he

## DEPUTY CHAIRMAN FRED HAMPTON

The state had no evidence that Chairman Fred committed the crime or that he was even on the scene. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced for his political views.



# THE AMERICAN WAY OF JUSTICE???

On Friday, May 16th at 10:30 a.m., members and friends of the Jersey City Chapter of the Black Panther Party appeared in Newark Municipal Court before the Hitler-fascist Judge James Del Mauro. While awaiting to hear the verdict and ransom to be imposed upon Bro. Ralph (Buddha) Cobb, we had the opportunity to watch PIG JUSTICE in operation. The entire court as usual was filled with poor oppressed Black, Brown, and White people, with the Blacks being in the majority and receiving the harshest sentences and highest ransoms. Of all the cases we sat and watched appear before pig Judge Del Mauro only 3 received suspended sentences, two victims were white and the other a black youth accused of taking \$1.98 worth of merchandise. All others felt the whip! In many cases even those who sat in the courtroom let out sighs of surprise as they watched the many innocent victims being railroaded through 'due process (PIG INJUSTICE) of the law'.

At about 12:20 p.m., Bro. Ralph (Buddha) Cobb appeared before the dishonorable racist Judge Del Mauro. (Bro. Cobb was still wearing the same clothing that the pigs had kidnapped him in, because each time his family attempted to bring him clothes he had been moved to a different jail). The Star Liar took the stand and oath of hypocrisy... during the entire questioning his eyes were held down. All Party members and friends were shocked when we first saw the accuser. He appeared to be a cross-breed of "Stepping Fletcher", "Uncle Remus" and "Rochester"... Yes he was a negro, of the house nigger breed... He was a plain ordinary janitor, who appeared underpaid as most working class people are... yet... this fool sat there and pointed the finger at an innocent man.

As he was questioned the contradictions in this buffoon's tales were extremely high. (1) The incident occurred Friday morning, May 9th, he went to the pig pen the same day and filed a complaint, yet he did not make a statement until Monday morning May 12th; (2) during the entire time he rode the 2 men around, the one who sat in the front seat with a shot gun and the lying nigger identified as Bro. Cobb, he only looked at approximately 2 times. (3) the 2 men identified themselves as belonging to the black Brothers and/or Black Panthers, and (4) the only thing the 2 men wanted who he said kidnapped him, was the telephone number and address of the rabbi, which anyone with an ounce of sense knows you

book. Dishonorable Judge Del Mauro sat and listened to all this bulls--t and imposed ransom on Bro. Cobb at \$5,000.

All of us present in pig court noticed while watching this racist corrupt appendage of injustice in session was (1) pig Judge Del Mauro's total disregard for the rights of the oppressed people who appeared for the most part without lawyers. Their right to an attorney was not explained to them and (2) the hog prosecutor's attempt to deny Bro. Cobb's attorney the right to see and challenge the statement of the crazy, funky nigger accuser, by some stupid statement about he the prosecutor would agree to allow Bro. Cobb's attorney to see the statement only if he could see any statement that Brother Cobb's attorney might have... By their own actions once more the pigs within the racist, capitalist judicial system have shown that this is a "GOVERNMENT OF THE PIGS, BY THE PIGS, AND FOR THE PIGS."

The Jersey City and Newark pig departments, know that Ralph Cobb is innocent; especially the 2 Bobbie Twins, who have been our constant understrable shadows for the past 3 or 4 months. Their reason for vamping on him is (1) to suppress members of the Black Panther Party and to destroy the Party, and (2) racist exploiter 'Tom Whelan' had to insure his receiving a victory at the polls, so as usual he used racist tactics and fear to manipulate the people. But this failed because "the will of the People is stronger than the pigs technology"... so no first ballot victory.

The Jersey City press as usual only exposed one side of the story and it was misguided... so on Wednesday, May 14th, a press conference was to be held at the Black Panther Office, the press invited and only one reporter showed, a representative of the "Newark News". Neither the Jersey Journal or Hudson Dispatch felt the people were entitled to hear both sides of the story and form their own opinion as to who was telling the truth.

We call upon the people of the community to come out in support of Bro. Cobb. All those who saw Bro. Cobb anytime Friday morning May 9th, come or call the Black Panther office. Acknowledge this to a member of the Party and prove that the will of the people is greater than the pigs trickology.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Jersey City Chapter  
Black Panther Party

ling down by example the strategic means for resisting his counter-revolutionary war. We have taken up the tremendous task to educate the masses. We have put our faith in the masses, we rely on them, they in turn, rely on us. We serve them wholeheartedly, satisfy their needs; as a result they put their faith in the Party.

The masses are beginning to see the contradictions between their interests and the monopoly capitalists. They are beginning to realize that an attack on the people's army is an attack on them. The "Nixon-Daley clique is waging an undeclared war against the people's army. They are murdering, jailing, framing, and robbing the people's army. They are murdering, jailing

He was sentenced because he was Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman of the Black Panther Party for Illinois. Is this the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Chairman Fred has always put his faith in the masses. He came off the mountain top, down to the valley where the masses were in order to educate them and help them in their struggle against violent repression.

He was amongst the masses everyday, trying to make them understand politics and political power. The masses said they were hungry, Chairman Fred answered with the only solution, Food! There is a need for medical help, so Chairman Fred began to initiate a free medical clinic, why? If you asked him why, he would respond, because

gave all his energies to destroy the pigs whose only "name to fame" was oppression of the people.

Fred Hampton is in jail but the Black Panther Party will continue his work and progressive programs. The Black Panther Party will drum into these pigs heads that "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail a revolution". We will be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount this attempt to stop the people's army and strive to forge close links with the masses.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS  
SUPPORT THE PARTY, STOP THE PIGS  
Engene Charles, Illinois Chapter

# DENVER PANTHERS DETERMINED: COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS



Lauren Watson

The Black Panther Party is not shocked, dismayed or set back by the outcome of the racist school board elections which served to reveal the true attitude and racism that is rampant in every federal and state institution in the U. S. The

with its program to de-centralize the school system and to institute community control in our area. We will wrest the power from the hands of the school board and the racist administration, and return it to the hands of the people. We are a party of the people, by the people, and for the people. What the people feel, we feel. What hurts the people, hurts us. We are intelligent enough to realize what Black people want is freedom and the power to determine their own destiny. And black people can never realize this freedom and power by attempting to integrate themselves into a decadent capitalist and racist system. Since the start of the school integration plans and cross bussing, black students at every age level have been subjected to every kind of inhuman treatment by racist teachers, principals and school administrators. They've been dragged off illegally and against the will of the people. We will educate the people to the fact that as long as the black community leaves the education of their children in the hands of avaricious capitalist businessmen, that they

human standards as presently exist in the white communities and the nation. Further they would continue to be taught self-hatred which causes them to be active participants in their own extermination and the extermination of all black people that is presently in practice by this racist capitalistic government and its allies.

We intend to survive America by any means necessary and we intend to educate black children to survive by the same means. We will defend our community and our children and put into practice an educational system based upon political, economical and social survival.

The B.S.U. program of the Black Panther Party is designed to meet the basic needs of black students everywhere and must be implemented in all schools in our community.  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE  
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD  
Denver Chapter  
Black Panther Party



ERICA HUGGINS



WARREN KIMBRO



PEGGY HUGGINS



GEORGE EDWARDS



FRANCIS CARTER



JEANNIE WILSON



MAUDE FRANCIS



ROSE SMITH

# FASCIST FEDERAL, STATE & LOCAL PIGS CONSPIRE TO DESTROY NEW HAVEN LEADERSHIP

The New Haven Pig Force combined with state, F.B.I. and County Pigs, illegally vamped on the Black Panther Office at 1:05 Thursday morning.

Wearing bulletproof vests carrying riot shotguns and using gestapo tactics, they broke the front window to the office to gain entry to the upstairs apartment where women and children were asleep. The pig department totally ransacked the downstairs office and the above apartment, confiscating money that was to be used for the childrens free breakfast, posters, papers, rifles, furniture, clothing, food and office equipment.

Arrested for a trumped up charge of murder and conspiracy to commit murder were Warren and Sylvia Kimbro, Erica Huggins, George Edwards, Rose Smith, Jeannie Wilson, Maude Francis, Francis Carter and Peggy Huggins. Sylvia Kimbro was later released on a one

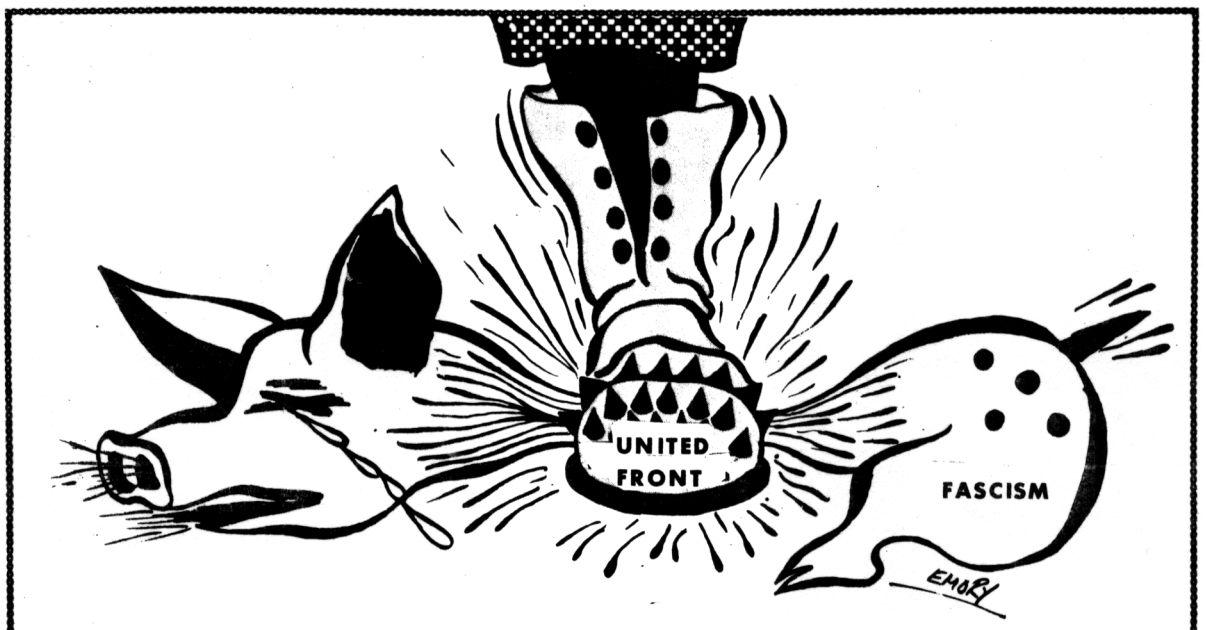
hundred dollar bond and her charges were reduced to breach of peace because she was not a member of the party. From what Sylvia told me from the questions they asked her, they are trying to connect this with the alleged conspiracy of the twenty one Black Panthers in New York and that they are trying to connect Chairmen Bobby Seale in with this alleged lie on the New Haven Black Panthers.

The enclosed news clippings will give you further information and I'll send in reports as news develops.

All The Power To The People  
Black Power To Black People  
Panther Power To The Vanguard

Theodore Spurlock  
29 Dickerman St.  
New Haven, Conn. 06511

FREE  
THE  
CONN.  
EIGHT





NEW YORK YOUTH ORGANIZATION DEMONSTRATES AGAINST FASCISM

# FREE THE NEW YORK PANTHER 21

The arrest of 21 members of the New York Chapter of the Black Panther Party for "conspiracy" signals a growing government repression of the movement in this country. All of us in all segments of the movement must recognize the consequent necessity of working together and supporting one another. The more the left is fragmented, the more easily these fragments can be isolated and destroyed.

On April 3rd, the 21 Panther members were arrested and charged with conspiring to blow up a number of department stores, 15,000 tulips in the Bronx Botanical Gardens, and a police station, as well as possession of dangerous weapons and explosives. The arrests were conducted in the early morning hours by squads of armed policemen. The emotional stress of the arrests caused the premature birth of the child of Curtis and Lena Powell (Powell was one of the 21 arrested). The child lived three days. This event was not considered news fit to print by the media.

The absurd nature of the charges against the 21 clearly indicate the intent of the arrests: to destroy the Panther Party and create a lynch-mob atmosphere in order to discredit the Panthers in the community. By their efforts to create a revolutionary movement in the black community and to turn the black struggle into a struggle against capitalism as well as racism, the Panthers represent a significant danger to the establishment. To charge the Panthers with conspiracy to blow up department stores -- an act which would only hurt working people, not the power structure -- can only be seen as an attempt to destroy the Panthers: as

D.A. Hogan said, "we have made significant dents in the Panther leadership".

These latest arrests are an escalation of a continuous pattern of arrests and harassment of the Black Panther Party. In the past ten months 60 criminal charges have been brought against New York Panthers, but NO CONVICTIONS HAVE BEEN OBTAINED. The pattern followed in each case has been the setting of exorbitantly high bail followed by a number of prosecutions requested postponements (which served to keep the accused in jail and away from the people) and eventual dismissal of charges.

The 21 are being held in \$100,000 bail each; a grand total of 2.1 million dollars. The movement has not yet been able to raise this sum, and petitions to reduce bail have been denied. The 21 are still in detention and are being held in various Houses of Detention in all five boroughs of New York City. Thus it is extremely difficult for their attorneys to confer with them and of course impossible to confer with them all at one time. The high bail-amount coupled with the obstacles being placed in the way of defense attorneys William Kunstler and Jerry Lefcourt in effect deny the 21 any due process and exercise preventative detention. It must be borne in mind that the Panthers are in prison and thus in danger.

#### DISTORTIONS IN THE PRESS

The morning edition of the New York Daily News following the bust carried the headline SMASH PANTHER BOMB PLOT. Subsequent articles in New York linked the Panthers to funds from Cuba and China; PFP staff members found that the only information interesting the Times was whether PFP financed the Panthers. On

April 7th a bomb exploded in Goldblatt Brothers Department store in Chicago. A New York Times story prominently headlined the bombing a possible Panther work and compared the explosives to those supposedly found by the police arresting the 21. A week later, a 40 year old white marine veteran surrendered to police after a shootout in which two policemen were killed and confessed to the Goldblatt bombing. This admission was given nowhere near the prominent coverage the original accusations against the Panthers for this incident had received.

During the course of various court hearings Defense Attorney Kunstler has made a number of statements critically important to movement activists. His statements have either gone unreported by the non movement media or been distorted or reported out of context. Attorney Kunstler has compared the frame-up of his clients to the Reichstag fire frame-ups perpetrated by the Nazis in the late thirties, and has refused to delete from affidavits statements made by the 21 that they are victims of a police conspiracy. For the statements he has made and his refusal to delete his clients' statements, Kunstler has been threatened with contempt of court charges by trial judge Marks.

Liberation News Service has accused the media of careful and conscious deception regarding the politics and program of the Black Panther Party. "There are no reports through the bourgeois press that the Panthers have said, 'we want land, bread, housing, education, justice, and peace', that the Panthers have a ten point political program: that they are working for

implementation of that program; that they are establishing free breakfast programs for school children...that they do this so that people may see a concrete act of socialism." Media ignoring and distortion of news denies people the information needed to understand the events occurring around them; understanding vital to the furtherance of movement goals. THE MOVEMENT RESPONSE

All radical groups realize the necessity of showing solidarity with the Panthers. Demonstrations took place outside of the Criminal Courts Building during arraignment and bail hearings for the Panthers. These street actions did point out the anger felt by the radical movement at this latest act of repression, but they also illustrated some of the more crucial differences between white and black movements. To go into the streets, marching in a circle behind police barricades, separated from (and protected from?) the people watching, chanting "Free the Panther 21" and "Off the Pigs" and conducting a rally consisting mostly of cathartic slogan shouting is to go into the Man's streets in the Man's terms. Had they wanted to, the police whom we so bravely called "pig" could have exterminated us.

Street actions do have a purpose and are at various points necessary and worthwhile. The purpose of street action in this case was to demonstrate solidarity and to educate people. True -- we showed our support for the Panthers, but we also pointed out the sort of demonstrations the City of New York will allow: those conducted behind barricades and under police surveillance. We must also ask ourselves how we appeared in the

eyes of our Panther brothers shouting "Off the Pigs" from the relative safety of our white skins, middle class status and protecting police barricades and lines.

Far more important than appearance, though, is effectiveness. At this point Peace and Freedom and the white radical movement in general can assist the Panthers in two concrete ways: raising ransom and mounting our own propaganda campaign against the deceptions and distortions of the media. The Panthers are currently attempting to raise bail for the 21. As long as they are in prison their very lives as well as their freedom are threatened. The movement is not in a position at this time to free them by any means other than posting ransom -- we must raise that ransom and also be willing to accept the possibility of forfeiting that bail money.

In a propaganda campaign we must expose the true nature of the law as an instrument of repression, counter the distortion and deception of the media, and prepare others for the coming of further repression. Rather than hold cathartic rallies after each demonstration at the Criminal Courts Building, emphasis should be placed on leafleting and on speeches telling the people what was going on in the Criminal Courts Building. Movement people demonstration, police on the line and passersby should have heard something more than shouts of "Fuck the Pigs".

Fred Heinz, NYC PFP  
BAIL MONEY NEEDED FOR THE PANTHER 21: send to Black Panther Party Box 1224 Brooklyn, N. Y. 11202





**BLOOD TO THE HORSES BROW  
AND WOE  
TO THOSE WHO CANNOT SWIM**

**LETTERS FROM JAIL**

I am writing this note in hopes that it will inspire at least one of those paper Panthers to get out into the community and do the work of the people.

During my incarceration, I have found that there is a great need for the sisters and brothers to know the true meaning of "Power To The People". Very few of our young brothers and sisters have ever read the ten point program. They are unfamiliar with the Party's purpose. We are looked upon as an all black gang dedicated to destruction. When the brothers in Oakland sat down and put the ten points together that is not what they had in mind. We must educate the community to the correct purpose of the Black Panther Party.

The Party is dedicated to seeing that the needs of the people are met. We will do whatever the people deem necessary to attain these basic needs. We will go to jail, we will be murdered, we will be

prosecuted and most of all we will live for the people. We are responsible always to the people. Every action must be understood by the masses. I no longer have any wants, for my desires are my people's. I have no time, because my time belongs to the people. You see, everything belongs to the people. If you find it hard to put into practice, then you have no place in the Vanguard. Everyone is not expected to be able to carry the load (for it is without a doubt a heavy load - but then the rewards are great). The load must be carried whether you do it or not. You must review the three choices you have!

I love my people and because of this love the seventy years that I am facing seems a small price to pay. Land, bread, education, housing, clothing, justice and peace these are my goals. Solidarity in the Struggle, Afeni O, Shakur



**NEW YORK PANTHERS AT COURT HOUSE TO SUPPORT 21**

**FREE THE  
N.Y. 21  
BAIL MONEY  
NEEDED**

**SEND TO  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
BOX 1224  
BROOKLYN 11202  
NEW YORK**



**SISTER DELORES PATTERSON BUSTED WITH 21  
WORKED WITH THE BREAKFAST PROGRAM**

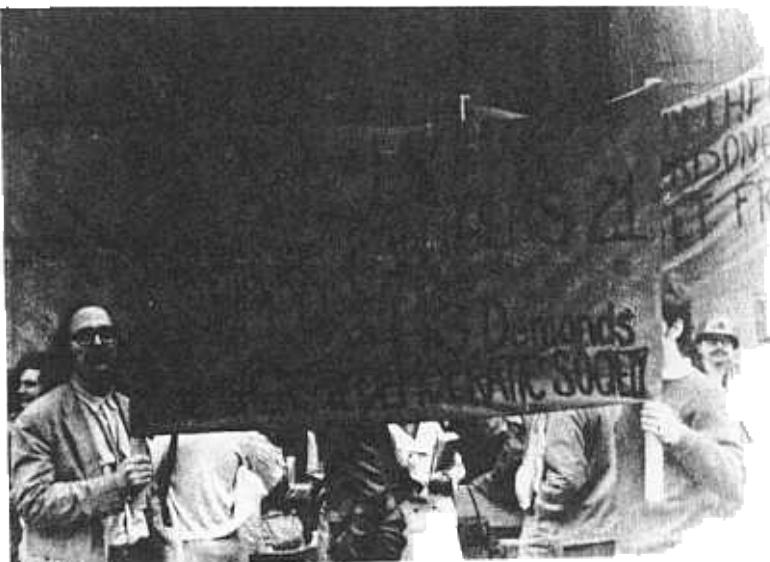
# FASCIST PIGS MURDER MAN FRAME CONNECTICUT PANTHERS

On April 2, 1969, 21 members of the Black Panther Party were vamped on by all the "law enforcement" agencies of the racist U.S. Government and indicted for "conspiracy" to blow up department stores, railroad tracks and the Botanical Gardens. Law enforcement lunatics representing the CIA, FBI and state and local pigs staged coordinated assaults on the homes of more than 30 Panthers in the New York City Area. We do not blow up facilities where our own people and other oppressed people work, for we are here to serve the needs and demands of the people.

On May 7, 1969, Riverside Church received a phone call stating that if the demands of the "Black Manifesto" were not delivered, the church would be blown up and that the anonymous caller was from the Black Panther Party. This is even more ridiculous than our blowing up department stores and the Botanical Gardens. We do not blow up churches, we feed FREE BREAKFAST TO CHILDREN in churches and community centers all across the country. The Black Panther Party is not conspiring against the people. The capitalistic lunatics of the pig power

structure, who exploit and murder oppressed people everyday all over this planet, are the real conspirators. Tricky Dick Nixon, arch imperialist Rockefeller, slick Lindsay and the rest of the pig power structure are engaged in a conspiracy to annihilate the Black Panther Party in particular and black people in general. The imperialist U.S. Government is making blatant attacks on the Party all across the nation. Our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton was denied bail pending his appeal. Chairman Bobby Seale was indicted along with the "Chicago 8" for conspiracy to incite to riot (the riot had been going on two days before he came to town) during the Democratic Convention. Pigs shot up our San Francisco Headquarters with M-16's and other automatic weapons. The same mad dogs are responsible for the bombing of the Panther Headquarters in Des Moines. The fascist government and all their pig lackeys are bent on destroying the leadership and organization of the Black Panther Party.

The mutilated body of Brother Alix Rackley was found in Middletown, Connecticut and 8 Panthers from our New Haven Office were indicted



NY TDS STAND IN SUPPORT OF HUEY AND NY 21

for "conspiracy to commit murder" and are being held without bail, which is a direct violation of their constitutional rights. Among those arrested was Erika Huggins, the wife of Jong Huggins, who was murdered along with apprentice "Bunchy" Carter by bald headed zombies from Ron Karenga's US organization (The Kung-fu).

The racist news media, dictating the official party line of the fascist pig power structure stated,

"what Rackley was no longer a trusted member of the organization". This is a naked lie. Brother Alix was a member in good standing in the Harlem Branch of the Black Panther Party and all Panthers know that compulsion and force are permissible when dealing with the enemy, but absolutely impermissible in dealing with comrades or friends. (Page 151 Red Book) Brother Alix was murdered by the pigs and now 8 Panthers have been framed on trumped up charges and are being held captive without bail in New Haven, Connecticut. The murder of Brother Alix and the bust of the "Connecticut 8" is the latest of a series of vicious attacks against the Party by the pig power structure that has escalated in the last six months. The racist news media continued to link the official line of their superiors stating that "there is a direct link between the murder and the arrest of the Panther 21". Of course there is! The same pigs that murdered Brother Alix, are the same pigs that conspired to frame the Panther 21 and are still conspiring to annihilate the Black Panther Party throughout the nation. The pig is putting more crap into his "conspiracy game" and is trying to deceive the masses of the people.

The truth of the matter is that one of our brothers has been murdered by pigs and 8 Panthers have been framed for murdering one of their comrades. Aside from all the bulls--t and lies that are printed in the news media, 13 Panthers are still being held in jail with bail of \$100,000 each and the oppressive fascist courts have refused to

lower the ransom (bail). When our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, came east to post bond for one of the incarcerated brothers, not one bondsman in New York City would touch the case because the avaricious bondsmen were ordered by pig D.A. Hogan not to write a bond for any of the busted Panthers, on the threat of losing their licenses.

If the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups (Tricky Dick Nixon, Filthy rich Rockefeller, Standard Oil, Dupont, etc.) persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war (exploiting and murdering third world people everyday all over this planet) the day is bound to come when they will be hung by a whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices (black capitalist, cultural nationalist and all the other buffoons who perpetrate this dying system, etc.) of the United States. (Page 79 Red Book). People of the world unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!

Acting Deputy Minister of Information  
Zayd-Malik Shakur  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

New York State Chapter  
Black Panther Party



## LETTERS FROM JAIL

May 15, 1969

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
To The Cadre

Sitting here in the clutches of our People's enemies, my mind is constantly seeking to offer some guidance to the brothers and sisters who are waging the struggle against these exploitive racist dogs.

The racist manipulation of this system of exploitation and computerized Slavery have cast all semblance of racist justice aside and are attacking us madly. We must learn from this, and defend our people and ourselves. We must educate all the people to the why's of these attacks, and how they are programmed into their own exploitation and misery. We can only do this if we work ceaselessly with a correct attitude with the people. The pigs are off into exterminating the people in the black and white communities who are willing to stand up, and stop their exploitation. We must make them pay the price of hypocrisy and racism, by organizing the people not by words alone, but with our actions.

These punks here have us uptight, but you have the people, who are like reformed steel, needing only to be molded into a sword of their own liberation. Therefore each Brother and Sister must make themselves into blacksmiths and not vacillate and hesitate for our very liberation depends on how well you do the job.

Well I haven't much else to say except be cool - that goes for everybody, and all of you looked good in Court (especially the Sisters). Give my regards to the Brother Roogie, and long live the People's struggle!

With that I'll sign off, write sometime and let me know what's going down.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE  
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

Richard Moore  
Dharuba  
P.S. Read Page 131 Red Book (bottom of page)  
P.P.S. OFF THE PIG!

