



Black Panther Tells It Like It Is
U.F.A.F. WOMENS PANEL:

ROBERTA ALEXANDER AT CONFERENCE

I would like to start out by saying brothers and sisters, that there is a struggle going on right now. Our topic up here today is to talk about women versus fascism, the role of women in the movement. There was some connection here, and I would like to address myself briefly to that connection. I think it's significant. First of all, there is a struggle now going on in the Black Panther Party. A lot of people around the country are confused about what's happening now in the Black Panther Party around the woman question, around the role of women in the Black Panther Party. This confusion has been created and added to with the demagoguery of the bourgeoisie, with their Larry Powells and their McClellan

Committees. They're adding to the confusion of the people and the Black Panther Party now wants to stand up forward, before all of you and explain a little bit of what's happening. We talk about divisions among the people and how the ruling class uses those divisions to weaken the people and to weaken the people's struggle. We are now faced with a rising tide of fascism in this country, and the people have to be united in order to fight this tide. Huey P. Newton says (as the brother said earlier tonight), we have to limit our tinkering as much as possible between the movement and make our concentration upon the enemy. This is correct. (Applause) And we must recognize the enemy when we see

it. This is also very important because if we don't know what the enemy is then we're in bad shape.

Now, on the question of male chauvinism, on the question of male supremacy, this is a true problem in our society and reflects capitalist society, period. Women are placed in a particular role and they are expected to stay in that role. We have problems in the Party. That's true. Because we are part of the society and if we were to say that we didn't have no problems we would be lying to the people. We're not going to lie to the people. In order for the people to understand the question, we'll tell the truth. (Applause)

For the last several months in our Party there have been struggles over this question. These struggles have gone through the whole gamut of possible real problems; have gone through women leadership, women being able to be armed, to defend themselves as well as the brothers; on whether or not the women do all the typing or whether or not they also take part in the armed self-defense and the running of the offices, not just behind the typewriters; and it even goes down to the sexual levels, whether or not the women are supposed to do so and so for the cause of the revolution, etc. (Applause) And there have been a hell of a lot of distortions on the party's position on precisely this point. There's been a lot of struggle in the party and at times this struggle has become so principal that we think more, we have thought more (this has been corrected) about the contradictions between the women and the men, between the sisters and the brothers than we do about the pigs. Now, there is a problem there, because that cannot be allowed. The pigs are out to murder us. The sisters and brothers are class sisters and brothers--sisters and brothers in the struggle and the party has addressed itself to this problem and it is now being resolved, and it is being resolved correctly. It's being resolved through an intense struggle among the Party.

"The women," as Eldridge Cleaver said, "are our other half. They're not our weaker half they're not our stronger half. They are our other half." It's no accident that Eldridge should say that right now. Ideas come from a social context and the struggle is being carried through. The contradictions arise and are being carried through.

Now, I would like to say a few words about where it comes from. We see in this society class div-

isions. We see in this society race divisions and we see in this society sex divisions. Black women, interestingly enough, are oppressed as a class, part of the super-oppressed class of workers and unemployed in this country. Black women are oppressed because they are black, and then on top of that, black women are oppressed by black men. And that's got to go. (Applause) Not only has it got to go, but it is going. (Applause)

But, I think we've had an example tonight of how pigs, or people who may not be pigs but who objectively are acting like pigs, can function. One of the most destructive aspects of male supremacy is how it divides people who should be united. This is a very important concept to understand. When we struggle against male supremacy, we struggle because we want unity. When we struggle against male supremacy, we struggle with the brothers in the party and the brothers struggle too. Cause it ain't the sisters that are doing all the struggling, believe you me. That can't be, because the problem of male supremacy can't be overcome unless it's a two-way street. (Applause)

So, when a proposal is brought up that the sisters walk out, I don't know what to say. I rightfully don't know what to say because how the hell are we going to solve a problem like this if the sisters walk out and just leave the brothers right on behind. I realize the sisters have a lot to teach the brothers, but they ain't going to learn if we walk out of the building and talk among ourselves. (Applause)

The repression that we're facing in this country is a matter of life and death. We have prisoners all over this country--something like 50 now who are facing the gas chamber. There are also many other political prisoners in this country. The chairman quoted 108. Well, we know that there are hundreds more than that and we just can't count them. We tried to compile a list for the newspaper, and that was absurd. What we're facing is a serious matter. We can't be divided.

At the same time, we're not going to turn in among ourselves, we're not going to look upon neither our women nor our men feeling sorry for ourselves with super sympathy. We're not going to be super sentimental. This is not our role. The people who have gone over to Vietnam, to North Vietnam, who have talked to the Vietnamese people who are carrying on their heroic struggle weren't told about the atrocities. They were informed,

but this is not what the Vietnamese people harped on. They harped on their positive programs. This was what was most important to them. Because it was their positive program that carried them forward and this is going to be the case with the Black Panther Party. We're going to carry forth our positive programs. The sisters and the brothers, united to carry these programs forth. The sisters aren't going to stay home worrying about their babies; the sisters aren't going to stay home worried about their husbands, worried about their sacrifices made. And there is a backwardness on the part of many women in this country, on the part of the women as a whole. And this backwardness we're going to face and we're going to overcome. We're going to understand this backwardness and where it comes from, from a true isolation from production and from the world. The woman is set up, especially in middle class families--she's set off into the house to sit with the kids, to make dinner, wash the dishes, vacuum up afterwards. Now here is she going to get an overall picture of what's happening in this society. Her whole life is those kids; if her whole life is her kids and her husband, she's not going to understand the revolution. We're going to have to widen her perspective, and that takes a struggle. Among the student activists too, you find that the women are afraid to speak up. It's true in the Black Panther Party, not to such a great extent. Our sisters are struggling and participating in our Political Education classes. The sisters are more and more taking a leadership role. We have sisters who can shoot, who shoot as well as brothers. They're not sitting home with the babies. (Applause) They're out there. They've got their babies with them. They're out there in the community. They're doing field work. And the sisters in the Black Panther Party, and I hope the sisters in the rest of the movement, of the rest of the United Front against fascism follow the example of the Vietnamese women. (Applause). This is the example we're going to follow. We're going to go on the offensive and we're going to take an advanced position. We're going to fight backwardness, and Right On, Vietnamese Sisters, we're with you. Right on. (Applause, standing ovation).



Chairman Bobby with S.F. State Student, McAllister

VICTIM OF FASCIST TERROR SPEAKS

Don McAllister (on anti-fascism poster) speaks out against fascism. I know, as many brothers and sisters know that fascism in this country does exist, I am here because I lived. Many brothers and sisters have not lived and cannot tell you what they lived, but I did. What happened to me, can happen to you, can happen to anyone. What happened to me did not

was not reacting in the manner in which I was so instructed, because I happened to be handy and because there was no obvious retaliation for what was to happen to me and what did happen to me. Fascism exists. And I cannot deal with it. You cannot deal with it, but WE can deal with it. (Applause). I'm here to listen, to find out what we are going to do and



PENNY NAKATSU
A JAPANESE AMERICAN
SPEAKS OUT AGAINST FASCISM

Ronny Nakatsu, a Japanese-American speaks out against fascism. On the question of male supremacy and male chauvinism, as an Asian woman, I can speak well and long. I can speak well and long of the heroic women who have died combating racism and imperialism. I could speak of women like Iva Taguri Dakino who spent 18 years in an American racist prison for a crime for which she had no part in, I could speak of a sister who died in the 1950's struggles, died in Tokyo, died in the struggle against the re-rafication of the United States - Japan Security Pact. And I could speak well and long of the heroic struggles of our courageous Vietnamese sisters, (Applause) whose example I hope all women can well follow and learn from. But I will not, (speak of these things)

What I came here to speak of today is a story that many of you may not know of, may have forgotten, may not remember. The story begins in 1942-many of the elements of the story are duplicated here, here and now in the year 1969. The dates 1942, 1950, 1969, taken together as a sum total equate American fascism today.

In case many of you have not caught on to what I'm referring to, I'm speaking of the incarceration of more than 110,000 people, human beings, for the crime of having yellow faces, of having asian names, in WWII. The story goes like this. There was no law. There was no 1950 McCarran Internal Security Act at that time to put my people, our people into the what were euphemistically termed "relocation camps". There are 10 of those camps. I will not call them relocation camps. I will not call them detention camps. I will call them the concentration camps they were and are and still exist today. (Applause)

I come from a generation of children born in concentration camps. Many of these places you will find no longer exist on the map. We were born in places with names like Manzanar, Tule Lake, Topaz, Roer, and on and on. In 1942, the presidential mandate issued by President Roosevelt empowered the racist military under the leadership of General DeWitt to incarcerate 110,000 people-more than two thirds of whom were American citizens. Many of these people remained in these concen-

tration camps for the duration of the war. All of them received between 24 and 48 hour notice to report to the nearest military authorities, to report their belongings, to dispose of their beloved possessions within the span of 24 and 48 hours. How generous, how magnanimous our government was. How magnanimous our government

will be when it calls on us to report. When it calls on us, we will not be sitting in our homes, talking. We will be prepared to act. We will be prepared to move. (Applause) The lessons that I hope we can learn from 1942 is not to wait, not to wait until we have positive, irrevocable proof of the racism, and the all-encompassing

determination of our monopolistic capitalistic system to suppress all movements, all people who will work for social change, who will work for liberation, who will work for the defeat of fascism and imperialism. Thank you. (Standing ovation)



OSCAR RIOS OF LOS SIETE
SPEAKS AT UFAF CONFERENCE

Brother Newton, Reyes Tijerina, and all the brothers are in fascist jails where they have Los Siete de la Haza. These seven brothers are in jail under false accusations. They are in jail because they are the brothers that work, work for the people! They practiced their theory, they were down with the people and this is why the pigs came down and took them away. The pigs will try to take our brothers away every time one of them works for the people. These brothers worked in the community against poverty, against fascism, against all racists and against the racist ideas among the people. These brothers were working to defeat the racist ideas that the man has put into our heads. They gave all their time and effort to see that our people were guided in the right direction.

Today we have seven brothers, among hundreds, that have been judged and already convicted by the false, slanderous reports in the press. These brothers are faced with false accusations and false witnesses. They have no evidence to get them. They are being charged from flinger print evidence only. They have flinger prints on the automobiles, on the goods they say they stole, and from other things. But they don't have nothing to get them for. This just shows that in this fascist country of the United States, they ain't going to allow no brother to come to the people and tell them what their real problems are. Our problems are in our communities and our problems stay in front of us. If we don't see the problems, the real problems, it's because we're blind right now. They have been robbing our people for 400 years. They have robbed our parents and our grandparents. They have robbed us right up until this day.

But the time has come now. There are brothers working in the streets. But the fascist pigs are going to try to come and take all of us. Don't fool yourselves, brothers. Because as soon as you start moving in there, they're going to come and try to get you. We have to move because our people are there. And we had better get on our jobs to make them understand why we're fighting for them, and why we call the United States fascist. Not America, the United States. Because America is our country, America is my country and all the countries of our parents, the countries built from the blood and sweat of our people. The country does not belong to the man that sits upstairs in his

orders. He doesn't deserve this country. Our country was built from the blood of our parents, from the blood of our ancestors. And now they're going to come and tell us that it's their country. Bullshit. It's our country.



Jose Rios

Now, we say we know some Marxism, Leninism, and Mao. And what do we do with it? We just stick it into our heads and never put it into action. As Comrade Mao has taught, action is the criterion of truth. Otherwise, your talk is just bullshit. Our social practice is our weapon against the man. (Applause)

If all of us here decided that on Monday we would work for the people 24 hours a day, I think that by December the concentration camps would be open. Right now they are waiting for us. All they need is a big pig in there, and they're ready. And we can't say, "No, we don't believe it; let justice do it; law and order will come down to our people." That is bullshit, because they have the concentration camps waiting for us; for the hippies, the blacks, the Latinos.

Punks and stasies like Mayor Alloto call our brothers "hoodlums". Alloto doesn't know. He doesn't know our brothers. And now the wife of Officer Brodnick says that she and Pig McGoran (I say again "puerco", pig) McGoran have agreed that they should give the brothers capital punishment. Is that "law and order"? It's not law and order. It's fascism. It's moving against us and it could topple us. Let's not fool ourselves, brothers. While we're

inside of those iron bars, we're going to say, "Sure. We should have done something about it. But we just sat there and we listened when all this shit was passing through." When we're inside, we're going to say those things. We'll also say, "Sure. When we get out, we're going to move." I've heard that before, I've seen it before, but I don't see these brothers doing it. They go back again and again, and they keep saying, "Sure, we're going to fight them." When they get outside, they forget again. Just remember, when it comes to those concentration camps, when we're walking to those ovens, we're going to say, "We should have fought them that time."

No, brothers. Let's get on our jobs now because the fighting is not up there in the high communities. The fighting is down in our communities, where the poverty is. It's down where the streets are filthy. Who's making them filthy? They never come out and say, "Who's made those roads." They just ask, "Who's making them filthy?"

We have got to understand that if we're going to make our people move, we have to come down to their level of understanding and knowledge and make them understand that we are for the people and only for the people. Because this country belongs to the people! (Applause)

Now for the kind of accusations and evidence that they're got against our brothers right now.



Mario Martinez

Mario Martinez is being accused by the false witness, lying dog, Pig McGoran. He says that Mario

Martinez (Mario's brother) is being accused because he owned the car. He's being accused with only the evidence of police pig McGoran saying "He looks familiar." Now, I come to Lescallat. Lescallat they have put as the killer-again with a false witness, Jose Rios was at the house. He lives in the house. And because he was on the premises, he was accused of the killing too. Jose Melendez was seen by some witness running around the street. Now he's been accused of the killing. Brother Nelson Rodriguez is accused of murder.



Jose Melendez

Brother Lopez wasn't even there. Nobody's got proof against him. Now they say one of his friends testified that he was there. They've charged him on murder.

How can seven brothers pick up a gun, put a finger on there-all seven of them--and shoot a pig? Can it be done? It can't be done, but they're accusing them anyway. And this teaches us that the pigs can break the laws. They write them, and they can break them. And what about it? What can we say? They say that we can't say anything because we are just hoodlums, radicals. This is what they're calling us. Pig Alloto comes out and says "more law and order". More Pigs. Come on. Let's get more pigs. And he does it, man. He'll put 200 pigs in a district. And what have the people done? Nothing. Why? Because they think it's slow and order. Because the fascist newspapers come and tell them, "Yes, they're the ones. They're the ones that did it. They're the dope addicts. They smoke marijuana. 'Se ponan locos' (they're crazy). Yeah they're the ones that did it." They don't come out and say who's making them do it. They don't say that

McGoran and Pig Brodnick were the worst because they used to beat people up! They used to beat our people with hoses! They used to point guns in our heads. And what about that? Are they forgetting about that? No! Our people don't read about that scene in the fascist newspapers. The fascist papers, the fascist politicians talk about "law and order" to the people. "Law and order." That's it. There ain't no law and order in America. The law and order will be when our people get up and put these fascist pigs down. (Applause) The only time law and order is going to come about is when the present political structure comes down. (Applause) Yeah! Let's get more law and order. Let's get with the people and unite, because united we will triumph to the victory.

Now I put to you brothers and sisters, are we going to let seven brothers here, 21 from New York, brother Newton and Brother Cleaver and the rest of our brothers, political brothers be in those jails and stay there. I ain't going to sit around and wait for my brothers to be killed, because then I'd be lying to myself and letting the pigs do what they want. If I'm going to sit by myself here and just wait for law and order to come - Bullshit! Because they ain't going to do it. We're going to walk through the gas chambers if we don't get out and see and fight what these fascist pigs are doing to us. All I can say is POWER TO THE PEOPLE! POWER TO THE PEOPLE! Thank you. (Applause)



Rodolfo Martinez