

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

By FRANK JONES
Deputy Minister of Information

This week we will have a nation-wide celebration for the birthday of our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. While celebrating Huey's birthday, we must maintain the proper perspective. We cannot allow the success of Huey's birthday weekend to be construed as a goal accomplished. The celebration is to symbolize the love and respect that we have for our Minister of Defense and can serve to inspire us in the pursuit of our political goals. The birthday celebration is a symbol. The substance of our political efforts is freedom - freedom for the oppressed and immediate freedom for Huey P. Newton. We should all unite in wishing Huey a happy birthday and then resolutely seek to give Huey the gift he sought for us - freedom.

FREE HUEY

HUEY IS MY BROTHER TOO

By Cec Levinson

It has been suggested (gently, as the suggester is a good friend) that I should not write these articles about Huey, but that it would be better if someone from the Party or the Black Community writes them. It was a thoughtful, loving suggestion because my friend is a wise, committed fighter for the revolution. She is deeply concerned about the divisions among her people. These cut-throat crevices and leaded darts within her and she fears that a white writing articles about Huey in the Panther paper will widen the schisms between the various Black philosophies. She quotes Malcolm: "There can be no black-white unity until there is first Black unity." I agree!

However, I must answer that "her people" are my people because they are human and I am human and we are of the same tribe. But later for that because it sounds like romanticism and romanticism isn't realism and a revolutionary must be, at all times, realistic. (Let me sneak in here the thought that revolutionaries are dreamers, too. We dream the biggest, the best dream of all.) Nevertheless, we must be realistic, which means, of course, to look at the world face-to-face, fact-to-fact; to be, above all, political. (WEBSTER: po-lit-i-cal; Of or pertaining to . . . the conduct of government; as, political theories . . . or pertaining to the organization or action of individuals, parties, or interests that seek to control the appointment or action of those who manage the affairs of a state.) By the definition of the work, revolutionaries are political, with the additional factor that we desire to CHANGE the present organization so that the action is controlled, not by individuals, parties or interests, but by the people.

What must we be to be able to bring about that change? There are several qualifications essential to a true revolutionary: self-discipline and the ability to accept Party imposed discipline; self-criticism and the ability to accept - the requesting of - the Party's or a comrade's criticism; constant study; learning NOT to adapt the facts to fit the situation, (This leads only to a distortion of the facts, to a dogmatic application of theory whereas theory must

be dynamic, always moving, changing. We must study thoroughly, separately, every rising development, each given situation and apply those truths, those theories which are applicable to it.

But there are 2 basic qualifications which are the foundation upon which all of the above are built. They are obvious and I'm sure will ignite no ferment of opposition. But each one of us must look to himself honestly, objectively, critically, and ask: Am I really THERE? The first, of course, is commitment to the revolution. Commitment is the result of political knowledge, gleaned from study and experience; complete commitment and ACTIVE involvement. (An intellectual, "arm-chair revolutionary" is simply not a revolutionary.) Mao quotes Stalin - RED BOOK, page 231: "theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice" and "practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory". Two inseparable: theory and practice. Commitment must be based on political knowledge, and the understanding of the economic basis - the NEED in a capitalistic society - for the exploitation of the majority by a minority: PROFIT: the value of a product produced by the workers, in surplus of their wages; the money stolen from the workers and pocketed by the bosses, for THEIR welfare; whereas it should be placed in a People's Fund for the benefit of the people. And action based on this knowledge; not action for the sake of action, but action for the purpose of furthering the cause of revolution; action designed to increase the political consciousness of the working class, increase its knowledge of the enemy and his strategy - particularly his strategy of "divide and conquer": RACISM - which, in turn, allows him to rule - with 2 distinct sets of rules: one for the conqueror, another for the conquered. The first basic need; total commitment and involvement.

Before I reveal what I think (what I KNOW) is the second basic qualification, let me share with you - in a sentence - my life philosophy. It is an odd philosophy; the simplest of all philosophies; the core, the seed of truth. The only true life philosophy, so

dance all around it and never see it. It is truth, blindingly obvious: I believe feverently that although one can learn much from books - facts, statistics, dates - one learns nothing - NOTHING! - about people from books. People are, after all, emotional beings, and must be understood emotionally, not intellectually. One doesn't love intellectually. One doesn't "think" people; one "feels" people. One experiences people. And therein lies THE CAUSE: 450 years of separate experiences, separate lives.

Love is a misused, worn-out, decrepit phase, but it has to be born, bundled in the warmth of what is for me its true meaning; the coming together - the touching - of two separate entities into a third whole.

You know it now; perhaps you knew it all the time. The second necessary component of a revolutionary is love for the people. You cannot win without the people and you cannot win the people without love. Too many radicals today spend too much time showering contempt upon the American working people and their "middle-class" values. These endless, wasted hours would be better spent in study, in teaching, in organizing the people without whom their radicalism will come to no fruition. It give one pause to reflect: do they really want change or are they merely seeking attention and the opportunity to mouth pretty, 10-syllable words?

Have I the right - is there a reason for my writing a series of articles expressing my views about Huey and how he and the Panthers affect me, a white revolutionary? Malcolm said that a bridge must be built, a bridge between the black and white communities and Huey said that the Panthers could be that bridge. I must stand ON that bridge and transmit my thoughts and feelings in both directions because I know that the survival of the extremes, on both sides of the bridge, depends on their coming together as 2 autonomies - and touching one another. I know that today it is necessary for a Black Panther Party and an Asian - American Political Alliance and a Brown Berets and a Native American Group and if we're sharp enough, a White Panther Party, but I must fight for the day when we will have not a black, nor a white, nor a colorless - but a COLORFUL PARTY.

I have no doubt that someone who knows Huey well can write of him better than I, but I know, too, and will shout the truth of the title of this series: HUEY IS MY BROTHER, TOO! Huey is the brother of all people, if they

NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



AFRICAN PATRIOTIC ARMED STRUGGLE GROWS IN STRENGTH

Only by persevering in armed struggle at home can any nation overthrow hated, vicious colonial rule and win complete national independence and liberation. This is what the broad masses in the African countries, which have yet to achieve independence, have come to grasp profoundly in their protracted struggle against the enemy.

In 1968, the patriotic armed forces of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola, the Congo (Kinshasa) and Zimbabwe fought hundreds of battles with Portuguese colonial forces, Mobutu's puppet soldiers and the fascist troops of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia - all backed by imperialism headed by the United States. The patriotic armed forces enjoyed the support of the people and, by giving full play to courage in battle and surmounting one difficulty after another, wiped out several thousand enemy troops and extended their sphere of operations in a number of regions. This has greatly boosted the fighting will of the African people. As for the enemy troops, battered incessantly by the patriotic armed forces, morale sank lower and lower and the colonialists found the going in Africa tougher and tougher.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS CREATE

Guinea (Bissau): Freedom fighters expand areas under control. In west Africa, the patriotic armed forces of Guinea (Bissau), fighting guns in hand for more than seven years, pressed on with their victories after having valiantly repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese colonial troops who tried to reoccupy the areas under their control. Beginning from June last year, they won a series of victories in repeated attacks on Portuguese colonial troops entrenched in a number of strongholds in the southern, northern and eastern parts of their country. By October, they had taken ten enemy encampments and strongholds, including Béli, capital city of the Boe region in the east. The Guinean (Bissau) patriotic

in Bissau, the military and political centre of the Portuguese colonialists in the region, blasting the control tower and three hangars. Two enemy aircraft were destroyed and many damaged. The patriotic forces steadily expanded the areas under their control in the fighting. Apart from Bissau, Bolamo, dos Bijagos and areas on the northern seaboard, reports say, the rest of Guinea (Bissau) has at present virtually come under the control of the patriotic armed forces.

Mozambique: Twelve enemy planes destroyed in one blow. Since their armed uprising in 1964, the patriotic armed forces of Mozambique in east Africa have long controlled vast areas in the two northeastern Provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. During the fighting in 1968, they wiped out more than 1,000 Portuguese colonial troops and extended the fighting from Cabo Delgado and Niassa Provinces to the mineral-rich province of Tete in the west. There they opened a new front and smashed attempts by the Portuguese colonialists to prevent the raging flames of the African people's armed struggle from spreading to the south. On August 10, 1968, the patriotic armed forces mounted an attack on the Portuguese air base in Mueda, destroying 12 enemy aircraft in one blow (see p. 20).

Angola: Over 1,000 colonial troops wiped out in 4 months. The Angolan patriotic armed forces were the first to embark on the road of armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. In 1968, they dealt telling blows to the Portuguese colonial troops in the vast eastern and northern areas. From July to October, they wiped out more than 1,000 enemy troops. Units active in the extensive rural areas of Mexico and Cuando Cubango Districts in the southeast and Lunda District in the northeast struck at the enemy incessantly. In the first four months of 1968, they put out of action 2500 Portuguese colonial troops and captured one Portuguese officer.

Congo (K): Armed struggle heroically carried on. Subjected to

the Congolese (K) patriotic forces heroically carried on their struggle. They recently raided a Mobutu Puppet military outpost in the Kwilu region, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy troops. Their courageous struggle nailed the lie spread by Mobutu, running dog of U.S. imperialism, that the Congolese (K) people's armed struggle has been put down.

Southern Rhodesia: Colonial regime gripped by fear. The frequent operations of the Zimbabwean armed patriots have kept the Smith colonial regime in a state of continuous fear and panic. Shots fired by freedom fighters against South African colonial rule were also heard in South West Africa which is under the tight control of the South African White colonialists. The freedom fighters in South West Africa, reports say, killed 20 of the South African colonial troops in a recent battle.

LEARN WARFARE THROUGH WARFARE

The African patriots learn warfare through warfare. Being constantly tempered in the crucible of fighting, their combat strength has increased and the level of their tactics raised steadily. In many areas, the patriotic armed forces have grown in strength, developing from small contingents of fighters carrying out hit-and-run harassment activities to the concentration of superior forces undertaking planned operations to wipe out enemy effectives. They often apply the tactics of inducing the enemy to go deep into their areas in order to attack and eliminate his troops.

The war has educated the people and the people support the revolutionary war. Chairman Mao's brilliant thought -- the revolutionary war is a war of the masses -- has taken firm root in the minds of the people. More and more African patriots now realize that in their confrontation with the enemy, who is armed to the teeth and enjoys temporary numerical superiority, it is impossible to carry on protracted war or to win victory in the revolutionary war unless attention is paid to mobil-

ization in these countries. As it is, a number of African patriots have gone to the rural areas to rouse the masses.

In Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique, Angola and the Congo (K), the patriotic armed forces have set up administrative organs in a number of areas under their control, and in some places they have their own law courts as well. They have also extensively organized militia forces in areas under their control. In some places, the militiamen participate in agricultural production and at the same time assume the duties of defending their villages. They are effective assistants of the guerrillas, serving as guides and messengers, furnishing information and transporting ammunition and supplies.

In some areas, the African patriotic armed forces have helped the people raise their political consciousness by organizing the masses to recall national humiliation at the hands of the alien invaders and denounce the crime of colonial rule. In some areas, number of African women have actively participated in patriotic activities, not only persuading their near and dear ones to go to the front but asking for permission to bear arms in the armed struggle.

The African patriotic armed forces have also paid attention to increasing production, particularly that of grain, in the areas under their control, so that they can wage a protracted struggle by relying on their own resources. In some places, they have developed the educational and public health services. In the areas under their control, for instance, the Guinean (Bissau) patriots have abolished the exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies imposed on the people by the colonialists in the past and have opened up wasteland to develop production in a big way. As a result, rice and other grain output has increased and the handicraft industry has also developed. The guerrilla fighters in Mozambique make a point of working in the fields with the local peasants in areas they control. In some places, the Mozambique army men and people are able to ship part of their farm produce to neighbor-

armed forces have set up peasant's mutual-aid and co-operative organizations and have trained a group of medical workers in areas under their control.

U.S. IMPERIALISM

In their protracted war against colonialism, an increasing number of African people have begun to see things more clearly from their own experience and greatly raised their political consciousness. It is now clear to them that U.S. imperialism is their No. 1 enemy. Facts have made it abundantly clear that it is U.S. imperialism which has directed the Mobutu puppet clique to wantonly suppress the patriotic armed forces and people of the Congo (K). It is the same U.S. imperialism which gives vigorous support to the Portuguese colonialists in waging a barbarous war in Africa and tries to prop up their tottering colonial rule. And again it is the same U.S. imperialism which backs the white racist regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to slaughter the African people in cold blood. These facts have laid bare still further the fiendish features of U.S. imperialism as the most ferocious enemy of the African people.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, U.S. imperialism's No. 1 accomplice, has spread all kinds of revisionist fallacies far and wide in Africa, to cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism. It has tried to disintegrate the African patriotic armed forces by cajolery and bribery and to undermine the African people's patriotic armed struggle. It is common knowledge that over the years the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been diabolically engaged in selling out the interest of the Congolese (K) and to murder Patrice Lumumba and Strangle the legal Lumumba government. It advocated "reconciliation" between the Congolese (K) revolutionaries and the stooges of U.S. imperialism, trying in a thousand and one ways to sabotage the Congolese people's patriotic armed struggle and split the national-liberation movement in the Congo (K). Recently, this clique "restored diplomatic relations" with the Mobutu puppet regime, U.S. imperialism's running dog and Lumumba's murderer, thus once again ignominiously betraying the Congolese (K) people's revolutionary cause.

The lesson of the temporary reverses of the revolutionary cause in the Congo (K) is a characteristic illustration of the fact that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is another most dangerous enemy of the African people. Therefore, in addition to opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the African people must wage a resolute struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade Clique in order to carry the revolution through to the end.

It is precisely because the enemies confronting the revolutionary African people are not only the Portuguese, South African and Southern Rhodesian colonialists but also U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, enemies who are far more vicious and cunning, that the African revolutionary people's struggle is protracted, arduous and at times tortuous. But as Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, has wisely pointed out: "A nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wage a people's war." We are convinced that the African people, who have a long tradition of struggle against imperialism and colonialism, will eventually crush imperialism, revisionism and all

THE TRUE CULTURE OF AFRICA AND AFRICANS



Patrice Lumumba, martyred leader of the revolutionary struggle in the Congo was a victim of capitalist inspired violence and terrorism in an attempt to stem the tide of the African Revolution. Lumumba is seated here in a jeep, hands bound, just prior to his assassination.

TODAY the revolutionary people of the Congo (K), Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and other places are carrying on life-and-death armed struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. Some of them have already established rural revolutionary base areas, while others are intensifying their armed activities and dealing powerful blows at the enemy.

The Congo (K) declared its independence in 1960. U.S. imperialism, hand in glove with Soviet revisionism, hastily sent in U.S.-controlled aggressive armed forces under the flag of "the United Nations troops". The countless crimes of these aggressive troops include suppressing the patriotic forces, murdering the national hero Lumumba, subverting the legitimate government and installing a puppet regime. During those days of grave national disaster, patriotic armed forces of Kwilu in the western part of the Congo (K) kindled the fire of patriotic armed struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their puppets. Burning furiously, its flames spread to the north-

eastern and eastern parts of the country. While summing up their experiences and lessons in the last year and more, some leaders of the patriotic armed forces have come to realize the important significance of establishing a revolutionary political party, an army and a united front led by the revolutionary political party. Now, the patriotic armed forces have established revolutionary political power on the western front and expanded the struggle to the east and south of the base area.

Since launching an armed uprising in September 1964, the people of Mozambique have set up active base areas in two northern provinces and launched a struggle in a province in the northwest. They make frequent attacks on isolated strongholds of the enemy while constantly ambushing enemy patrols. Since the beginning of this year, the freedom fighters have been consistently winning new victories. The Portuguese colonialist troops, badly beaten, are frightened to death.

In Angola, the people have persisted in armed struggle for eight years. They have established some active base areas in the Cabinda area and in the eastern part of the country where they are now carrying on armed activities. In late February this year, guerrilla forces triumphantly smashed the Portuguese colonial army barracks at a certain place.

The anti-imperialist armed struggle in Guinea (Bissau) started in 1961. Although the Portuguese colonialists, supported by U.S. imperialism, tried viciously to crush the local patriotic armed forces, the patriotic people, far from being suppressed, have resolutely continued to hold high the banner of armed struggle and are fighting on heroically. Their armed forces have liberated almost two-thirds of the country's territory. Moreover, constantly seizing the offensive, they have attacked Portuguese colonialist troops entrenched in a number of strongholds. Meanwhile in the territory under their own control, they have set up various



Patriotic freedom fighters of Angola engage in military training in an active base area. The Patriotic Armed Forces of Angola, which have persisted in armed struggle for eight years, are constantly developing and growing stronger.

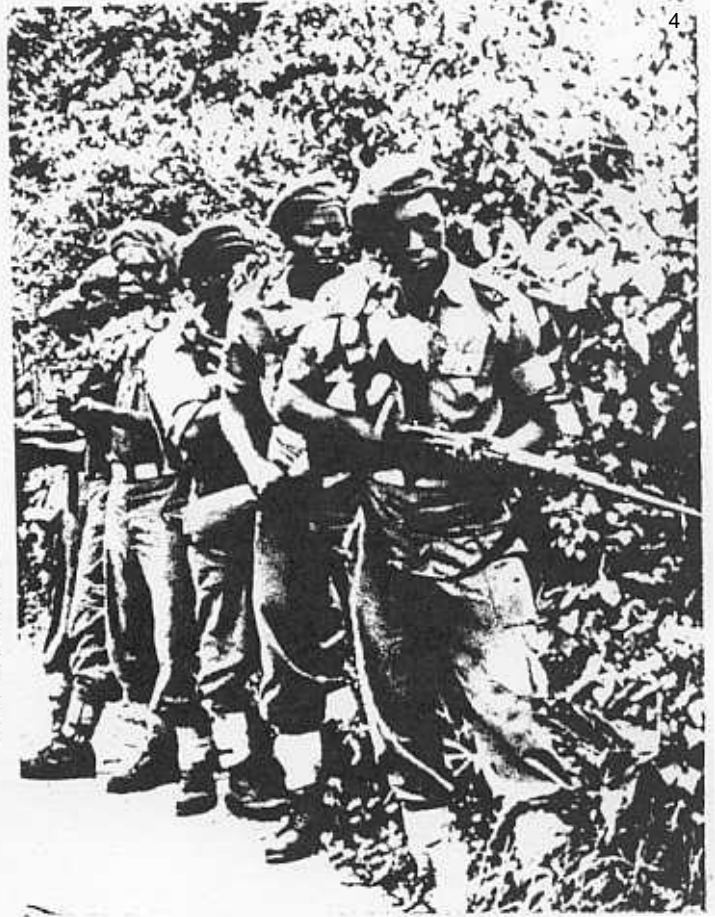
The True Culture of Africa and Africans

mass fighting organizations, developed production and expanded cultural and educational activities.

In April, 1966 the people of Zimbabwe also raised high the banner of armed struggle. For the last two years and more they have been smashing the military "encirclement and suppression" campaigns waged by the Smith white colonialist authorities with the support of the British and U.S. imperialists. They have strengthened their own forces in the struggle.

The raging flames of anti-imperialist struggle waged by the African people have now spread to South Africa. For example, since August 1966, the freedom fighters of Southwest Africa have engaged in vigorous armed resistance, killing many colonialist troops. So long as the broad masses of the African people, taking the road of armed struggle, maintain unity and persist in protracted struggle, no matter what the difficulties and hardships, they will surely drive imperialism and colonialism out of Africa.

Patriotic armed fighters of Guinea (Bissau). The patriotic armed forces have stepped up attacks on the Portuguese colonialist troops occupying southern, northern and eastern parts of the country and extended the fighting to Bissau, the main den of the colonialists in "Portuguese" Guinea. This has dealt the enemy a telling blow.



Below: Freedom fighters of Mozambique go in for vigorous military training in preparation for destroying the enemy more effectively. They carry out guerrilla tactics of making sudden attacks on isolated enemy strongholds and ambushing patrols of the Portuguese colonialist troops. Since the beginning of this year, they have won new victories continually and the colonialist troops have been severely beaten.

Lower right: Freedom fighters of Mozambique engage in production as well as in armed struggle. Harvesting maize which they themselves have raised.



A guerrilla unit of the Guinean (Bissau) patriotic armed forces. Through armed struggle the guerrilla areas are gradually being expanded.



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Fighters of the Congolese (K) patriotic armed forces give full play to the spirit of daring to fight and scorning difficulties. They train hard to develop their ability to destroy the enemy, and are determined to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in the Congo (K).



Patriotic armed fighters of the Congo (K) on the western front.



OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE



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

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

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

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

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

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

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

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

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

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

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

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

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

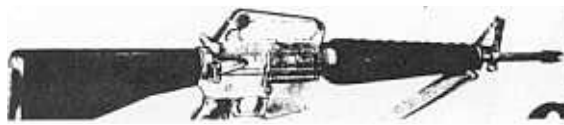
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

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

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

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



FREE HUEY NOW



HUEY NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE BLACK PANTHER
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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
 3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
 BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
 OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

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

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

THE RULES ARE:

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

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

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

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

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



HUEY NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
 PUBLISHED WEEKLY
 BY THE
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
 3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
 BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
 OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

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

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

THE RULES ARE:

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

**8 POINTS OF
 ATTENTION**

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SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

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I can volunteer some time to help the Committee _____

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Robert Scheer, Director

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**Stop By
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3106 Shattuck Ave.,
Berkeley, Calif.
Or Call
845-0103 or (4)**

**Leave Name, Address
& Telephone No.**

Breakfast for School Children

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community-mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racists oppress us - are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Niel at these numbers: 534-6584, 893-1016. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211 or sign up with other community peoples and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0103 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductible. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 2524 WEST ST., OAKLAND

Money Enclosed is \$ _____

Time

Food or Utensils-State Kind and Quantity Below

If Business include for your tax exemption _____

Name _____

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State _____ Zip _____

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSC - ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time elapses on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

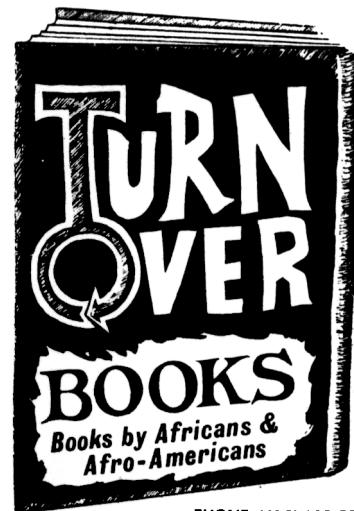
13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

COMING IN FEBRUARY ...

**A NATIONWIDE
BIRTHDAY WEEKEND
CELEBRATION FOR
HUEY P. NEWTON**

BLACK BOOKS



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"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN
THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE)

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE
REVOLUTION - WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:

- FOR DEFENSE
- FOR FINANCING
- FOR OFFICE WORK
- FOR TRANSPORTATION
- FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
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**BREAKFAST
FOR
SCHOOL
CHILDREN**

Effective January 20th
7:30 am till 9:30 am
Monday thru Friday
at the
St. Augustine's Episcopal Church
2624 West St. Oakland.
for information
call Father Neil at 534-6684
or
893-1016
Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211
or inquire at
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National Headquarters
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