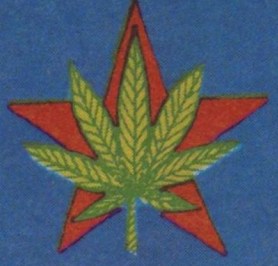




SUNDANCE



WHITE PANTHER



INFORMATION SERVICE

YOUTH WILL MAKE THE REVOLUTION
AND YOUTH WILL KEEP IT!



Photo by Magdalene Sinclair

'How Does It Feel...'

How does it feel
To be inside
An explosion?
Was there time
To flash upon
They way we came?
Came from childhood
of horror and hope
To black awakening
petition and protest
Massed in resistance
to their whip and wars
Came youth on fire
fighting for freedom
Naming the enemy
embracing our friends
Learning war through war
in the world revolution.
Was there time
To flash upon
The way we came?
Diana and Ted and Terry
Dead inside an explosion.
No one of us will ever be the same.
We have to go
Thru so many changes
When things come down
The way they do.
When comrades die
We cry.
When comrades die
We avenge.
When comrades die
We ask why.
We have to go
Through so many changes
When things come down
The way they do.
Slaves
Sang spirituals
In code
On the underground railway.
And before
I'd be a slave
I'll be buried
In my grave
Fighting with those
Who fought to be free.
Oh Freedom!
Harriet Tubman
Black revolutionary
Leading groups
Along the way.
When one stopped
Afraid
Wanting to turn back
She spoke of slavery and freedom.
And there were times
When she
Drew a gun and said
There is no turning back.
Oh Freedom!
Explosions in the night
Scream power
Death
To the slavemasters!
Fear of death
Is so
For real
Because we fight for life
On the underground railway
Fighting with those
Who fought
To be free.
Revolution
Means learning things
The hard way
Through doing them.
People have to be together
When making bombs
And revolutions
Have to plan
Think past the act
Within a strategy
Consider all the angles
Work carefully
People have to be together.

Know and treasure every person
For people do the planting
And every swallowed fear
Or unsaid word of caution
Each new idea
All the loves and strengths
Are part of becoming together
When making bombs
And revolutions.
It doesn't mean don't do it
It means making sure you do it.
An hour, a week,
A month that's taken
To insure a victory
Is time well taken.
And time is on our side.
It doesn't mean don't do it
It means being able to do it again.
Every one involved
Should understand
How and why everything works
So they can use and teach it.
Understand so they
Can be prepared
For the unexpected
Can meet new needs.
So they can insure
Their safety
Effectively aim
In the desired direction.
Break through
The powerlessness
Programmed
In the technological mystique.
Don't let a question pass
Because others might think you ignorant
They may be glad you asked
It may mean life.
Don't let a fear be buried
Because others might think you weak
Everyone is afraid
To deny it may mean life
The same fear
Unraised
Could allow an enemy to escape
Just execution
A fear may change history
There may be grounds for fear
That raising it can remedy
Don't be afraid to speak your fear.
Go to an isolated place
To practice
Try different devices
Watch what they do.
You are doing this
As part of the struggle
Not to prove
That you can do it.
We're Communists
Violence is a tool
Terror a tactic
Not a proof of manhood
Keep cool
Don't be afraid to change or flow
Be real
People have to be together.
The slow one now may later be fast.
And when the lives and loves
The strategy and plan
Have been struggled through
Then do it.
The revolutionary bomb
Contains the dynamite
Of mass anger
Packed tightly
Near blasting caps
Of leadership
Fire carried by fuses
Of propaganda
The spark is set
By revolutionaries.
It is well timed.
It has a safety switch.
It is well placed.
And it does a lot of damage.

When it explodes
It should speak
Clearly
It should attack
An enemy
Of the people.
An explosion follows
The path of least resistance.
Pry open a contradiction
And shoot the fire through.
Fit the bomb
To the target.
Bombs are one thing
Guns another
There are many ways to fight.
Learn war.
Uncle Ho said
Those with swords will use swords
Those with hoes
Will use hoes in the heroic war.
Create weapons that everyone can use
Materials at the corner store
Build an army and militia
Masses win the war.
Have a party to lead.
Chairman Mao says
An army without culture
Is a dull witted one
The seeds of a new culture
Have been planted on this continent
Harvested by venceremos brigades
Che lives
And inside the monster
Black voices shout of freedom
Youth gathers to celebrate life.
Culture
Is the way you live your life.
Lives
Point the way
The warmth and honesty
For realness
Of being with the ones you love
Non exclusively.
Pushing outward.
Learning from
And teaching
The lives you cross.
Pushing outward
For the way
To change reality
Is to know it
Laughter and joy
Are real
When people
Are fighting together
How does it feel
To be inside
An Explosion?
Was there time
To flash upon
The way we came?
Two women escaped
And are free
To carry on.
Where is Rap Brown?
Weatherman
Cannot be found
Because they're finding
Ways of revolution.
Change a face
Discard a name
No one of us will ever be the same.
Tearing away
At the heart of the monster
Not hiding
But living lives
Of care and confidence
The war expands
As victory comes near
Avenge the Kent State 4.
The campuses
Explode in anger
Don't let them weaken us.

Shut it down.
Four in Ohio
Six in black Augusta
Two at Jackson State
When the black rebellions break
Draw the pigs away
Fight for our freedom
Each time they take a life
Or move on us
Prepare to move on them
Our heroes will be avenged.
They have sucked and spilled
The blood of millions
In taking their lives
The blood of freedom flows
Humanity
Twists and turns
In struggle
Making love
And revolution
We shall gather
In Parks
Named for
The women and the men
Who led the way.
There will be time
To flash upon
The way we came.
Along the way
There will be
Twists and turns
Struggle, love
And revolution.
We shall gather
In homes
Of brothersisterhood
Building Bombs
Of communism.
Diana and Ted and Terry
Dead inside an explosion.
No one of us will ever be the same.
Diana is
A teacher
She loves children
Loves life.
She is gentle
Warm and close
With those she knows
Diana is.
Ted is
A speaker and songwriter
Quick and a little awkward
Loves life.
He is funny
Plays baseball
Laughs and sings
Ted is.
Lovers of Humanity
Human
Flash upon the way they came.
Pig papers ask
Why are the children of America
Making bombs?
Why did these good kids go bad?
They can't understand
But sisters and brothers
We do.
It is because
They were so human
Lovers of Humanity
That they came from childhood
of horror and hope
To black awakening
petition and protest
Massed in resistance
to their whip and wars
Came youth on fire
fighting for freedom
Naming the enemy
embracing our friends
Learning war through war
in the world of revolution.

PONTIAC'S SPEECH TO THE WHITE MAN

Out of the blue sky, out of the waters, out of the woods, out of the deer, the beaver the bush the bird flies, out of my people the blood, out of so many moons in this place a man cannot count them, out of grace with the Great Spirit who gave us this land, you seek to push us.

(At night, in my dreams, already I smell you, I smell your railroads, your sawmills, my mother's hair burning in the forest, I smell these things in my dreams, I see that Chrysler plant you intend over the graves of my people. You cannot fool me! I am the land you seek, I am the supple bowing of the branches, I am the leaves, waving a warning to my young men, I have the strength of all the roots in the forest under me, the fox and the bear and the hawk and the badger have given me their skills, all things and creatures in the forest have given me what is theirs

for I have given them my spirit. I have, since the Great Spirit first placed us here, I have trod with respect and care over this land.

All this! All this! All this! you will have to push out, you white men, you weak pale-faced rum drinking cowards, you who have not been able to manage your own affairs in your own land, you

who come now to desecrate mine. Ahhh, this is your last chance, you bastards, get the fuck out NOW, or forever be food for the wrath of the forest people.

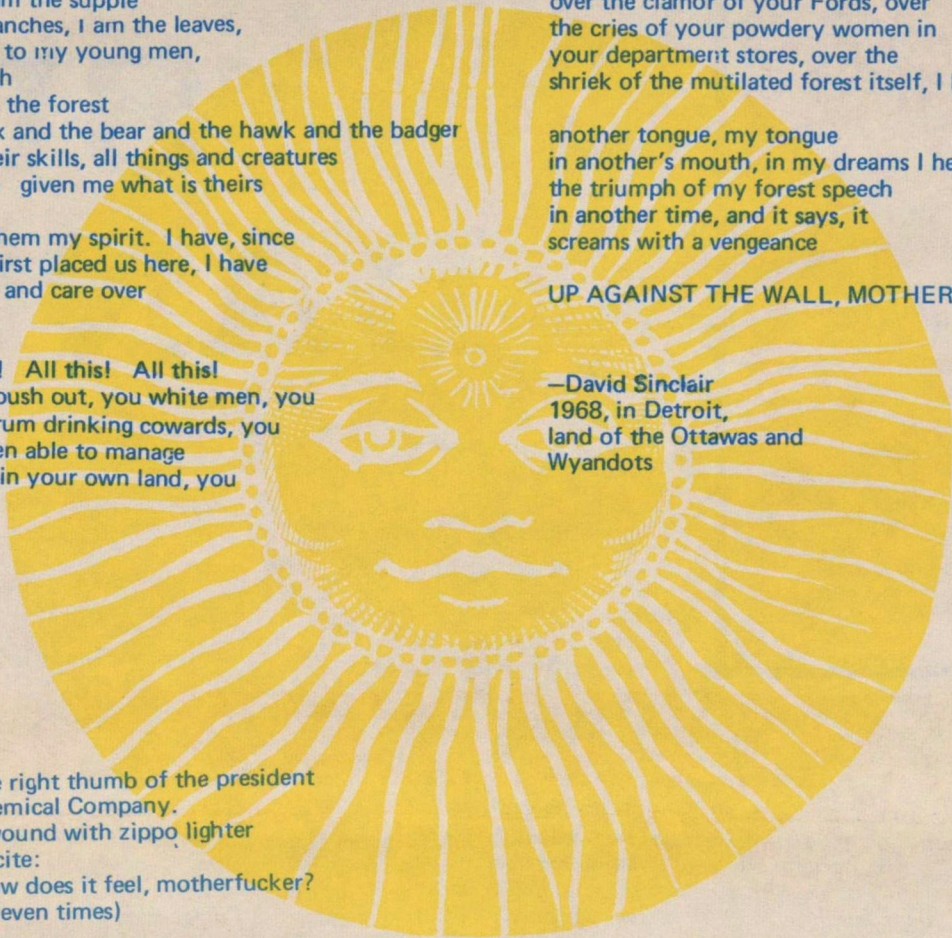
(I know, in my dreams, I know your perverse power, your guns and your driven multitudes of paid and punished warriors, and I know, in my dreams, against you my branches may break, my leaves may be burned, my fur singed and bleeding in the bitter cold of your ways, and my heart bleeds, my roots squirm and heave with these apprehensions,

but I hear, in my dreams I hear over the clamor of your Fords, over the cries of your powdery women in your department stores, over the shriek of the mutilated forest itself, I hear

another tongue, my tongue in another's mouth, in my dreams I hear the triumph of my forest speech in another time, and it says, it screams with a vengeance

UP AGAINST THE WALL, MOTHERFUCKERS!

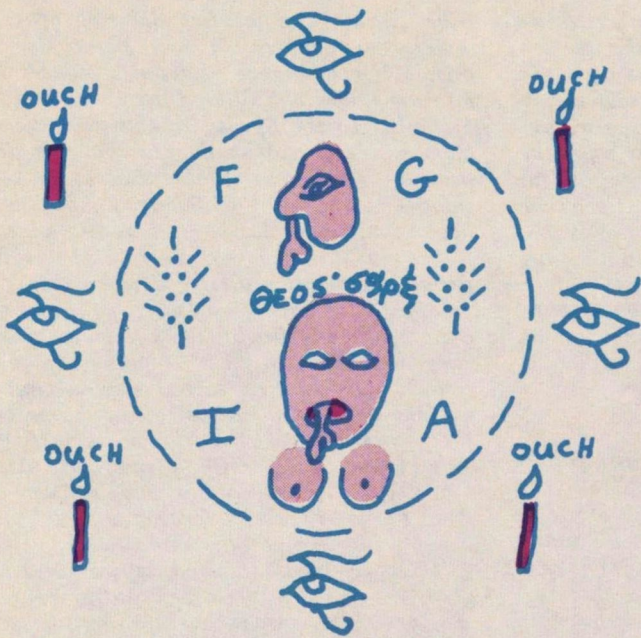
—David Sinclair
1968, in Detroit,
land of the Ottawas and
Wyandots



Remove the right thumb of the president of Dow Chemical Company. Cauterize wound with zippo lighter recite: how does it feel, motherfucker? (eleven times)

Borrow Armadillo from Chicago zoo. Force president of Dow Chemical to suck it off. Feed Armadillo an emetic made of ingredients described at beginning of rite (blood, dope, credentials).

Remove flag from cauldrom & place them on the ground within a consecrated circle as drawn below:



Place the voiding armadillo within the circle, Cover entire surface with shit.

pack all ingredients and implements used in this ritual into 105 MM shell cases and send them by certified mail to the United States secretary of defense, Melvin Laird, a vampire.

—Ed Sanders



Pontiac

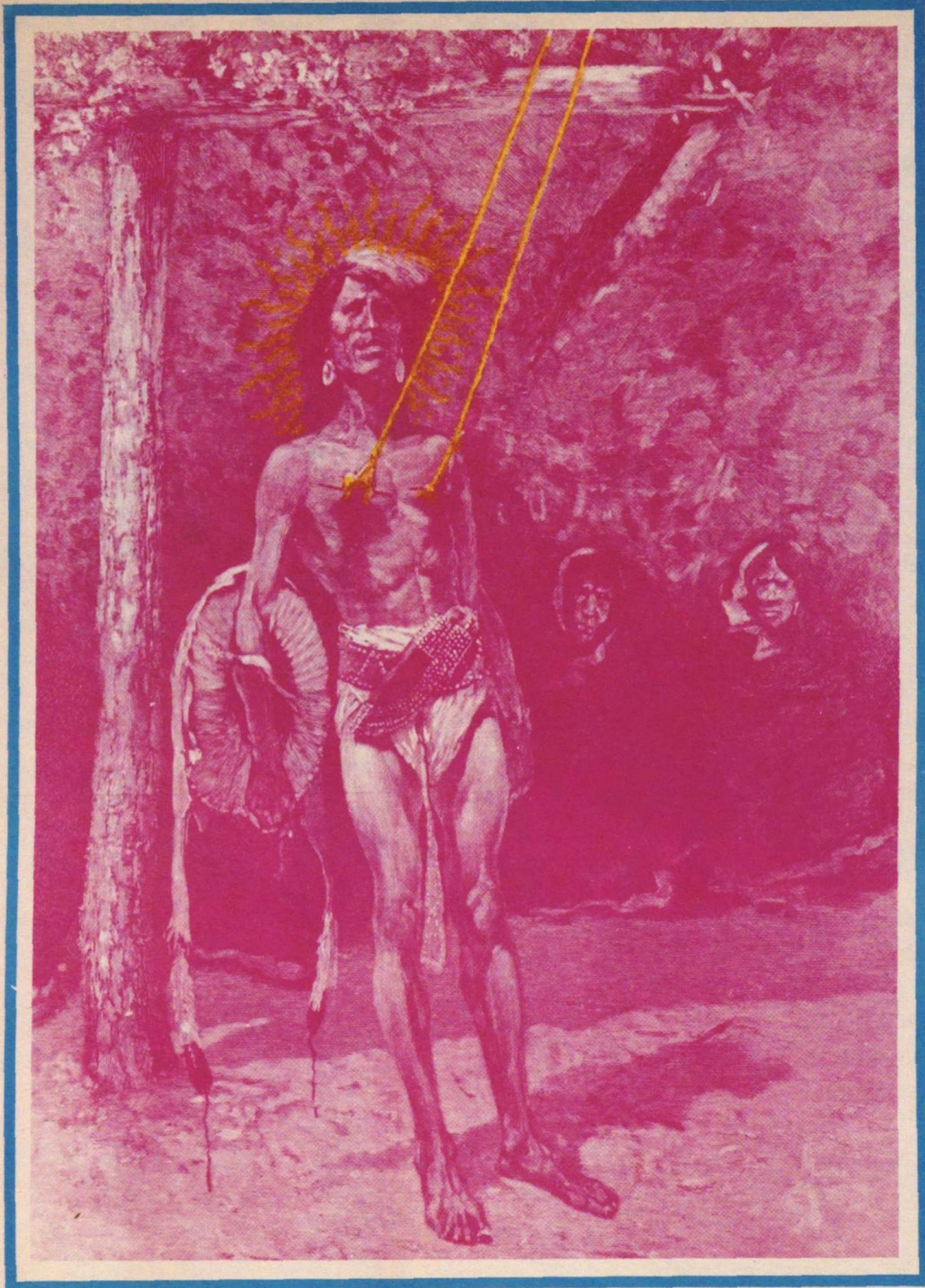
HOLINESS

I took a walk, the other day
Down the tormented streets of my community.
I saw a tree that grew broken wine bottles
I saw a flower that bloomed empty milk cartons
I heard a bird that sang a funeral hymn
I felt contempt for the signs of Spring—
I saw a pig assault an old grandmother
(Honor thy mother and thy father that thy days may be long)
I saw a church with a pepsi cola sign
I heard a deacon say, "I've been saved, sanctified and filled with the Holy Ghost"
And I wonder why I had never seen him in a Panther office.
I saw a wino with his head busted open
I took him to the church and told the deacon to do unto others
The deacon told me I was dirtying the house of the Lord
I wondered if he was an imposter
We left the deacon and went to the hospital
A nurse told us to go and get sober
We left the hospital and went to the office
The Black Panther Office—
Where we found Jesus
He was disguised in nigger clothes
He spoke in the language of the ghetto
He walked like a war counselor for the Disciples
And he cleansed the wounds of those afflicted
Jesus, the Panther, gave food to the hungry
Jesus, the saviour, gave comfort to the weary
Jesus, the merciful, had mercy on the suffering masses
He came again! To bring his message to the world
To set an example of true love for all mankind
To uplift the poor, oppressed masses
He came with a gun and a shield
He used them for the salvation of mankind
He was betrayed time and time again
He was falsely accused at every opportunity
And yet, His people, the lumpen—the field nigger
Never allowed him to be destroyed
They slept at his side, they ate when he ate
When he dropped his gun, They picked it up
They shared his spirit, his will to live
And together they defeated the devil of Humanity
They turned the liars out and opened a new book
This one began: "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace."
Fight on Jesus!



Afeni Shakur (Panther 21)

SPIRIT OF THE SUN DANCE



By MICHAEL ALDRICH

Each year in the Moon of Fattening (June) or the Moon of Cherries Blackening (July), members of the Plains tribes would gather to sacrifice themselves in one of the greatest power mysteries, *wiwanyag wachipi*: The Dance Looking Into the Sun.

Some twenty or more nomad war tribes celebrated it. Of these the Arapahoe (who called it the Offering-Lodge Dance), the Cheyenne, and the Dakota developed what may originally have been simply a manhood test into a complex and sophisticated holy rite* full of spiritual import far beyond its apparent masochistic savagery. The mystery spread over the plains in variant forms, from the Mandans to the Paiutes, and was most widely practiced in the late 19th century, when the U.S. Government attempted to kill it, along with everything else Indian. Its spirit survived in the messianic Ghost Dance; and has revived, with bloody mutilations forbidden, in our own time. At Wind River in summer 1965, Ed Dorn reports, "a Sun Dance was performed for peace in Viet Nam, whatever that means."

Whatever that means. It is of crucial importance that young white people interested in revolutionary reorganization attempt to understand tribal ceremonies, particularly this one, as best we can, for instruction in how to build a new universe/tribe out of the rubble of "civilization" our elders have bequeathed us.

Each tribe had its own myth of the origin of the Dance. Here is the Oglala Dakota ("Souix") version, as told by Black Elk:

"Our people were once camped in a good place, in a circle, of course, and the old men were sitting having a council, when they noticed that one of our men, Kablaya (Spread), had dropped his robe around his waist, and was dancing there all alone with his hand raised towards heaven. The old men thought that perhaps he was crazy, so they sent someone to find out what was the matter; but this man who was sent suddenly dropped his robe down around his waist, too, and started dancing with Kablaya. The old men thought this very strange, and so they all went over to see what could be the matter. Kablaya then explained to them: Long ago, Wakan-Tanka told us how to pray with the sacred pipe, but we have now become lax in our prayers, and our people are losing their strength. But I have just been shown, in a vision, a new way of prayer; in this manner Wakan-Tanka has sent aid to us."

It is always so: one Crazy senses the need for change, has the Vision, begins the Dance, others join him, it becomes the Tribe's. The Sun Dance was usually undertaken in fulfillment of a vow made by an individual man or woman in trouble. "Thus there was at the foundation of the rite a factor, not of tribal

pressure but of personal initiative." The essential movement of the Dance is from this individuality to the collective accumulation of energy for the whole tribe, for the whole universe; the essence of the Dance is this strengthening. The Teton opening prayer of the Sun Dance is:

Grandfather!
A voice I am going to send,
Hear me!
All over the universe
A voice I am going to send,
Hear me,
Grandfather!
I will live!
I have said it.

Yet, as Kablaya is reputed to have told the Oglala, "O Grandfather, Father, Wakan-Tanka, we are about to fulfill Thy will as You have taught us to do in my vision. This we know will be a very sacred way of sending our voices to You. Through this, may our people receive wisdom; may it help us to walk the sacred path with all the Powers of the universe! Our prayer will really be the prayer of all things, for all are really one; all this I have seen in my vision. May the four Powers of the universe help us to do this rite correctly; O Great Spirit, have mercy upon us!"

If we are to gain strength as a revolutionary tribe in the new universe, we must learn to dance gazing into the sun.

I. THE CEREMONY

The Sun Dance is not theatre. It is a trip in which one's own flesh is offered to the universe, and one does not perform it as mere ritual or spectacle. It is serious, it is painful, it is laying one's body and blood on the line between earth and heaven. (The U.S. Amerika Government has reduced the Sun Dance to a mere endurance-dance, weakening it to the point of mere theatre.) In its original form, the trip could not be taken without months of preparation on the part of the tribe. These preparations were the physical accumulation of foodstores and gifts which would be offered in feasting, and the mental accumulation of great nerve and the spirit-centering necessary to offer one's own flesh for the tribal, as well as the personal, good. The ceremony comprises four preparatory days and four Sacred Days, culminating in the Sun Dance proper. The preparatory days are for the assignment of, and instruction in, the roles that various men and women will play: for clarification of the nature of the ceremonies; and for purification of all participants. Those who now to dance choose their leader, officials, marshals; lesser participants such as mothers of children whose ears are to be pierced, children who will join the cottonwood procession, maidens who will attend the dancers, are instructed.

On the third preparatory day, the whole tribe celebrates the Feast of the Buffalo, to represent the tribe's complete dependency on the bison for food, clothing, shelter. Musicians, scouts, tree-bearers, escorts, hole-diggers, and others are instructed in ways that have to do with this ecology; and each dancer consumes an entire buffalo tongue, that he may attain the voice of the creature on which the whole tribe depends; the buffalo is the medium of the ceremony, for the tribe, just as the dancer's own body is the medium of the dance for himself.

On the fourth preparatory day, in most variants, four women are honored by being chosen to fell the tree, while the dancers' maiden-attendants are required to prove their purity under verbal challenge from the tribe. Women could, but did not often, participate directly as dancers; in fact Black Elk says in the original Oglala dance, a woman dancer led the men into the Lodge and offered her entire body, "one piece of flesh," to the Spirit. On this day, the Feast of the Maidens, each woman dances choosing her own male partner. The preparation closes as it began, with a smoke-offering to the departing Sun, and the camp becomes quiet as death. All is ready, expectant, on the verge; no movement through camp is allowed. This period is a tribal centering device to pray for full Sun on the following Sacred Days, for if any of those days is not clear and bright, the ceremony must be held in abeyance. The Sun must be present if one is to dance into it. On the first sacred day, a scout is sent forth to find and mark the cottonwood tree which will be the centerpole. The cottonwood leaf shows a tipi design; and this "rustling tree" as Black Elk says, "represents the way of the people. Does it not stretch from the earth here to heaven there?" The way of the people into the cosmic connection.

On the second sacred day, a party of war-scouts goes out to find the tree; returns to report it; and warriors charge out to capture the tree as if it were an enemy. An extremely honored warrior counts coup on the tree, four respected women fell it, and the designated persons strip the cottonwood of bark and branches up to the fork at the top, above which a panache of foliage is left, amidst war-whoops and the peculiar keening falsetto wail of tense emotion. Men carry the tree into camp, crying like the coyote to give warning that a captive is being brought in, while young braves race and the tribe moves along in joyous procession.

During these two days, the Sun Dance Lodge is erected and a special vigil lodge for the dancers is erected to the east of it; between the two runs the Sun Trail. All three areas are purified, and the dancers thereafter reside in the vigil lodge apart from the tribe. The Sun Dance Lodge itself is a mandala of holiness, not really complete until the pole is erected on the third sacred day; but before that the camp must be

ready, so once again it shuts down completely the night of the second sacred day, holding hidden deep within itself any chaos, licentiousness, or explosive energy. Buffalo-bide images of a buffalo and a man, tied to the tree, symbolizes this energy.

On the third sacred day, the tree-hole is dug and purified, and in it beneath the tree is placed a bag of fat:

"O Grandfather, Wakan-Tanka, behold this sacred fat, upon which this sacred tree-person will stand; may the earth always be as fat and fruitful as this.

"O tree, this is a sacred day for you and for all our people; the earth within this hoop (lodge) belongs to you, O tree, and it is here underneath you that I shall offer up my body and soul for the sake of the people..." Bundles of sweetgrass, sage, and shed buffalo hair are also tied onto the tree-person, and a red Sun Banner is placed at the summit in the foilage remaining.

With much cheering and many shrill tremulos, the tree leading from heaven to earth is raised, very slowly, with four distinct pauses, and songs are sung to the beating drums:

At the center of the Earth
Stand looking around you!
Recognizing the tribe
Stand looking around

Now the Sun Dance lodge is completed by putting twenty-eight forked sticks in a large circle, with twenty-eight more sticks from the fork of each running to the centerpole. The entrance is at the east, from which the Sun enters along the Sun Trail. There is no roof, of course, but protective shady boughs are stacked around the walls outside the Lodge.

At the center of the earth, Black Elk explains: "In setting up the sun dance lodge, we are really making the universe in a likeness; for, you see, each of the posts around the lodge represents some particular object of creation, so that the whole circle is the entire creation, and the one tree at the center, upon which the twenty-eight poles rest, is Wakan-Tanka, who is the center of everything. Everything comes from Him, and sooner or later everything returns to Him."

Divisions of four, in American Indian as in so many other mythologies, are magically significant of the four winds inhabiting the space between earth and heaven; the sun-pole, reaching up and down, completes the six directions. Twenty-eight (4 x 7) poles are used because "the moon lives 28 days" (the ceremony is always conducted at the time of the full moon), the buffalo has 28 ribs, war-bonnets have 28 feathers, and 28 things have special significance in Dakota religion. Thus, in all dimensions of space and time, the Sun Dance Lodge is the universe; a quaternary mandala (as are, for instance, most Tibetan mandalas), centered on the tree running from Grandmother earth to Grandfather sky and the Sun. To attach oneself to the pole is to connect directly with the whole universe. The dancers make this connection for the tribe and thereby strengthen it.

At this point all hell breaks loose. Men and women run amok in a sexual frenzy, laughing, dancing, screaming bawdy jokes at each other, taunting, going crazy! This libido-loosening goes on until the best warriors of the tribe are summoned by the dance leader, dance a war dance, and shoot the hide images of buffalo and human off the centerpole. The images of brutality, chaos, antagonistic energy, and indecency are trampled underfoot, thus expelling licentious spirits from the tribe and purifying the site so that the sacred altar, made of earth, mica, tobacco, and eagle-down, may be set up along with the sacred pipe, its stem aimed upwards, and the drums and rattles of the musicians. Then the people—all except the dancers and their mentors—close the day with a quiet feast, ready for the climax the next day.

But for the dancers, this is the crucial night. The leader and mentors explain the secret purposes of the Dance, revealing its significance, going over the sacred songs and legends in infinite detail.

"Very soon I shall suffer and endure great pain with my relatives here, in behalf of my people. In tears and suffering I shall hold my pipe and raise my voice to You, O Wakan-Tanka. I shall offer up my body and soul that my people may live. In sending my voice to you, Wakan-Tanka, I shall use that which connects the four Powers, Heaven, and Earth, to You. All that which moves on the universe—the four-leggeds, the insects, and the wingeds—all rejoice and help me and all my people!"

The Sun, the Light of the world,
I hear Him coming.
I see His face as He comes.
He makes the beings on earth happy,
And they rejoice.
O Wakan-Tanka, I offer to You
This world of light.

An elaborate Inipi (steam-bath) purification of all the dancers is made. This so purifies their flesh that it is taboo not only to others in the tribe, but even to themselves; they may not touch themselves, if they itch they must scratch with a stick, and when they paint themselves they must daub with sticks rather than their fingers.

"When we go to the center of the hoop we shall all cry, for we should know that anything born into this world which you see about you must suffer and bear difficulties. We are now going to suffer at the center of the sacred hoop, and by doing this may we take upon ourselves much of the suffering of our people."

Each dancer then declares which of the several
see page 27

Running Dog Speaks

By CRAIG PYES

Running Dog Speaks: My people were a proud people and they roamed freely over all the Americas, making a nation strong and brave. They lived in tribes and communes, they could tell the movements of the planets and the flights of the stars, they could read the future in the flights of birds, and decipher the convoluted entrails of dead animals. This and more could my people do—before the white man came. My people were a decorous people, wearing beads and brightly coloured garments, colours on their faces, existing in a jumble of symbols and glyphs and signs, taking rare herbs and medicines from the earth which made them see great visions and made them feel great things, and made them langorous and phlegmatic. This and more could my people do—before the white man came.

But when the white man came my people were extinguished, like the wet promises of the white eyes thrown over the fires of our camps. Not one treaty did they hold, not one promise did they keep. The white man lies! Even today the Great White Father talks, and not one word is truth.

But long ago we did not understand this, and we believed them. And for believing them, our land was taken from us, and our best warriors slain, our seed was plundered and our lives salted; the spirit of revolt faded out slowly like the fires of our camps. But in the small and fragmented hopes of our people, a myth was woven, and told generation to generation. It said that a new nation will rise up out of the earth from the grave of the old, and reconquer the earth, and reconstitute it for our people. And so it will be.

PAPER TIGER SPEAKS ON GENOCIDE:

I am older than Running Dog and have gone to the schools the white eyes have built for me and our people, and for them and their people, and have learned to read the stories of othenations and other races and other people. I have learned not only do the

white eyes speak with a forked tongue to us and among themselves, but their schools teach lies and inculcate their young braves with perfidy. Often in the history of the white eyes have their young braves died nobly for bad causes. Their history is one of struggle, of truth being pummeled by falsity.

They call America the Melting Pot, but the metals do not run together, people of different clays do not fuse into one great people. It is the tradition of the Melting Pot, that the People of the Red Clays, and the People of the Yellow Clays, and the People of the Black and Brown Clays do not melt with the People of Clay Without Colour. The People of the Clay Without Colour are against Melting and they are against Pot.

But we must make useful distinctions! It is not the People of the Clay Without Colour but their Chiefs who will it so. The People say, "It cannot happen here", and this they believe. But across the Big Water six million people who would not melt were murdered, and then melted in the crematoria to make soap. The people who would not melt were called "Dirty Jews"; their murderers cleaned themselves from soap made of Dirty Jews.

The people who would not melt had a movement going to get land of their own. It is partly from this movement, and from another movement with humanitarian purposes, called EUTHANASIA, a gentle killing by gas of the old, the weak, and the infirm (mercy killings), that the seeds of their most horrible death were sown. The world calls this not "Genocide." The white eyes are blind to it because to them it is doing good.

Genocide is now being committed against the heroic people of the yellow eyes in Vietnam and Laos. In the northern reservations of Laos, those who are left, are forced to live by day in caves, and farm their fields by night. In Vietnam, more bombs have been dropped than all the bombs dropped on Europe and Asia in the Second World War, and on Korea in that war. There are not crematoria in Vietnam, but napalm makes whole villages crematoria, and wherever else it strikes.

When the white man moved against the people of the Red Clays, it cost him 1 million dollars for every Indian he killed; today he is more sophisticated and has more and better weapons. It cost the white man only \$500,000 for every Viet Cong he kills... Only \$500,000—half as much, after one hundred years of unbridled technology.

The ways of the white eyes are not mysterious, nor are they strange. But they are devious ways. They promise anything with the left hand, while the right hand kills with evil spirits and bad medicines, with blankets they say are to keep us warm, but are swarming with invisible colonies of smallpox, cholera, influenza, and measles; with showers they say are to keep us clean, but pour forth vile, noxious gases that choke and strangle us; with lands they say are to keep us fed, but blister, open, and devour us.

Such are the ways of the white man. They attack sleeping villages, and kill men, women, children, level the houses, kill the horses, destroy our clothing and foolstuffs. Remember the massacre at Sand Creek? at

Washita River? at Wounded Knee? at Lydice at My Lai?

RUNNING DOG CONTINUES:

Paper Tiger is older and wiser than I, and has made some interesting points. He has pointed out that genocide ispreceededby an emigration or concentration of a race into a fixed geographical boundry, a desire of oppressed peoples, and equally out of a desire for merciful elimination on the part of the oppressors. Any problem (such as the Race Question) can be eliminated either through finding an answer to the problem, or eliminating the problem entirely. The first method offers a rational solution; the other method is a 'final solution', where everything is permissible.

In 1830 Congress signed the Indian Removal Act, which legalized the taking of our land (that which was not already claimed by the so-called 'Right of Discovery') in the East, and started the five nations of the South on the Trail of Tears. It is defined in your book of definitions, that "rape" is "to take by force". Since before you came we have called the land our Mother. We could not sell you our Mother. Since you took her by force, polluted her rivers, striped her of her virginal forests, and desecrated her valleys..To us, white man, "for as long as the grass shall grow and the water run", you will be a Motherfucker.

The People of the Red Clays were moved into the Great American Desert; and a hundred treaties made and a hundred treaties broken. Each time the land allotment grew smaller and smaller, until the great nations of our people were reduced to helplessness on small islands of desperation. In six years, from 1871-77, the great white hunters killed 10 million buffalo, and we no longer could hunt and live in the way of our fathers.

At the time of the Nuremberg Laws (1935) a policy of forced emigration went into effect covering the Jews. After confiscating their lands and taking their possessions, the Nazis tried to move them to a Jewish State in Poland. This was a Jewish Removal Act. In America, each state tried to be first to free itself of its Indians; in Europe, each territory tried to be first free of its Jews (JUDENREIN).

It took over 60 years to disenfranchise and murder the Indians. In Germany, which had no prior history of genocide, it took less than 12 years to murder the Jews. Not the policy of extinction is acceptable foreign policy of America. They have not learned. Not only in S.E. Asia, but the CIA sponsored slaughter of 500,000 Indonesian Communist of Chinese descent in Indonesia, and the slaughter of Cambodians of Vietnamese descent in Cambodia.

Now the greatest threat of all is to the People of the Black Clays. They are the most vulneralbe, say the elders, because their reservations are in the middle of the cities. If it took 12 years to kill the Jews, it will take less to kill the Blacks. They stand out like spots on a leopard, the elders say.

The People of the Clay Without Colour say that it can't happen here. But the graves of my people stain the earth like wounds in their mother's flesh. I caution you to remember, good people, that it HAS happened here.

MOURNING DOVE SPEAKS ON THE SYSTEM:

I am the sister of Running Dog, I am not his blood sister but he sleeps with me and I with him, and I have helped him come a long way.

Before the enlightenment, I grew up a colonized squaw, and learned the ways of discretion and intrigue that were once a woman's province. Because of this, I can see deception yelping like bitches in the white eyes' white lies, and hear it bark in the chambers of their black hearts.

Historically it is not true that evil manifests itself absolutely; that my people were killed and the rest of the country stayed quiet or sullen. As far as what the people could see, every effort was made to protect the Indian; as far as what the people could NOT see, the covert and insistant use of violence was for our destruction. In Germany, the people were largely ignorant and indifferent to what happened, because they could not or would not see. And when agencies demanded to investigate, they were shown only the model camps. In the ghettos, every citizen could be killed one day, and the only way the white eyes would know, or suspect, is when their domestics did not show up to clean their houses, and sweep their streets. And in the metropolitan states, the struggle was being waged against the same enemy: international finance capital under its external and internal forms of exploitation, imperialism and capitalism.

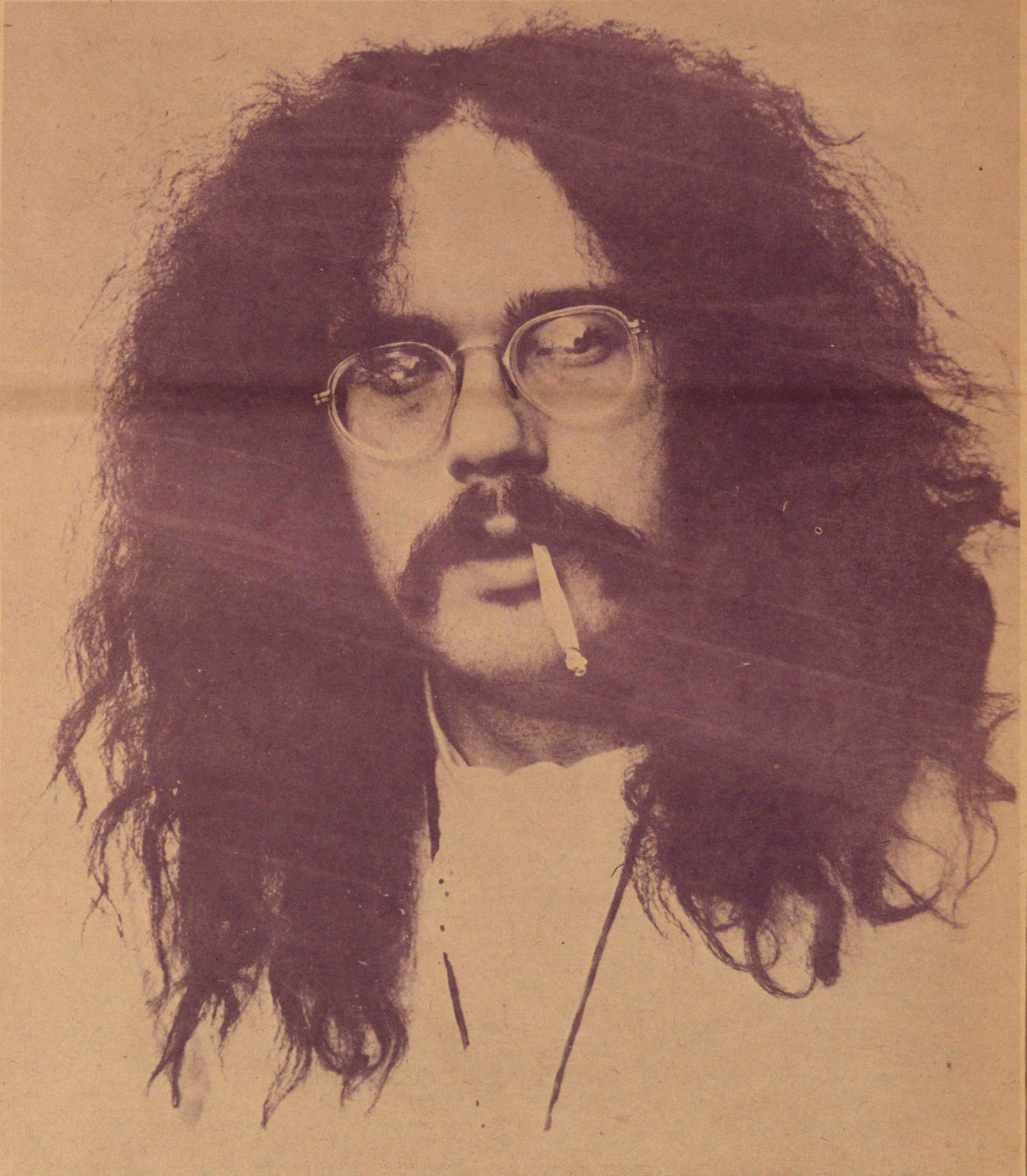
During the long, undeclared war against my people, the white eyes in the East were sympathetic to our plight and protested at the news of each new massacre. And when their army was defeated at Ft. Kearny, even then a wave of sympathy swelled their hearts. Their chiefs issued a report, which rather than

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MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF WOODSTOCK NATION

JOHN SINCLAIR

CHAIRMAN, WHITE PANTHER PARTY



"The only way to support a revolution is to make your own." —Abbie Hoffman, WOODSTOCK NATION.

Brothers & Sisters:

It is time for us to realize a number of very important things. We are a people, we recognize each other as brothers and sisters united in a common struggle for freedom, for our survival, and we recognize each other because we share a common culture. We do the same things, we live the same way, we listen to the same music, smoke the same sacraments, we are united by our age, our common values, our common life-style. We want the same things—freedom, self-determination, peace, justice and equality for all people. This is not to say there are not differences among us—the beauty of our common culture is that it has room for all our different expressions and manifestations of freedom—but that despite our beautiful differences, despite the beautiful diversity of our culture, we are all united in our desire to be free, to make a better world, and to make that freedom available to all the people in the world.

We are united in our opposition to the war in Vietnam—to all wars—because it is our brothers who are sent to die, because it is our brothers who are sent to kill our Vietnamese brothers and sisters in our name, to keep them from determining their own destiny; we are united in our opposition to racism in Amerika, to the oppression and actual slaughter of our black brothers and sisters in the black colony of the mother country here in Amerika; and we are united in our opposition to the plastic consumer culture which keeps not only our selves and our brothers and sisters oppressed, but which also keeps our mothers and fathers and aunts and uncles oppressed by chaining them to stupid jobs and worthless plastic products, which keeps all people oppressed by eating up all the natural and human resources on the planet and spitting them back in the form of nuclear armaments, pollution, millions of ugly polluting automobiles, ugly plastic THINGS to buy and consume, ugly plastic buildings and housing developments, ugly repressive schools and jails and prisons, a whole ugly plastic death-culture which is set up to perpetuate itself not only in Amerika but throughout the world. We are united in our opposition to these things, but what is more important is that we are united in our POSITIVE commitment to change this obsolete social order and to build a beautiful alternative culture, a whole new social order, which we know will soon replace the death-culture altogether.

Our ranks have been growing and spreading out all over the planet, and especially throughout the mother country, Amerika, and the highly industrial westernized countries of Europe, the USSR, and Japan. Now there are MILLIONS of united in our day-to-day activities, in our common culture, in our common yet diverse expressions of individual freedom. Each day there are more of us, because each day more and more people see and FEEL the hopelessness and futility of trying to live within the confines of the death culture. We can't stand it, more and more of us each day can't STAND it anymore, and we move out of the death culture to build a new life, a new life-style, a new people and a new social order which will be given shape by our common visions of freedom, justice and equality for all people.

There are millions of us, but until now we haven't fully realized our strength because we have most of us been primarily concerned with our INDIVIDUAL freedom, our freedom as individuals in the West, and we haven't been really aware of the need for our freedom AS A PEOPLE. We have given too much attention to our individual selves, which is right on, but we have to go beyond individualism and start thinking about the freedom of ourselves as a people, as a vast nation of free brothers and sisters who unite themselves in a struggle for COLLECTIVE freedom and self-determination. We have let ourselves be separated out from each other by the forces of competition, capitalism and consumption, and we have not realized that we ourselves, as individuals, can only be free when ALL the people are free—and not just all the people of our culture, but all the people in the world. We have to realize that if people are being oppressed in Vietnam, or in the Black colony in Amerika, or if our brothers and sisters somewhere in the youth colony are being oppressed, then we can't possibly be free. If we think we're free while this oppression is going on, then we're just being used as a tool of oppression by the people who are doing the oppressing. Dig it. Eldridge Cleaver put it plainest when he said, you're either part of the problem or you're part of the solution, one or the other, and we have to relate to that. We

have to relate to that, and we have to move from there to become the solution itself.

There are millions of us, we are a people, and as we unite we will become a powerful force for liberation of all the people on earth. But we have to get ourselves together, we have to unite or to join together, come together, emerge together as a powerful new political and social force. We are already a powerful cultural force, but it has to be more than that—or our culture won't be able to survive. We have to develop POWER for our people, so we will be able to determine our own national destiny AS A PEOPLE. And in order to do that, we have to build our strength and realize our strength and deal from our strength, and start moving to make our strength felt in the camp of the oppressor, in the camp of the "ownership" clique which controls the mother country, and through it the people of the world.

We have been doing it all wrong. We have been asking and begging the established order for our freedom, and for the freedom of the people everywhere on earth. We have been asking for freedom as a favor from these people and we have failed to realize that freedom is won by the people through struggle, it is not bestowed on anyone as a favor.

We have been asking and pleading and begging long enough, we have marched and demonstrated and chanted and prayed and gone to jail, but things have just gotten worse instead of better. The politicians of the established order don't listen, they just spout off more and more sadistic invective—they call us bums, they call us ideological criminals who should all be in the penitentiary like I am, they tell us when their troops massacre our brothers and sisters that we asked for it, they call for more repression and more subjection to the whims, they spread vicious lies about us through their mass media, they do everything but listen to what we are trying to tell them, to save them as well as ourselves. Or if they listen, if they listen to us they just tell us that we have to work "through the system", that we have to cut off our hair and wear dogcollars and monkey suits and go out and try to get people to vote for impotent creeps like Eugene McCarthy or opportunistic "peace" manipulators

like Sam Brown, people who are committed to the death culture but just want the man in the driver's seat. And we can't go for that, because we know that the whole death culture has to be abolished, that the whole consumer/war economy has to be demolished, that a whole new social order has to be built up based on the needs of the people, based on all power to the people, and not all power to the "owners". We know what has to be done, and we can't settle for any less. And we have to realize that we are not going to get what we have to have—our freedom, the freedom of our people and of all peoples of the earth—we are not going to get our freedom by begging our oppressors for it.

They are not listening to us, and as long as we keep begging them for things they are going to keep treating us like beggars, throwing us a few scraps once in a while and laughing at us like they do for being so pathetic. If we are good, they tell us we might get to vote one day, those of us who are over 18, we might get a so-called voice in the bourgeois political system—although we know that the people who vote NOW don't have any "voice" in the way things are run. If we are good we might get to have our sacraments legalized, or at least made less "illegal", so we don't have to go to prison for 9½ - 10 years for getting high. If we're good and cut our hair and don't get out of line we might get to see the war in Asia end in five or ten years, we might get to see the United States troops—our brothers—reduced to only 300,000 men in combat a year from now. That's what they tell us when we say we want the war ended, and the repression and terror stopped, and power put in the hands of the people so we can determine our own destinies. And we will only get those things that they offer us IF we keep begging.

We have to realize that we have to change the terms of the so-called dialogue we are trying to carry on with the established authorities. As long as we put ourselves in the position of beggars, we will be treated as beggars. As long as we continue to address ourselves as supplicants to the almighty power structure which rules Amerika, we will be treated as lepers and beggars and will be spat upon and reviled more than we will be satisfied. As long as we keep asking the authorities just to give peace a chance, just to let it be, just to please give us what we want, we will be entirely at their mercy. And it should be apparent to us by now that mercy is one thing they have very little of. Mercy and justice.

There is a saying of Huey P. Newton's that I keep repeating, but I will repeat it once more here because it is very important for all of us to understand these words of wisdom laid out by the Minister of Defense. Huey said, "Power is the ability to DEFINE phenomena, and make them act in the desired manner." Now I always emphasize that one word, DEFINE, because that is the key to power. We will not have any power for our people and our culture until we start to define things for ourselves, in our own terms and put the dialogue in our own language, with our own definitions foremost in our rap. Because when the established order says "peace", they mean only that no shots are fired, that the forces of imperialism, or international "law and order", are in control and there is no open threat to their rule. When they say "freedom," they mean the freedom for

a tiny minority group of "owners" to exploit and manipulate the masses of the people in furthering the interests of the "ownership" clique. When they say "justice" they mean "just-us", when they say "law and order" they mean keeping the people in line through massive police repression and murder and, failing that, through kangaroo court "trials" and ridiculous prison sentences from which all appeals are denied and appeal bonds are not allowed. When they talk about "equality" they mean that people are permitted equal access to consumer products if they can get the money to buy things with, or at best they mean that all people are equally able to be enslaved in the factories and armies and offices and schools and jails under the control of the "ownership" gang. And when they say "culture", they mean honkie operas and phony books and films and wierd museums and low-energy death concerts, they mean debutante parties and country-club consciousness and the Daughters of the Amerikan Revolution, who actually represent the purest form of COUNTER-revolution, and the cosmetics counter at that.

But we can't accept these definitions, because this isn't what we mean when we talk about peace and freedom and equality and justice and the people's culture. When we say peace we mean PEACE, people being at peace with themselves and with each other, recognizing the humanity of all people and the sovereignty of all peoples and the need for all people to determine their own destiny without fear of military terrorism and warfare and harsh economic reprisals directed against them. When we say freedom we mean again, the freedom for all people to determine their own highest destinies in peace. We mean the freedom of all peoples to develop themselves and their cultures along the highest and most human lines possible, so that each person on earth will be able to reap the fruits of his or her own labor. We mean the free exchange of energies and materials, free access to all information media and to all technology for all the people, a free educational system that will teach each man, woman and child on earth exactly what each needs to know to survive and grow into his or her full human potential. We mean free structure, free land and buildings for all people to use in their own best interests and in the interests of the people as a whole. We mean freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, freedom from unjust military conscription (impressment for other purposes than defending the people's homeland from invasion), freedom for all political prisoners (and under the present system ALL prisoners are political prisoners, since their crimes derive from the oppressive economic conditions in Amerika, and their punishments from the oppressive police, courts and corrections departments of the various states and the federal government). To sum up, we mean free land, free food, free shelter, free clothing, free music, free medical care, free education, free media, free technology, free time and space, everything free for every body!

What is beautiful about right now is that this kind of freedom is now available for all people on earth—but the people will not have this freedom UNTIL we wrest control of the world's resources and materials and means of production from the hands of the

"ownership" clique, until we dismantle the consumer-war economy and establish the free economic system we need, until we create and nurture and use the political power we need to bring these changes about. And the only way we can do that is by starting from where we are right now and moving for change clearly and directly. And the first thing, the first step to power for the people, is to start re-defining reality in our own terms, in our own terms, in our own terms when you bring about the desired result—Freedom.

So far, we've been so far from being directed AGAINST the established order—we have accepted its definition of reality, for the sake of our parents and ourselves—by moving to challenge its control of reality, but in its own terms. In other words, we have been fighting on the enemy's soil, we have let the established authority set the terms of the struggle, and we have responded to its actions by REACTING against it. It is now time for us to change the whole mode of engagement, to bring the battle to our own territory, time to reject the terms of the established power completely and to advance our own terms so we will be able to determine the outcome of the struggle. For only by defining things in a wholly new way will we be able to create real people's power. Only by defining the terms of our struggle will we be able to fight our way to victory on our own territory. As long as we permit the established authority to define the struggle for us, we also permit that authority to define the outcome. It's like if somebody asks you the wrong question, you can't give him the right answer, you can't say what I mean? The question determines the answer. The correct statement of a problem CONTAINS the solution to the problem. That's what Huey was talking about when he said that "power is the ability to DEFINE phenomena [things] and make them act in a desired manner"; that's what he meant, and we have to be clear on that.

We know what we want, but when we hear the established order's established order through its mass media we know that they have not our minds and hearts to their own twisted language. What we have to do is to speak against them all together and start speaking entirely for ourselves. Under no circumstances are all the people ready yet for talking about. We know that the established order knows what we want, just as we do, but it has purposely and consistently misrepresented our movement, our culture and our people not only to the masses of the people of the mother country, but also to our own people. We don't know who we are because we get our information on ourselves from the pig. We are unsure of ourselves, we are unsure of our numbers, we are unsure of our strength, and we are unsure because we are subjected to countless lies about ourselves and our people in the mass media, which are precisely controlled by the established order. And if you can't relate to that, just take a look at the Boards of Directors for CBS, NBC, ABC, the newspaper trusts, and you will see that these few interlocking people, who are also common members of a cult cultural group, not only control the mass media but they also control with their in-laws and classmates and cronies, they also control the major means of power in the mother country—the government, the CIA, the schools and colleges and universities, the industrial corporations like GM, Ford, Chrysler, ITT, Standard Oil, United Fruit, etc. and the banks and securities companies. This is not just a paranoid fantasy—check it out for yourself. Just at that we can see why and how the people control the information about our movement and our people in the culture, which is broadcast back into our lives and into the lives of the people of the mother country. The established order doesn't want us to know our strength, it doesn't want us to know truth about ourselves, it doesn't want us to know the once and for all truth about our images of our people, it doesn't want us to know in our own terms then the only way we have power or control, is to start.

So we have to do the major task as setting control of our own

image, as starting to define our movement in our own terms. WE can control it, so WE can finally control or determine our own destinies, so we can have power over our own lives. This has to be our first and major task, and what is beautiful about it is that IT IS SOMETHING WE CAN DO ON OUR OWN, without having to depend on the established order to help us do it. Because they aren't going to help us anyway, no matter how much we might beg them to, and now we don't even have to bother with them except to defend ourselves against them. WE can do it ourselves. And that's what we define and choose to do for images of our strength and people when we will have taken a long step down the road to freedom and liberation. It will be just a first step, but a long one, and defining a step in the right direction.

How do we do this? We start out by saying that WE ARE A PEOPLE. We are a people, so we are people? No, we are people because we share a common culture. We share a common CULTURE. We share a common CULTURE. We share a common CULTURE. So we take it to the streets and we say, WE ARE A PEOPLE. WE ARE A NATION! We are a people because we are a people, and we are a people because we share a common culture. We are a people, and we have been a colonized people, an oppressed people, we have been a people with no control over our destiny, we have not enjoyed the ownership of the means of production of goods and services used by our people. We have been subjected to colonial oppression in which all the profits of the mother country have been taken down into our colony, we have had our human and natural resources—our energy, metals, because we don't own any of the land and water of the land we live on and have taken these resources and used them and refined them in the mother country and have then come back down into our colony and sold these things to us, sold these products of our labor back to us at exorbitant prices with all the "profits" going to the owners and not to our people. If we get any share of the land, our energy and labor has generally then we are trained and pushed by the "owners" to squander our health on their products, their plastic junk, their cigarettes, their entertainments which may use to keep us from thinking about. We are kept and used to squander our health, what we would have allowed instead of doing it in the interest of our people to get their health and get them active in the liberation.

So we define ourselves as a colonial people, and our objective situation defines us as a colonized people even though that is something which seems silly. We are colonized people, and some of us are being checked out of our future. We are pushed into the mother country by its forces and are under threat of imprisonment or death. From the wars of the mother country "owners" and their class allies in other western countries. Right? We are not permitted to vote or to take part otherwise in the mother country political process, those of us who are not yet "old enough", and those of us who do "get to vote" don't have any say in the election of our candidates for public office since the bourgeois political process is controlled by small cliques of professionals who do not function in the people's interest. We don't have an effective voice in the government so we can't do anything legally about what we are fighting on, where our taxes go, our pig taxes, and those of us under forty-one years of age are subjected to what our forefathers called "education without representation." And the rest of us don't have any respect for the government either, so effectively all of us are denied representation for our liberation.

We are conscripted into the training and brainwash centers of the mother country—the schools—and all of us are forced under a pain of imprisonment, task and brother or sister who's been in a "juvenile home" or "detention home" (if that isn't a prison!) to stay enrolled in those centers until we are sixteen, until we have been thoroughly pumped full of their poison. A lot of us now just spend even

more years in the schools, until we're eighteen or twenty-one or even older.

I know I was twenty-five myself before I got hip to it, and by then I was already in jail for getting high. But prison is just a more severe form of the same thing anyway. And all of us know what the schools are because all of us, without exception, are forced to go to school for a long time, and all of us know what that's all about.

We are forced to accept the ugly death culture of the mother country under pain of imprisonment or death; if we try to say anything about it, how much it is, we are beaten or arrested and jailed by the mother country's troops. Or else we get away, but we still have to worry about getting beat up or arrested or locked up, because we know that's what's happening to our brothers and sisters, and we're bound to be next. Or we might get shot down for trying to demonstrate against the death culture, we've seen our brothers and sisters gunned down by the mother country troops just for being on campus, walking across the campus to class, or carrying a sign saying end the war in Cambodia, or for calling the troops names fitting their functions. Some of us were carrying and throwing rocks maybe, but not the ones who got shot down. They weren't doing anything. Dig it. And if we try to build an alternative to the death culture, if we try to create a new social and cultural expression of our visions and feelings, it's even worse.

But the point is that we are a colonial people, subjected to the classical method of colonization by the "ownership" clique in the mother country. That's where we have to go. And we may have the highest so-called "standard of living" of any oppressed colonized people in history, but this "standard of living" is ours only as long as we toe the line, only so long as we accept the terms of the death merchants, which are completely unacceptable to us. We know that this "standard of living" which includes the colonization and exploitation of millions of other people throughout the world, slave people and poor workers in the mother country, Third World people, Africa, Asia, and Latin and South America, who are extremely oppressed and colonized—and we reject it because of that condition too. Besides, having had access to the so-called fruits of the death culture, we know how worthless LESS they really are. This is one advantage we have over other oppressed, colonized peoples, many of whom are still striving to attain the privileges and material well-being, or so-called well-being, which we have had and are now rejecting as worthless.

We have had advanced "educational" opportunities and know what that means, we have had material possessions and products (or our parents have had them, and pressed them on us), we have had what the mother country politicians call "freedom" and we know how phony that whole thing is too. We had it, and we've rejected it, and we will keep on rejecting it until all the people can have the same advantages that we have, and until the death culture is junked and the life culture is created to take its place. Because we know, finally, we know that no matter what these "owners" and parents and government officials say, we are not free, and we will not be free, until ALL the people are free, and people will not be free until they enjoy all the conditions of freedom.

We are a people, we are a Nation, we have been oppressed and we are still oppressed, but we have started to move for our freedom, we have started to move for self-determination, we have taken up the struggle for national liberation of our people, of the Youth Nation, and we are prepared to take the station of a free and independent nation among the powers of the earth. We are making our revolution now, and we know that as Che said, "Every people that frees itself is a step won in the battle for the freedom of all people." We are people of the Youth Nation, and our people are the youth of the post-industrial western world, and in the wider sense our people are finally, all the people on earth. We will contribute to the international liberation struggle by coming out for—and winning—the

liberation of our own Nation.

There is another distinctive characteristic of our Nation, and that is that the mother country depends upon our subservience much more than it depends on the subservience of any other colonized people. We are the expected heirs and successors of the mother country "ownership" class, and we are the heirs and successors of the mother country's working and management class. If the mother country's social/economic order is to survive, we have to be forced or persuaded to step into the shoes of our fathers and mothers. There are no replacements for us. If we refuse to toe the line, if we refuse to step into the roles we are expected to play in the mother country system, then that system must collapse. Check it out. It will collapse without us. That is why our secession is so important, above and beyond the fact that we must have our freedom, because we are indispensable to the economy of the mother country, we are indispensable, they have to have us as workers and as consumers. If they don't have us, their system crumbles. No other colony has enjoyed this great distinction, although with the contemporary form of economic imperialism which is necessary for the survival of international capitalism, all colonial peoples are necessary as MARKETS—not as peoples with their own beautifully unique cultures and civilizations—for the consumer economy. The "owners" can't afford to let peoples who reject consumerism decide and determine their own destinies, since all peoples will decide to follow the highest and most beautiful path when they have the free choice to do so, and consumerism is just the opposite of that. Consumerism is ugly and degrading, and it has been forced on us and on other peoples all around the world—we have had a chance to decide whether we would live merely as consumers or not, and we will not have that choice until we free ourselves from the grip of the consumer death culture. And they will fight relentlessly to keep that grip on the people, but the people will finally emerge victorious, just as the Vietnamese people are winning their victory against the same death-culture.

We have to realize that the war is being carried on with such tenacity by the death merchants against the heroic Vietnamese people because the death merchants know that Vietnam and its people will not choose the consumer culture for themselves unless they are forced to. Southeast Asia is seen by the death merchants as the next big target area for the consumer society—imperialism has to keep expanding its markets in order to survive, that is an iron law of economics—and if the Vietnamese people are allowed to reject the capitalist economic system and the consumer-death culture it has spawned and upon which it depends now totally, their example will be followed by all the people of Asia, and all colonized people of the earth.

Our colony, our rising youth Nation, was the first testing ground for all-out consumerism, and we have begun to reject and to destroy the consumer culture. Our culture, in its purest and highest manifestations, is an ANTI-CONSUMER culture first of all. We don't want to sit back and consume all the junk we are supposed to take in. We know that our lives are more important, that our energies are deserving of higher and more beautiful possibilities than consumerism. We want to take part in the world we live in, we want to INVOLVE ourselves in our world and shape it along the high-energy lines of our people's revolutionary culture—creative, beautiful, high-charged lines. We want our world to be based on natural laws, not on the plastic principle. Plastic is death. Consumerism is death. We have created a LIFE culture, a high-energy anti-plastic culture which can only destroy the death culture and drive it to the death it craves. WE want to see the death culture CONSUME ITSELF. Then and only then will it be unable to force other peoples around the world to accept its twisted version of reality, its phony consumerism, its perverted world-view, in the interest of more profits for the

POW

By TOM HAYDEN

Bobby Seale, like other Panthers now in jail, is not a political prisoner. He is a prisoner of war.

While the white Conspiracy defendants were at least able to speak, write and freely prepare their defense, Bobby was seized on the Berkeley streets, indicted on a Connecticut murder charge, secretly driven in chains to Chicago, denied his right to representation, chained, gagged and severed from the case, shipped back to California then off to Connecticut where he now faces the electric chair.

If ours was the "political trial of the century", Bobby's Long Trial is becoming the definitive trial of black people in America. His facing the electric chair is symbolic of black people facing genocide.

Bobby's case is not unique. Nearly 30 Panthers have been killed since the Party was founded; in the first year of the Nixon Administration over 400 have been arrested on various charges; their offices in Los Angeles, Oakland, Chicago, Des Moines and 15 other cities have been attacked by police. Nearly all of their original Central Committee has been suppressed: killed, jailed, or forced into exile. The Justice Department has a special task force on the Panthers; the FBI considers them the greatest single threat to our national security; at least two Congressional committees and several grand juries are investigating. The Panthers are the target not of repression, but of an undeclared war. Under a state of repression, the heretic at least is accorded bail, trial and appeal. In a state of war, the victims are killed or rounded up without serious regard for legal niceties. The Panthers held in jails across America today are not different from prisoners held in Santo Domingo, Saigon, or any other center of the American Empire.

The escalation of war against the Panthers has created a vast difference between them and their less-oppressed allies. The Panthers correctly criticize whites for not moving rapidly enough to deal with the special repression inflicted on blacks. And the whites, hesitant and confused about how to react to the brutal repression of Panthers, are correctly critical of the broadside nature of occasional Panther attacks on student movements, women's liberation and the cultural rebellion rising from conditions in the Mother Country.

These differences cannot be understood without a perspective on recent history of black-white political relations. In 1966 black radicals led by Stokely Carmichael purged whites from the "integrated" civil rights movement and directed them to go into the white community. Young whites did just this, creating a rebellious consciousness inside the Mother Country. Eldridge Cleaver and the Panthers then saw the possibilities of this white radical impulse, and put forward a strategy of "liberation in the colony" coupled with "revolution in the Mother Country". The Panthers argued that blacks should wage an autonomous struggle for self-determination, but added that victory would not be secured until the Mother Country also was transformed from within. They began to experiment with coalitions for specific purposes with white organizations.

Few whites realized the risks which the Panthers took in pursuing this line. It left the Party exposed to constant baiting criticism by black "cultural nationalist" groups who preferred either no contact with whites or, if necessary, contact with white foundations and corporations rather than white radicals. Among black radicals the Panthers were raising fears of a returning to old style coalitions in which black people had been submerged and their interests made secondary to the class struggle. From great numbers of blacks, including those who joined the Party, the Panthers were demanding an incredible psychological adjustment: to conduct a racial struggle without anti-white feelings.

White radicals, by comparison, had very little to lose from the coalitions except prestige or money. Since 1967 one coalition after another between the Panthers and whites has been created, achieved something useful, then been more or less dissolved in racial or political differences. Some have been mainly educational campaigns like the

relatively successful one waged around Huey's trial. Some have been abortively electoral, like that with the Peace and Freedom Party which collapsed before the 1968 elections. The Panthers have searched back and forth for the most effective white allies, and have come up with differing answers from time to time. Sometimes it has been the broad liberal community and the students; sometimes poor whites in Chicago and Richmond; sometimes yuppies and street people; sometimes the peace movement, and sometimes a mixture of one or more of these. Always their coalitions have been affected by the fact that the Panthers are far more revolutionary and serious than their allies, and plagued by the question of whether whites should be considered essentially as "supporters" or as an independent radical force moving towards a front-line alliance with the blacks.

All these problems came to a boiling point in 1969 as Nixon's policy of repression escalated. In response to the severe attacks, the Panthers proposed a broad United Front which would essentially serve as a support group. The Front would raise funds, educate white people to the dangers of fascism, and help circulate a petition for the "community control of police".

The difficulty was that the liberals who would be most likely to join such a Front were having jitters about the Panthers and repression and the younger radicals were going through the birth pains of new struggles. In the white community, it was intellectual and opportunist Old Left groups who were most interested in the United Front. The radicals, meanwhile, were moving in at least four different directions: towards white working class organizing, women's liberation, the cultural revolution as asserted in the People's Park struggle, and armed struggle as embodied by the Weathermen. Few of the younger radicals wanted to join a United Front with the Old Left, or circulate petitions in the white community, and none wanted to accept Panther leadership.

Perhaps the Panthers did not understand the devastating effect this United Front would have on the young whites. Since their inception the Panthers had gradually inspired significant numbers of whites to the idea of armed struggle. Few whites had become John Browns, but the Panthers heroic image was accelerating white



revolutionary consciousness like no American movement had done before. Then, with little preparation, the Panthers suddenly adopted a reformist tactic which the whites had been trying to go beyond. The white radicals had no objection to a United Front of middle-class liberal support for the Panthers, but wanted the Panthers to recognize as well the need for militant liberation struggles in the Mother Country.

To the Panthers the response of the white radicals seemed self-centered and "anarchist". The embattled Panthers had difficulty understanding the priority of women's issues, for instance, or the significance of drugs and rock and roll, or why the Berkeley radicals fought in the streets for 17 days when black people had already demonstrated the futility of riots, or why Weathermen wanted to pick up guns instead of petitions. They could not see the legitimacy of the struggles that whites were engaged in, and began to assert that the Party should be the "vanguard" of the Mother Country as well as the Colony. The result was much hostile and futile commandism from the Panthers and much alienation among the whites.

Before the cleavages could be overcome, the US government moved to take advantage of the situation. Noting that the United Front conference ended in disarray and division, they concluded the Panthers were isolated and easy targets.

From the United Front conference through the Trial these gaps between the Panthers and white allies continued. On November 15 in San Francisco, David Hilliard was booed by the liberal peace

movement for suggesting that peace could not be achieved without a liberation struggle, and that Nixon (or anyone) standing in the way of black liberation should be killed. Seeing the black-white division, the power structure moved again, this time indicting Hilliard for "threatening the President".

During the Trial the gulf was both narrowed and widened. We enjoyed a political closeness with Bobby Seale, yet he remained in jail everyday while we were free. We helped create a mass consciousness among whites about the repression of the Panthers but Bobby was the one who experienced the gagging. We asserted our unity with the Panthers but could do nothing to prevent Bobby's sentence and the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The inadequacy was not simply our own, but existed throughout the white movement. Until November 15 in Washington, not one major demonstration occurred to protest what had happened to Bobby.

Early this year, the Panthers were beginning to reconsider their basic strategy of coalition. Eldridge drafted a manifesto declaring that if class struggle were not possible, then blacks should go it alone in a race war. The manifesto vowed that no more Panthers would be sacrificed on the "altar of interracial harmony".

Then, suddenly, a hopeful new coalition was being created in New Haven. It had taken a long time (the Panthers had been held in Connecticut dungeons since before the United Front conference) but whites were beginning to move on the issue of racism again. A

The life of the young rock and roll musician is and has always been filled with the bitter contradictions of honko Amerika.....

We have been raised on TV and in schools (read concentration camps) and have been taught to cut our hair, get a job, go to church, and buy buy the fake freedom of owning a stupid looking car, a production-line house, a nice wife-our-mom-would-be-proud-of and a couple of kids, a washing machine, and a color TV set.

That ain't no freedom at all, we said. Forget that stuff and let's get us a rock and roll band together. We dropped out of school, left home and went to live the REAL life—smoke dope, play music, make love all the time.

Rock and roll was something we and all our friends loved, and we wanted to play it. It meant a lot to us. And besides, who needs the rat race when we can play rock and roll a few nights a week, have a good time ALL the time, and make it BIG. BIG records, BIG shows, BIG money, and BIG fame. I mean if those skinny dudes from England were doing it why not us, right?

After a while we got hip. For many of us instead of making it big or at least making it free and easy, we were hardly making it at all. Jobs were hard to come by, records even harder, even when we did get these things it turned out that the big money got real small by the time it got to us, after the jive ass booking agents, promoters, unions and record companies got their ample shares.

The few of us that did make it in terms of fame and a few hit records had to kiss ass all the way up to do it. A lot of dudes found out that being the pop-star that the music business made you into turned out to be such a drag that they couldn't stand it. Lots of them quit, including the all-time pop star Beatles even, breaking up bands that they had been close to for a long time.

ROCK FOR

The rock and roll trip turned out to be and is turning out more and more to be just another great big phony Amerikan cream dream. The music business is as jammed up with as many contradictions as the rest of the system.

Music is supposed to be fun, but it ain't no fun to starve and it ain't no fun having to play what you don't want to play where you don't want to play it. That's just jive, like the crummy money they pay us.

The big bosses of the system have always hated rock and roll because it told the truth about how the young people felt about life in bullshit Amerika—Later for the schools and factories, forget about that and let's have a good time dancing/loving one another and carrying on. And the young people responded to the music and the message and made rock and roll the most popular music of all time.

Rock helped the youth get their heads together, they started taking dope and growing their hair long and wearing the clothes they wanted to wear and just in general making their own new way of life. And the pig can't stand it.

He can't allow any system to exist that proposes an alternative to the pig system, especially as groovy an alternative as the one that's based on rock and roll and is getting together right underneath his own nose here in Amerika.

The bosses will stop at nothing to keep their thing going, they'll bust

people, draft them into the army, and, if that doesn't work, they'll kill people, like they're killing Vietnamese and black people every day. And so the pig has come down on the young people and their bands. They've busted us in our communes and they've even busted us ON STAGE on bogus charges like possession of weed, "indecent exposure," and "obscenity."

The pig hopes that he won't have to put us all in jail to stop what we are doing, and so he tries to scatter us, to frustrate and wear us down any way he can. The record company people and the booking agents and the club owners even the music critics, all working for the pig and trying to get their little share of the pig's money—or rather the people's money that the pig has USED our music to squeeze out of the young rock and roll fans—keep telling us: "turn down and don't play so loud" or "you can't get away with that stuff in MY club or MY record company," or "straighten up and play the music that the kids want to hear." (WE know what the youth, our own brothers and sisters want to hear, it's just that the pig is afraid to let them have it.)

The musicians are bullied and shoved around, harrassed from every possible angle, and the ones that don't go along end up starving or in jail. A lot of the musicians that have played the pig's game just so that they could go on playing their music ended up doing stuff they never wanted to do in the first

place—the music ended up sounding shitty as a result of the hassle.

Although we didn't realize it when we started out, our lives and our music are very important politics. There is no way we can avoid it—every thing we want to do, every thing we started out to do, is opposed to what the pig and his political system wants us to do. And we are never going to be free, really FREE to make music and live our lives the way we want until the politics of the pig bites the dust, once and for all, and is replaced by the politics of the people.

We have got to get hip to the fact that when we musicians are separated from each other and isolated from the people the pig has got us right where he wants us. It's the old divide and conquer game, and the pig will do all he can to keep us apart so it will always be easy for him to swoop down on us at any time and from any and all directions he chooses. That is the only way the pigs can keep their thing going, because they're badly outnumbered and they know if the people ever got together that would be the end of the pig system.

So our only strategy then must be to get ourselves together, to organize and unite, for our own sakes. We have got to get together with the dudes in our own bands. We have got to get together with other bands. Most important, we have got to join forces with the people. We have got to play for the people as often as we can.

POLITICS TO THE

[Note: The following interview with John Fogerty lead singer and guitarist for Creedence Clearwater Revival, was conducted by David Fenton of Liberation News Service last month at Creedence's rehearsal studio on the shores of San Francisco bay.]

Fenton: You say you aren't sure that people are listening to your words. Like some people say they think it's Good Time music, they like to dance to it, that kind of stuff—which is good—but that you thought you were saying something more than that—with songs like Proud Mary.

Fogerty: Actually, I was quoting other people, quoting a lot of reviews I've read about us. It's sort of a tongue-in-cheek statement because, well, really straight reviewers—I don't know what their view is, but obviously THEY're not listening, so I guess they take it for granted that nobody else is. And it started bugging me after awhile that they kept saying the same old thing—dance music, good time, ad nauseum...

Fenton: That's reviewers. That's not the people who listen.

Fogerty: Yeah, I don't know how deep it goes with the average listener. I mean I wouldn't presume to know, cause a lot of times I've liked records just for the beat, and didn't really listen to the words. But I would imagine with one artist for a period of time—I don't really know for sure.

Fenton: Well, you don't want to get into a thing of just looking at the words, not as the total thing you want to do. You're saying something in the music itself. Like, I get a certain kind of feeling of turmoil and unrest, something that relates very much to the type of thing that's going on now—The Conspiracy trial, the repression of the Panthers, the war and just the whole sense of frustration you get about all that stuff. And I think that, more than a lot of rock groups, your music really does speak to that.

Fogerty: Well, I'm not a Tin Pan Alley writer. I don't write on commission—you know, come up with three tunes for a musical or something. So I guess it's just that I write about whatever I know about—which I don't presume to be a lot. I'm trying to talk about at least what I'm personally frustrated about or what I see from the middle—cause I usually consider, well, I usually try and say I'm in the middle. But I'm not, actually.

Fenton: What do you mean by being in the middle?

Fogerty: Well, I think it's trying to be really objective all the time, and even though I consider myself really objective I find myself on the left most of the time.

Fenton: That's where the truth is now.

Fogerty: Well, yeah, I don't know why its come to mean that. Academically you'd think the middle would be the best place to be, right? Obviously you're not an extremist in either sense. But I think what's happening in this country is that since the right is so much in control—no one questions that, you know, and I think you have to be on the left just to raise a question. That's the position I find myself in anyway. Like, in other words, if you're in the middle like Hubert Humphrey you're really not doing anything and—this gets really vague at this point...

Fenton: Do you run up against people who attack you because they think you're on the left, or that the music is causing young people to do this or that...

Fogerty: Oh vaguely, yeah. Mostly the general thing that happens to all of us with long hair, that kind of look-down-your-nose attitude. I think that's what I'm getting at, that the people on the right don't have to be uptight at the middle, because the people on the right are really in control. The far far right, sure, they're gonna want more conservatism. But I think that this country is 70 percent right-wing anyway. Most people aren't in the middle, I think that most people are very conservative. But it's how you make a definition. If the majority is on a certain place then that must be the middle. That's not the way I think. I think we have a preponderance of right-wing thinking in this country. We call it the middle, but it's really the right. All I'm trying to say is that when the bulk of society is thinking a certain way, and it's WRONG, then you're forced to go to another extreme. In other words, just raising the question of "let's not have any more draft." That sounds like you're an extremist—you see what I'm getting at?

I'll tell you the truth about that whole subject, as far as I can see. The people who do burn down

buildings or cause, you know, more than just apathetic trouble—people that really cause violence—I'm in favor of. I won't do it myself. But I'm sure glad somebody did, cause the people like me who want change, let's say, and really aren't quite reactive enough to go out and burn flags and whatever are, well, I am anyway, I'm glad that's happening. Just to bring attention to the problem. Because no attention is given, otherwise.

Fenton: Music is a way to reach lots of people that we haven't even begun to reach. But there are lots of limitations—like the price of a record, or the price of admission to a concert. It's really true that there are a lot of people to whom you are less available because of that thing. And I'm curious as to what you think about that and, more important, what you're trying to do, if anything, to rectify that in some way.

Fogerty: In other words, play for free?

Fenton: Well, play for free or fight to keep prices down or whatever you think should happen...

Fogerty: I would say we're carrying on our own campaign to—well we're not going to charge any Rolling Stone-type prices, that's for sure. Ever. But we're not gonna play for free either, cause it's a physical problem of, you know, equipment and transportation and all that. And also I have to admit I'm a capitalist too. I mean I'm not doing all of this to end up with nothing. But I think it's what do I want to do with what I end up with that's important. Like you could stop right there and say, wow, he's just a typical businessman. We run our business very effectively, by the way. We don't waste. We're probably one of the most profitable rock groups going—not because of popularity. Just that we're able to cut expenses and show more profit from what we do.

With the Stones here it's 12 bucks for the front row. That's out of the question—that's just ridiculous. But I think an average of what people are used to—like here I think our last concert was \$3.50, \$4.50 and \$5.50. That's acceptable. In fact it's lower than average, really, for this kind of show.

Because, also, artistically, you know, we'd show up at the Avalon, and it'd be up to us to organize the show. We'd show up at a rally and we'd have to make sure there was a stage. And no one else

OUR PEOPLE



As musicians we have a lot of POWER in the youth community: Our brothers and sisters HAVE GOT TO HAVE THEIR MUSIC and they pay attention to what we do and what we say. So it's up to us to keep the youth community informed, to explain to them what's happening and suggest what they can do about it.

We have got to put as much energy as we can back into the people, hiping them to where we stand, and to the fact that we all have to stand together to fight the pig and continue to build our own way of life.

There is a saying that goes: "If you wanna get high you're gonna have to fight." And by fighting we mean doing whatever is necessary to oppose the pig, to bring him down. In that sense, our performances, our rock and roll, is very important fighting. And every musician that really knows what's going on and is doing something positive about it is a guerrilla fighter in the revolution. If you can dig that.

There are some long range things that we can start planning and building right NOW that involve liberating the music business from the hands of the pigs. Like setting up a People's Recording Cooperative that would make sure that all the bands were able to make recordings that would be sold to the people at the lowest prices and thus reaching the biggest possible audience. And a People's Booking Agency that would allow all the bands to play for

as many people as possible.

To sustain itself the People's Booking Agency will take only 5 per-cent of each job wage, as opposed to the 10 to 20 per-cent taken by all other, capitalistic, agencies.

People's Agency bands can accept jobs from whoever they want—but they can also request that club owners book them only through the People's Agency, putting more of their hard-earned money back to their own good use.

We've all been stuck too long in the plastic heart of phoney Amerika—that goes for our brothers and sisters the students the hippies and the factory workers as well as us musicians—and it's time that we started thinking about getting ourselves together and doing something about it.

We've already got our rock and roll and a good start on a new way of life. Now we've got to start protecting what we've got and move to keep growing and getting farther and farther out as a people of a new Nation—our own Youth Nation.

As we become stronger and freer our music will get stronger and freer and farther out, too. When you think about it there's absolutely no limit to what we can do, once we're united, to change the music that is our LIFE that is the only answer to the contradictions of pig Amerika.

Franklin Bach, Minister of Culture
White Panther Party

POP STARS!

even cared. They thought that all you do was to mention a happening, and somehow it would all come off. But it isn't that simple, you know. We're gonna do our own shows from now on. We're not gonna let some scum promoter take everybody—including us—down to the cleaners. So we'll be able to control it. We'll control the prices, we'll control cops, and we'll control curfew—the whole works. Because we've proven that we can do it. And I think that's knowledge that people like us will have to have if we're ever gonna compete with Wall Street. And that's really what we're talking about. Because politicians aren't really politicians. It's all money. It's really the whole question.

Fenton: What about the other kinds of things. Like you say that you probably won't play for free. But if there was a group around that seemed reliable and all...

Fogerty: Yeah, we're playing benefits. But you can't do that all the time. But when we do our free concerts we want it to be a real thing—not a scam where we're making, you know, Altamont or something. OK, now that we bled you for \$15 a night for a seat, now we'll do a free concert, U.S.A.

Fenton: Tokenism.

Fogerty: Tokenism to somebody's head, you know. And I'm really not trying to say, hey, I'm good for you all. I can't rationalize everything away. But what I'm trying to say is, for sure we have to be profitable, we have to be a going concern. Otherwise we'll end up like the Grateful Dead, with other people having to do benefits for us, in order for us to keep going. And that—that's wierd...

Fenton: What kind of things do you envision as happening. You mentioned that we may have to take it away from Nixon, physically. You said you can understand the use of violence, and things like that. Those are concepts that we're talking about a lot..What more do you foresee?

Fogerty: We.., I foresee revolution. I really do.

Fenton: What does that mean?

Fogerty: The people taking it away. In my lifetime there's going to be chaos in this country. I mean real chaos, the kind that destroys the economic system—just a mess. You see, young people are starting more and more to think that way. We see the things that are wrong, and we don't want to end up dying with those things still wrong. Older people, they've got their cheesecake, they've got their Mustang. That's okay. Cause they had nothing. They were brought up in the middle class post-war atmosphere. And we don't think that's where it's at, you know, having a tv and a car and I'll keep quiet.

Because there's 30 million people here in this country who don't have that. Okay. I mean maybe this is too poetic, I don't know. But stop me if you want. Those are the people who we look at, even though you and I are really middle class and we've got it. We look at them and we know that there's just no rationale for Nixon day after day saying how things are gonna be rosy. And yet nothing ever changes. So for the next few years we'll keep pushing the guys who are politicians—cause none of us are—we'll keep demonstrating, we'll keep making noise, we'll keep trying to elect candidates. But there won't be enough. Because you know, H. L. Hunt represents maybe five hundred people in government, one of whom is probably Nixon. All that money—which is just billions and billions, represent so many people who are in CONTROL that no matter what we do—we can't even afford one lobby, you know we can't. There ain't that much money. Our GROUP couldn't afford one lobby. So we'll keep trying to make them change. And they won't. And older people are content—they'll think that we're crazy, you know. They'll say "well come on, change takes time." And we'll keep saying, but it shouldn't take that much time. And nothing changes. Okay. And somewhere along the line people like us are gonna go out in the streets and say—I mean we'll be as nutty as Eldridge Cleaver or Bobby Seale seem to us right now. I really think so. It's just, how can they insult our intelligence, like that, day after day? With nothing changing.

Fenton: So you think that people will have to move...

Fogerty: Yeah. And I'm not advocating it. I'm just saying that that's the way I see it. I really do. I may be—I'll probably be one of them.

John Fogerty



Photo by Douglas Kent Hall

[Note: The following is the transcript of a speech given Armed Forces Day at Fort Bragg, South Carolina, reworked by the author, who was one of the Conspiracy 8.]

By RENNIE DAVIS

Ten miles from here the generals wring their hands in worry because their Armed Forces Day had to be called off. They are sick to their stomachs because their phantom jets can't fly overhead. The brass and lifers are furious that they can't celebrate themselves today that the patriotic praise of the red neck civilians can't reach their ears. No American Legion is here to "support" GIs. The DAR didn't make their annual appearance today. And, it's all because old-fashion/support from fascists and fools has been changed over and comes now from Agnew's favorite people—the bums, the outlaws, the punks, the revolutionaries and the criminally insane. Today marks the end of a practice of GI support from organizations that cheer mindlessly to see soldiers fight and die in a senseless war 10,000 miles away. We have another message today: The only relevant GI support is from people who organize around the demand for unilateral, unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all troops from South East Asia.

A lot of different people have come together this afternoon in Fayetteville. But I want to talk primarily with the trainees who are here among us. Since the military works its ass off to keep the news out of your reach, since TV is not too regular where you are and since the underground GI papers that run the truth are kept out of drill exercises, I want to say a few words on what's been happening in South East Asia in the past two weeks.

I don't suggest if you had seen the tube last week the government would have answered your questions. When Agnew came on a national talk show recently to claim victory in Cambodia, he pointed out that the American invasion force had just uncovered a large Viet Cong facility for laundering uniforms. Agnew's such a fool, he probably thinks that the Viet Cong will lay down their arms if they don't have pressed uniforms. And Nixon came on television to say the US went into Cambodia to get the headquarters of the Viet Cong—what they call the Central office of South Vietnam. The Vietnam veterans who are here may recall that there was an earlier military battle called "Operation Junction City." And that that plan called for the same goal. Lyndon Johnson decided to get all the VC leadership as a way to end the war, so the brass flew 20,000 troops around Tay Ninh to encircle the "headquarters." Everyone zips into a large jungle area to form this gigantic circle around an imaginary organizational center. Not only did the brass not find any headquarters, but the Vietnamese mobilized all the self-defense guerrillas at the village level and surrounded the 20,000 man circle. The defeat was humiliating, but the Pentagon just declared Junction City a great victory and then quietly dumped the operation's commander. Now these fools are back again, with another "get the leadership" theory.

But the most insane explanation of all that has been given for the US military to run crazy across the rubber plantations of Cambodia is that this aggression will "protect" American GIs. In fact, just the reverse has happened. Before Cambodia GIs faced orders to shoot down South Vietnamese fighting for their independence. Now, because of the Cambodian invasion and other acts of military escalation, Nixon has created a situation where American soldiers face the combined strength of South Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians and North Vietnamese troops. In saying he was going to root out a sanctuary in Cambodia, Nixon has made the battle field all of Indo-China in which China is the new sanctuary.

Look at what's happened in Cambodia. Under Prince Sihanouk,

ON METHOD, TIME, AND REVOLUTION



by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Many people can absolutely agree on the inescapable necessity of destroying the system of oppression under which we now suffer, and for replacing it with something better. But what divides us is the questions of How? and When?

How do we move, precisely, to successfully accomplish our goal without, in the process, negating our goal?

When do we move?

Once we realize what has to be done and also how to do it, we enter the political movement, and after that, the way that we move defines us politically. The explanation as to why we choose to move in a certain way requires a psychiatrist—for us, Fanon. (By now, we should all have studied Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*.)

We believe that Huey P. Newton, after carefully defining our present situation, discovered the form that our struggle must take in order to successfully achieve our goal. And he also showed us when to move.

Huey defined the situation of Black people inside the United States as a domestic colony of U.S. Imperialism. A colony inside the very lair of the rapacious beast of imperialism. A colony sharing the same land mass as the colonizers, the population of the colony dispersed throughout the population of the colonial power. Neither separated by either land or water.

Huey defined the police department as the strong-arm force used by the imperialists to suppress the colonized people, terrorize them, and keep them in check. This is a constant process of brutalization, because the people are constantly moving to break their chains. Huey said that the police departments occupy our Black communities in the same way and for the same purpose as a foreign troop occupies conquered territory. To free ourselves from the system of oppression, Huey said that we had to liberate ourselves from this strong-arm force. We had to break the power of the gun which this strong-arm force relies on to keep us at bay. Because of the very nature of the conflict, Huey said that we must use guns to offset the guns of the pigs.

"We must organize ourselves in a political fashion and take up arms," Huey would say.

When looking at Black people as a whole, Huey saw that the brothers and sisters off the block, the Black Lumpen within the urban centers, constituted the explosive point, that section of our people so situated that they have no choice but to move. Historically, the White racist system of oppression and exploitation has held out only death and destruction to our people as an alternative to slavery.

The prospects for brothers and sisters off the block are prison, death, the U.S. Armed Forces, or a short, hard, and bitter life. All alternatives provided for us by the system have in common

that we are unnaturally destroyed—destroyed by the very functioning of the system of oppression, which is controlled by other men of another social class. The only redeeming path left open to us is the path of total war against the system of oppression against which each succeeding generation of our people have struggled for 400 years.

Pigs stand in line with programs and games of disaster to run down on Black people. But now that Black people have begun to run down a program for themselves, pigs get uptight. The foundation of the Black Panther Party is the 10-Point Program and Platform. This is why the hand-picked apologists for the system of oppression always try to criticize and belittle our Program and Platform. Some of them say that it is not revolutionary. Others say that it is full of hate. But it is our own program and platform, drawn up for ourselves by ourselves. And it will be us who will change it or revise it when and if we see fit. Our ideology is reality and our program and platform is designed to cope with and control the reality of our daily lives, our destiny.

The real daily life of oppressed people is Political Education. Reality becomes their ideology. With them, theory is united with practice because they know that literally they are struggling to survive against odds, against a gigantic international system of oppression that is specifically designed to destroy them. There are other classes of people to whom the oppression is abstract. In a poetic fashion, they know that, theoretically, they are also oppressed, etc. They relate to news of events and we compose the event itself. We relate to the event, they relate to news of the event. We are in a category of our own. America is a class and ethnic society, and the systematic oppression and exploitation of Black people is specifically structured and well-placed in the design of Babylon.

Brother Malcolm made it clear that history defined is ideology. The Black Panther Party says that the historical experiences of Black people is the foundation of our ideology. We transform our history into our ideology when we interpret it with scientific principles of universal application.

When Huey and Bobby launched the Black Panther Party, the only people who were willing to follow them then, were the stone lumpen. The stomp-down Black lumpen proletariat is the backbone of the Black Panther Party. Without this backbone, the Party would only be a reflection of one of those mother country debating societies that take Marx and Lenin for their text.

The Black Lumpen, the brothers and sisters off the block, can relate to their party, the Black Panther Party, but they cannot relate to the category of the Working Class. From their perspective, the Working Class is part of the problem—at least the right wing of the Working Class.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE LUMPEN

PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT WING OF THE WORKING CLASS IS QUALITATIVELY INDISTINCT FROM THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE LUMPEN AND OTHER CATEGORIES OF PIGS.

Before our people were crushed down into the position of slaves, we were well organized. Our history since that time has been an unbroken struggle to get reorganized. Only by organizing ourselves can we get the freedom, security, and respect that we lost. There are more Black people in the United States than there are pigs of the ruling class. Our population is larger than many sovereign nations of the earth. But only by relentlessly struggling can we smash out of the trickbag that we have been placed in.

Pigs, White racist pigs, say that Black people should not fight for their rights, that they should be peaceful, moderate, and reasonable. History will show that Black people have pursued their freedom and liberation with the utmost restraint, with patience, and long suffering. In fact, history will show that the pigs drove us to our knees, and that, down on our knees in the LutherKing position, we begged for mercy. Down on our knees we begged White racist pigs for mercy. And not only did these pigs deny us justice, they denied us mercy. They denied us humanity itself. So let them criticize our weapons all they want to; Let us move on them, criticizing them with our weapons.

'Mercy' is not a word one should throw around loosely. Mercy is the other side of the coin of Pity. Mercy and Pity are civilized notions. They are, in fact, essential elements of a true civilization. When Mercy and Pity are absent in any social organization, that society cannot be classified as civilized. Measured by that standard, Babylon must be totally destroyed—and with Pity—Pity each pig heart that we cut out of a pig's chest, Pity it to death.

When we begged for Mercy we were the Blues People. We are not begging anymore and we are Black people. And pigs can't dig it, can't relate to it. For instance, they have provoked us to madness.

Madness. People are right when they say that Black people are not in a position to face down the pigs on their level. But we are in a position to implement head-up murder. We can guarantee the total destruction of Babylon—with a form of struggle that pigs will call madness. But madness is the Black man's hydrogen bomb inside Babylon, and we must unleash this hydrogen bomb, now, because pigs are carrying out a genocidal conspiracy of extermination against our people. And since we have everything in the pot, why shouldn't everything and everybody in Babylon be in the pot with us? The name of the pot is Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Eldridge Cleaver Minister of Information Black Panther Party.

New Nation's Army

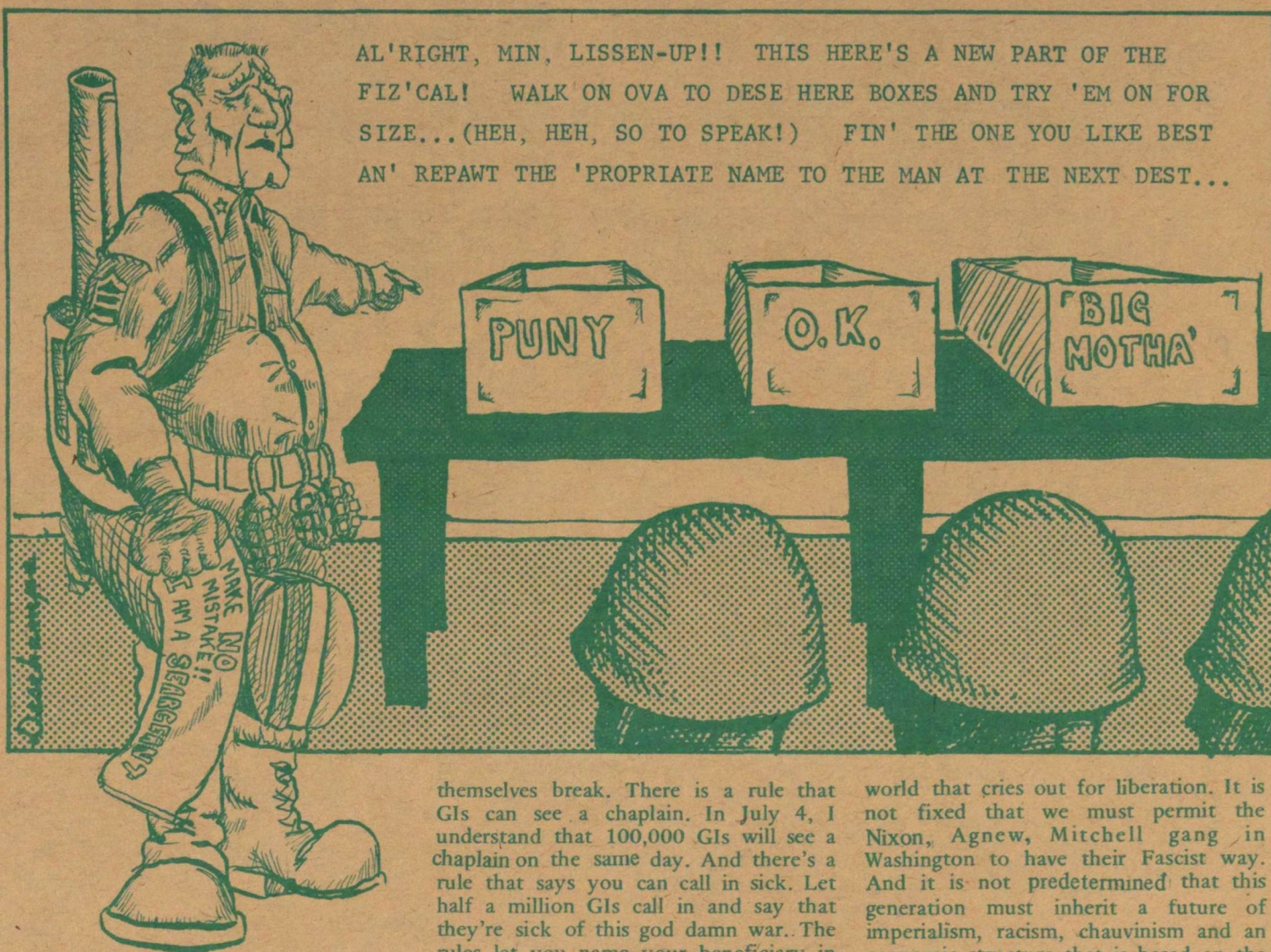
600,000 Vietnamese lived in Cambodia in peace, inside a country that had successfully stayed out of the war. When the CIA engineered the overthrow of Sihanouk, Cambodia's new puppet premier, Lon Nol, began a campaign of mass murder of Vietnamese inside Cambodia, while at the same time inviting another US puppet—the Saigon gov't—to pour its mercenaries across the border, burning, raping, and killing as they moved from village to village. To the people of Vietnam, it looks like the Saigon regime has embraced another government committed to the annihilation of Vietnamese. To the people of Cambodia it looks like a popular leader was overthrown by traitors who plunge their country into vicious war. No wonder that the Theu-Ky regime in Saigon was forced to close all public schools recently because of fear of massive student protests inside Saigon itself. No wonder that 10 of Lon Nol's 50 ballations immediately turned their weapons over to the newly formed Cambodian Liberation Army, when Sihanouk called on them to do so. No wonder that hundreds of thousands of Cambodians are joining the new National United Front that is determined to join with the Viet Cong in defeating US aggression. Meanwhile, the liberation fighters who now control three-fourths of Laos are encircling one of the "Royal" government's last strong holds in a move that could well spell the end of US control in Laos. Does this sound like developments that will "Protect" American GIs? No, it is, the sound of millions of people who will free Indo-China from US imperialism.

Very soon now, Nixon is going to try another massive public relations campaign aimed at recouping the political losses in the US and pacifying the anti-war movement. He will tell you that GIs will be out of Cambodia by the end of June. He will tell you that 150,000 combat troops will be out of Vietnam in three years. Of course, what he will not tell you is that this plan is being carried forward on the insane assumption that the Vietnamese are going to surrender to the Theu-Ky henchman in 3 years. Not only is that absolute bullshit, the resistance to an American take-over of Indo-China is deepening, not declining, it is also foolish to think that this Nixon rhetoric is tolerable, even if it were acted on. One hundred and fifty thousand troops withdrawn within the next year would still mean that another 276,000 troops will be killed. That's the hard facts behind Nixon's public relations rhetoric. And, of course, he can't even deliver his unacceptable promises.

Behind the rhetoric of Vietnamization is the stark horror of genocide. Vietnamization is a plan to take away the support of the Vietnamese from a struggle for self-determination. Vietnamization takes away "support" by taking away the people. Vietnamization in 1969 meant 300,000 Vietnamese killed. Vietnamization has meant one fourth of the population of South Vietnam locked up in concentration camps. And Vietnamization has meant the Saigonization of America, a government in the United States that looks more and more like a mirror image of the fascist, puppet regime established in Saigon.

As the war in Vietnam is stepped up, the war against the black and brown communities in America is being stepped up. The anti-war movement can no longer talk in a limited way about a war in Vietnam and ignore the war against the colony set up here. And civilians can no longer allow GIs to face the oppression of the brass without massive public support. Just as we hope that May 1 in New Haven firmly established a new consciousness in the white anti-war movement about black and brown oppression, let May 16 bring an end to the isolation of GIs by the civilian anti-war movement.

I hope the day is coming when GIs demand that civilians create a revolutionary people's nation in Babylon, a new nation whose first act



would be to declare war on Nixon's war machine. We need a new nation to support GI's, a nation that operates by a different creed than that of the lifers and brass. From our nation, insubordination to an officer is an act of love. Our nation declares that promoting disaffection among the troops is an act of high patriotism. And in our nation, a dishonorable discharge from Uncle Sam deserves the medal of honor.

The day is coming when soldiers will follow the rules so that the rules

themselves break. There is a rule that GIs can see a chaplain. In July 4, I understand that 100,000 GIs will see a chaplain on the same day. And there's a rule that says you can call in sick. Let half a million GIs call in and say that they're sick of this god damn war. The rules let you name your beneficiary in the army insurance policy. GIs are designating anti-war, women's liberation, and black liberation groups as their beneficiary to freak the brass. A revolutionary will support GIs who follow the rules so close that they paralyze this motherfucking war machine. We support GIs who say to Richard Nixon if you don't withdraw the troops, the troops will withdraw themselves.

It is not given that this country must forever plunder and rape around a

world that cries out for liberation. It is not fixed that we must permit the Nixon, Agnew, Mitchell gang in Washington to have their Fascist way. And it is not predetermined that this generation must inherit a future of imperialism, racism, chauvinism and an economic structure that is based on the prerogatives of private gain over human and social need.

The Carolina Liberation Brigade, gathered under these trees, is the beginning of another way, that will bring us to Fort Bragg again and again, that will take people rapping and organizing across this state this summer, and will send out another word from Fort Bragg: this generation is not at war with the people of Vietnam. Our fight is here. And we intend to take our country back by any means necessary.

MDM

A lot of people across the nation are getting hip to the very important fact that there isn't anybody who's going to be free until Richard Nixon and the Pentagon lose control of the troops, until they are no longer able to manipulate GI's into using their arms against the people instead of in defense of the people.

Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) is an organization of servicemen who appreciate that if the pig is stupid enough to give them a gun, they will damned sure use it against their enemies. And there aren't too many people left who believe the fascists when they say that the enemies are in Vietnam.

Obviously, a Democratic Military is only possible in a democratic nation. The Pentagon power elite says a democratic military is impossible. This of course only shows where the Joint Chiefs of Staff are coming from—they can't comprehend a military that serves the people.

In order for the fascists to keep control of the military it is necessary for them to isolate the servicemen from their brothers and sisters on the outside. Unfortunately, the left in this country has played into the government's hands by either ignoring GI's or else by patronizingly allowing them peripheral parts in demonstrations. Some GI organizations were formed and given limited support, but they were mostly created to beg for peace, rather than turn the military against the imperialists. Most servicemen looked upon these

groups as useless, which for the most part they were.

But the movement is entering a new phase—the unification of GI and civilian revolutionaries. We've got to bring servicemen into communities to show them what is happening. And we've got to get out onto the bases to learn what is happening.

An example of this sort of cooperation took place recently when MDM at Fort Ord asked civilians to take advantage of Armed Forces Day and join them. The cowardly Pentagon power elite was forced to cancel their traditional glorification of pig militarism and to close down the base. Civilian supporters of MDM set up picket lines the whole length of Fort Ord. When the restricted GI's saw that 3,000 people were willing to travel a couple hundred miles in their support, the membership at Fort Ord more than doubled, and has been increasing ever since.

Another example of cooperation occurred on April 26 in Berkeley, when the White Panther Tribe and MDM arranged a free rock concert in support of Roger Priest.

GI speakers reminded the spectators that there was a revolution going on, and that dope and music are necessary but that they are not sufficient. It blows a lot of minds when GI's begin to raise the level of consciousness of civilians.

The effectiveness of MDM is indicated by the repression it is facing. The Oceanside, Calif., chapter, which is the major chapter, has been machine gunned. One member was shot in the

arm. Two weeks later the pigs broke into the office and illegally seized the weapons, and busted one staff member on a phony charge of possessing stolen property. In San Diego, a full time undercover pig was exposed, but not until he had taken various steps to screw up the chapter. Many members have been jailed, and desperate threats have been issued to prevent the circulation of the MDM papers.

Because racism is the most essential tool of the fascist regime, MDM works to achieve black, white, Chicano, and Puerto Rican solidarity. Most members are brothers, for the obvious reason that black people are forced to organize in small groups in order to resist the excess harassment which racist officers would like to impose on them, and thus only need to communicate with each other. One of the most important tasks of MDM at present is educating servicemen as to the necessity of freeing Bobby Seale. Many servicemen haven't heard of him. But when they learn what he has done they can easily relate to his struggle, since they are experiencing fascism on a day-to-day basis.

Within the next few months MDM will become a national organization. We must not let the isolation of servicemen continue. It's going to be us against the generals, and we're going to have the troops on our side when this fight comes down.

Tom Stevenson,
Minister of Finance,
Movement for a Democratic
Military

★ THE HOPES & DREAMS ★ ★ OF A NATION ★ ★ RESTING ON THE SHOULDERS ★ ★ OF ONE MAN ★ BY BILL HUTTON

Falling...dropping from the early winter sky like some colossal Hollywood bird swooping down on the millionaire's baby, comes the Presidential helicopter, "Love—Jug Snookems Babv."

Below, thousands wait in the chill December air as the craft lowers closer and closer to the city's Plaza, whirling crazily, like Captain Midnight blowing up 8000 balloons, stirring up coats and hats and making a huge scary racket. Confetti and streamers rain from the crowd as the helicopter touches ground. The band breaks forth in a melody of "Gall-Scar Girlchild" and the doors of the big bird swing open. A tumultuous roar, and President Lyndon Baines Johnson appears, waving and smiling. He's flanked by body-guards and followed by the Presidential party: Lady Bird, Vice President Holbert Holbert and Secretary of Defense Bob Steamshovel.

"Ra-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-agh," roars the great mass, as the President, tipping his hat in salute to the audience, is led to the Speakers' Platform in the center of the Plaza. His party joins him there, and as technicians adjust the microphones, as the TV cameras move in, as silence falls across the entire area, the President clears his throat to speak:

"Holy mackerel, dere, Andy," he says. "That was some humdinger of a welcome, dere...."

The crowd laughs and applauds their leader.

"Seriously," continues the President, "that reminds me of the story about the traveling salesman...driving along the road at night...His car gets stuck and it starts raining, so the traveling salesman he gets out and finds a farmhouse. The old farmer says sure, he'll put him up for the night, he says, but he'll have to sleep with his daughter—and he can't DO it to her, he tells the traveling salesman...I presume you all know what I mean by that!"

The crowd roars approvingly.

"...So...," he goes up and the old farmer...well, I mean to tell you...a great big...." The President...in his hand, our from his chest...pretty as can be. So the traveling salesman he goes to bed and just about as he's going to doze off the old girl she starts trying to get up for him. Well, the old traveling salesman he doesn't object too much, and the next morning, when the farmer comes upstairs to ask the traveling salesman and "shouts," I thought I told you not to sleep with the...

The girl...I thought he was the girl!"

The President...looks out at the crowd. The crowd laughs loudly.

"...you get it?" he says, looking at the President. Then Holbert Holbert Holbert...and with...

President, the...the crowd...of goofed up...the...The...the farmer comes...see...SCREAM...You dirty rat! Did you not to sleep with his daughter!"

"...daughter?" says the guy, "I thought this was the year's...catalog!"

The crowd roars, whistles, stomps their feet etc. The President...modestly and continues:

"...that's what your fine welcome...

...actually, we are not here to tell jokes. All of you know that. All of you understand why...we were here for jokes...I give you Holbert Holbert...Snap laughing please. We are here to talk about the Indian problem. We are here to talk about the old folks, and we are here to talk about Asia Minor. We are here, on this cold December day, to talk about Minny Mannel!

Now, I assure all of you as Americans know that Minny Mannel has been...a trick...for most of his baseball career. And I'm sure...of you as Americans, have asked yourselves...time again. What can I do about it. All of you what we ALL can do about it. We can give Minny Mannel an operation! We can have all that base cartilage take out. We can drain off that sickening ball.

"Right now, the Enemy offers to Minny Mannel's knee as the "Yankee Imperialist Knee Shaver!"

They have been printing up leaflets with disparaging comments about the Knee on them and dropping them over some of your impoverished countries. Now, do we want the Enemy to use Minny Mannel's knee as a propaganda device? Certainly not! That is why I am here on this cold December day to speak to you.

"This operation I speak of IS very important, but it can't and should not be done through the efforts of an individual or group of individuals IT SHOULD BE DONE BY ALL OF US! That is why I am here on this cold December day. And that is why I have asked Congress to approve of this measure...to appropriate funds from you, the taxpayers, to pay for this operation. Let's help Minny Mannel through the remaining years, the golden years, of his baseball playing career. AND, more importantly, let us help our country!"

"I urge you...Vote 'YES' on amendment number 25!"

"RA-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-agh!"

Later that afternoon, up in the Presidential Suite of the city's finest hotel, an informal Press Conference is in progress. The President is standing behind a small lectern, his Party seated at his side, as 30 or 40 reporters pepper him with questions.

"Mr. President," says a reporter in the back of the room, "Please explain your 'Beautify America' program for us."

"Yes. Well...I have in mind a program, the consequences of which will be very far-reaching indeed...."

"I propose to commission the great steel industries in America to build 23,000 replicas of the Statue of Liberty, which I am going to have planted around all coastal areas of the U.S. These Statues of Liberty will be covered with a plastic patina so they'll look like the real McCoy. Each will be manned by one of our new Peace Corps Rock & Roll bands. Thus, I feel, these Statue of Liberty copies, will better symbolize the essence of Liberty in this great country of ours...."

"Also, I am asking Congress to approve of a measure by which a bust of Murray the K...would be carved into Mount Rushmore...."

"I want to take some of the valleys and plains of America, some of those little cafes on Montparnasse...."

"I want to take Florida and move it up by Maine—leave it sticking out of the New England coast sort of like a diving board, as it were....And I want to turn Michigan around so's the thumb's on the other side. Think of what THAT will do for their tourism...."

"Hell...I gotta lotta plans. I want to take the "O" out of Ovaltine, so it'll be just plain "valtine", no capital 'v' or nothing. Crazy stuff. I want to take Long Island Sound and chase my daughters through the hulks of sunken ships. I want to fill the Grand Canyon with snakes and advertise it as the "Snake Canyon of the World." I want to move the automotive industry to Boston and the beans to Detroit...so when people are thinking about Detroit they'll say, "Ah, Detroit, The Bean Town! I want to get rid of Utah completely. Take it off the map! And on April Fool's Day I want to truck the Washington Monument up to Ike Easyhower's farm for a joke....I want to run some trails through the mighty Mississippi, freeze 'em, and have a ice-skating race from Illinois to New Orleans, the entire population of Kansas enter...."

"Aw, I wanna do a few things to make this country beautiful...."

"Mr. President," asks one of the journalists,

"I've got a question..."

"What's about your favorite food, sir?" asks a reporter in the front row.

"Well, my favorite food is...I have a real hard time...I love all the...I eat 200...Turkey...on 45...I like to have a...with...and...Dinners, thousand...back to 1954 with Swanson's Chicken, Part 1, French Fries, or some of the..."

French Pastries for Ten, that Deisier Dauphine put out in 1949...."

"Yes, Mr. President," inquires the same female reporter, "but what is your FAVORITE single food?"

"Oh, well, it would be french fries. French fries with a lot of salt and catsup on a white plate with a glass of Coke."

"Sir...does Mrs. Johnson have any...QUIRKS?"

"Any what?"

"Any quirks."

"Oh, well...well, I can think of an anecdote which should answer that question for you. One time down on the ranch, Mrs. Johnson was putting up some mustard pickles. Late in the autumn of each year she'd put up mustard pickles. Well, like I was saying...this one year after she had six or seven quarts already made, I forget which, she phoned the local radio station and said that there was a pinko in her spice shelf. Course when the police showed up there warn't no Pinko anywhere to be found and, well, she stopped putting up mustard pickles!"

"Yes it is. In one we have all the higher priced spreads laid out on a table. Well, an actor dressed like the Enemy, he comes out and tries them all. Then the lady asks him to identify each brand and he says he can't because he's too stupid. Well, then an American comes out and he can identify each one: your Fleshman's your Blue Bonnet, your Kraft...right on down...

...showing about 40 midgets laying on the beach at Florida. Some of them are floating in the tubs out in the surf and their heads are sticking out. I'm saying, 'Even midgets feel a home in the States...'

"But my favorite one with the little crippled boy...The little crippled boy out in the snow...my comes up and starts pulling his pants down the boy. Then an American...knocks the Enemy dead...I love you little freak child!"

"Could you...words on outer space, sir?"

"What do you mean outer space?"

"Space...planets..."

"The cosmos. Oh, well get with it, sonny. Learn the lingo before you start asking questions. Yes, space...."

"We will, before long, have a golf course on the moon. Ike Easyhower and me are gonna put on the first tourney up there. The Moon Golf Classic, we're gonna call it. We'll have a big rocket ship going up there, and I'll be standing in the austerity, cracking golf jokes. I know a lot of good golf jokes."

Holbert Holbert appears and announces that there is one more question.

"Mr. President...could you tell us what is the most pressing problem in the country today?"

"Uh...well, let's see, Peepers Creepers, that's what I'm probably it's the Gomez...of course are familiar with the Gomez...Gomez, Under Secretary of Faith, started smoking drugs up at the Big House last year. He has a habit the size of a mile. The biggest problem in the U.S. today is keeping Gomez Gomez full of drugs."

A scattered murmuring fills the room as the President leans the chair, Reporter's scratch at the note pads frantically...off...President disappears in a cloud of smoke. Finally, the...Holbert Holbert...of...reporters out of the room and it's quiet again. The President...appears flopped out in a chair.

...really gave me a jolting."

"...great Chief...simpler...Holbert Holbert...of..."

"Oh, don't worry, from...We go to...Washington."

Washington...Lady Bird...Washington..."

"...novel. The...of..."

"...President...getting...Well, that's...Campbell's..."

VIETNAMIZATION

Photo by Magdalene Sinclair

If you have only two chopsticks they will be easy to break, but if you have a whole bundle they are not so easily broken. —Vietnamese saying

The great spirit of Ho Chi Minh lives throughout Vietnam and in the hearts of all revolutionary peoples on the planet. He is truly the symbol of unity. There is a story we were told by the Vietnamese of the last few minutes in his life. Ho was lying on his bed, too weak to move or speak, and the leading members of the Central Committee gathered around his bed to be with him during his last minutes—he kept looking from face to face, as if waiting for something—slowly they all put their arms around each other and held hands. Ho looked, smiled, and closed his eyes—he knew that they were promising unity and his vision of a reunified Vietnam will become a reality no matter what the hardships, no matter how long we have to struggle. For the Vietnamese are one people, and they are strong, infinitely patient, and determined to win their liberation.

JUNE 14. Leaving Vietnam was like being torn from a lover or something, really—I'm in love. I've never been to a country or even a town where I immediately fell in love with EVERYBODY I met or came in contact with. It's so incredible. It's a whole country of people in love—with life, with each other, and awesomely in love with young American revolutionaries. As much as we would tell them what an inspiration they are for us, they would always come back stronger telling us what an inspiration we are for them, and they mean it.

It blew me out how every single place we went people came out in droves to greet us—sometimes a whole village would hear we were there and would line the streets to wave at us and laugh. They always laugh a lot, and sing. Every place we went there were always people to sing for us. And everything together—no separation. Their culture and lifestyle is all integrated with their politics and fighting—they have successfully brought together the purity and simplicity of their ancient culture with the demands of a revolution and a war of destruction put on them by the US imperialists and their puppets.

We went way back in the mountains to visit the Vietnamese mountain people—the Thai. We had to cross rivers, many of them. At one point we were sitting on a bamboo raft being pulled across by four young Vietnamese, swimming. Then sitting in a beautiful bamboo house raised above the ground about ten feet on stilts, sitting there with those beautiful pure peasants drinking coconut milk, smoking Thuoc Lao, and a 67-year old woman comes in from working in the rice paddies, sits down, and begins singing a song to us, which turns out to be about the misery of life before the revolution when the landlords and French colonialists were so cruel, and how the revolution changed everything so—they reconverted the French landing strip into a rice paddy—and she continues to sing about how we must be strong and determined to win this war against the US and reunite our country.

A 67-year old woman, so tiny—and every once in a while someone walks through with a rifle on his/her back, not to frighten anybody, but because they are always ready, always ready to defend their land, their homes and families from whatever aggressor might appear. They're very small people, and extremely poor in terms of standard technology, but you could never imagine the spirit all the people of Vietnam have in their hearts—it's just too incredible. All that shit we're told about the North and the South being divided—Vietnam is one country, it's so incredibly united.



Genie Plamondon, Minister of International Affairs, White Panther Party.

Nixon just keeps on sticking his boot in deeper and deeper into his ASS—what a fucking monster his government is, and those little people are going to whoop Nixon's ass with his own boot! Dig it: Nixon, Laird, Mitchell and those punks got this great plan called "Vietnamization" of the war. It's supposed to mean total withdrawal of US troops, leaving the puppet troops there, showing everybody that's what the people of Vietnam want—to be a colony of the US. Vietnamization has three parts to it—1) Withdrawal of US troops, 2) Consolidation of puppet troops and puppet government, and 3) Intensification of the pacification program.

Number one depends on number two and number two depends on number three—because in order to withdraw US troops you must leave behind strong puppet troops and a strong puppet government, and in order to have strong puppet troops and government, the people—the PEOPLE—have to believe in their ruse, or else they'll get rid of them. So it's the pacification program that is most important at this point, and Nixon's strategy, of course, is to intensify the pacification program.

Dig the tactics he uses in the "pacification" program—he divides the south into two zones, the cities and the countryside and proceeds to drive all the people by any means necessary into the cities. The countryside becomes like a free shooting zone, toxic chemicals are sprayed all over, and people are taken from their land and herded into "strategic hamlets" which are a bunch of shacks surrounded by barbed wire and troops. And why is he doing this? Because the people in the countryside, the peasants, the majority of the people, work hand in hand with the National Liberation Front—the dirty commie bastards we hear about.

They hide and feed and take care of the Viet Cong, and they hide and feed and take care of American deserters. Nixon wants to win over the people of Vietnam, but he thinks he can do it by getting them to believe what they read in the papers instead of what they see right in front of them. It's impossible for Nixon to win the war, because he's fighting an unjust war against the people. The people are truly a pond, and the liberation forces are the fish who swim freely in the pond—Nixon wants to dry up the pond to get at the fish.

It amazes me how together the people of Vietnam are. They have a history of literally 4,000 years of struggle for their liberation and it has made them some of the most together people on the planet—they are wholly committed and determined to win, and they KNOW they can do it because they're going to fight until they win—period. And that's ALL the people. The level of understanding of the people is incredible.

Most of the two weeks we were in Vietnam we spent in Hanoi meeting with various people from many different organizations, but we also got the chance to spend four or five days in the countryside. It was so far out—three American women and six Vietnamese from the Committee of Solidarity with American People, and our Vietnamese driver in a bus about half the size of a school bus driving around the countryside of North Vietnam—we really became a family.

And everywhere we went the people loved us—from the tiny children to the ancient peasants in the mountains to the high school kids and their parents. Vietnam is really poor, but there are schools in every village now and the people are so close—working together, living through so much struggle together—they all understood so much about what's going on here in the belly of the beast, in AmeriKKKa. And they really love us young people in America because they know we understand and that we're fighting the same enemy and have the same struggle, and that we're the future of our Nation, and the future of Vietnam, and the future of the world. Youth make revolution—and this was the first time that young American free revolutionaries had come to Vietnam—they loved us so much!

The following is what I wrote in my journal while there on the 27th of May, our first day into the countryside:

This morning we made it up at 5:30 a.m. and were finally on the road by 7:00. I really wish there would have been a way to write on the way, but it's so bouncy—we were in a bus twice the size of a family van, just big enough. I think there are ten of us—and we rode on Highway 1, taking all the necessary detours because it has been bombed so many times, going on wooden bridges in new locations from the steel ones that are half there. We went over the Ham Rong Bridge—it has had 6000 TONS of bombs dropped on it trying to destroy it, and some 90 US planes trying to destroy it have been downed—a truly holy bridge. On either

side are mountains, Dragon Eyes and the Bull, which are now about half the size they were before the bombs. This province, Thanh Hoa, has been bombed incredibly, and it's very very obvious. They build grass, bamboo and clay huts around the bombed buildings—but the buildings are still there to see. This whole province has been bombed so many times, the ground is pock-marked—they have smoothed over a lot for growing their crops and grass or whatever grows over the craters, but it's very obvious the whole province and every village in it was totally destroyed. There are a lot of churches, pagodas, temples, schools, and hospitals which have been totally bombed out to ruins.

We went through another area, a strip of land that went across from one bridge to the next which they called No Man's Land. During the French occupation the French totally destroyed everything on the land and put mines and barbed wire everywhere—north of that was occupied and south of that was liberated. Lu talked about being in the mountains and then coming out on the plains and how far out it was to be able to see so far. And Phan explained the difference between the militia and the guerrillas—militia are defensive, in times of no attack they work on construction and production and they fight to defend when being attacked—women join the militia more because of family duties. Guerrillas are offensive—they go and seek out the enemy. There are both, of course, in the North and South—plus the regular army (which wear green uniforms).

There is just so much to write about, I can't remember it all right now and won't be able to write very easily tonight because there's no electricity. It's amazing how hard everyone here works—everyone—little kids out in the rice fields, old women carrying heavy loads. And many many young women working on repairing the roads—this is such an underdeveloped country, but they work hard with the few materials they have. It's incredibly hot, too, and we have no ceiling fans so we use our straw Vietnamese hats as they do—living with this heat is a whole way of life; the Vietnamese do it very well. There's a poster, a Russian poster of Lenin on the wall. We should sleep now, they know what's best and I hardly slept yesterday or last night. Straw beds and straw pillows. Heat.

And then the following, written the morning of May 28:

We got up at 6:00 this morning and had breakfast—and now we sit around talking to wait for people from the Fatherland Front to come and take us around. Already it's very very hot and on the other side of the pond people have been working in the fields since before we got up. The Vietnamese understand so well that they have to raise the consciousness of the peasants to socialism. Oahn emphasized the need to experiment first—any policy they decide on in a small representative area, even if they are certain it is correct. So with socialism they experiment with trying to collectivize the farms. And emphasize doing everything step by step. First they understand that the peasants have lived on their land for many generations and love it very much—shown in the fact that even during the War of Destruction by the US the peasants stayed on their land to fight. So the first step is to form mutual aid collectives where they help each other. (There is a small garden in front of me with tiny red flowers that were closed and have slowly opened while I've been sitting here—I asked and they're called 10 o'clock flowers, very beautiful, like tiny red roses.) It's so

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JUNK SUCKS LIFE!

Every day in Amerika the prison population increases as the Government railroads our outlaw friends into jail on marijuana busts. This process of cultural genocide has traditionally avoided public outrage and radical social action because the victims (usually poor and/or Black) of anti-grass laws have always been described and treated as criminals. In reality they are political prisoners (as are most prisoners under this decadent and oppressive capitalist system).

Only now, now that the "criminals" are turning up in the bedrooms and schools of the white middle and upper classes, public and government concern has been voiced in regards to the harsh penalties imposed on the people who smoke marijuana. Spiro and his new aristocracy are hesitant to put their kids away for ten years. Even Harry Anslinger's foul rhetoric no longer has anyone fooled; as various state and federal agencies and committees remove grass from the list of narcotics and make recommendations to reduce the penalties. But these new pig positions are just empty words, designed to pacify the liberal outrage of a more aware public. (Dig that there are over 40 million people who toked up, and they aren't by any means soley freaks!)

The ACTUAL programs developed and implemented by the government and its agencies to deal with drugs (of all sorts) have only one goal: TOTAL CONTROL. Check it out—Operation Intercept (recently replaced with "Operation Cooperation") was a media stunt designed to dupe the public into believing Tricky Dick and his pals had some real concern for the health of this country's youth, while in reality it served as a decoy to draw fire away from this Mafia's dealings in real death drugs like heroin and speed. Ever since our revolutionary culture started to define us as a people, the mass media has distorted our use of consciousness-expanding drugs—marijuana, mescaline, psilocybin, LSD, etc.—and insisted that we were exclusively a drug culture—as if the honkoid culture we came out of was not a drug culture. Shit.

While we use LSD to cleanse the pig inside ourselves and to get in tune with the cosmos, our parents and lawmakers consume vast quantities of alcohol to reinforce their piggy lives and increase their separation from each other. We get high and they get drunk. They pass laws against smoking a harmless weed and we go to jail or live

underground as outlaws. The problem is always defined by the pig government as a "drug problem" or as the "generation gap" (tell it to Tim Leary or Alan Watts or Allen Ginsberg). But a clear look at the situation lets us know that drugs are only chemical agents; they can be liberating or consciousness-contracting. What we are faced with is a CONTROL PROBLEM.

The alcohol trusts and the amphetamine/tranquilizer producing pill companies make billions of dollars selling poison to people. Consumer-mad Americans believe in the tv when it tells them that a wierd assortment of pills will get them thru their daily lives. Every community is plagued with liquor stores and bars that are just human gas stations. The internal pollution people subject themselves to is part and parcel of the pollution of the land, air and water—it all leads to an unnatural death. And for those who are too young to drink and whose minds have not been molded to conformity by the time they are in second grade, the system has applied the chemical text of BRAVE NEW WORLD.

Dig—in the suburbs of Detroit (read, any city, USA) it was revealed that hundreds of children in elementary schools were being prescribed a drug called Ridlin to "increase their attention spans". These kids became addicted to this control chemical, but as they got older and their body chemistry changed (both naturally and in-organically) it was necessary for them to satisfy their addiction with narcotics. Addicted by their parents and teachers and doctors at twelve, and without ever having seen or smoked marijuana.

For black kids the schools have taken on the general look of guarded mental institutions.

In the past, the school system dealt with black rebels by kicking them out of school and onto the streets. But now the streets are battleground territory that the racists cannot allow to fall into the hands of the Black Liberation Army. So, as in South Africa, the colonials are kept in reservations and camps. If the ghetto life, or the draft, or the police/court jail assembly line, or the plague of heroin does not consume enough life-force, the daily dosages of downers such as thiorazine and librium and vallium given to young black kids

will do the trick. Chemical control of revolutionary energy equals spiritual genocide. When the spirit of Black people has gone wild in the streets, the reactionary forces have spread more reds and downers on the streets than tear-gas.

Check it out—a riot will lose energy if all the brothers and sisters are nodding out after the party. Once again, there is no drug problem, drugs are only chemical agents. For those brothers and sisters fucked up behind bogus drugs, we will have to develop some revolutionary medical practice and patience where the victims of this chemical warfare are helped to get healthy. When the government creates criminals out of the victims of the Plague—Heroin—we must create jailbreaks and revolutionary treatment centers.

The drugs we use in our life culture have created a control problem for the dying order, because we wouldn't have a consumer/slave consciousness. We must now begin to intensify our research and subsequent educational programs so we can expose the whole food industry in the US for sacrificing nutrition and organic quality in food to make more profit.

In Amerika, health is a commodity. The tyranny of plastic consumerism has created the awful condition where over 90% of all food on the general market contains poisons in the form of preservatives, additives, and chemical substitutes for natural chemicals. In the final analysis, we will have to turn to North Korea's Premier Kim Il Sung's police of JUCHE—revolutionary self-reliance—in order to remain free to determine our own destinies and develop total alternatives to meet even our basic needs. We must learn new ways of eating, growing organic food, taking care of our collective bodies. As we forever abandon our parent's death culture and the drugs of that culture we must develop a culture based on the liberation

of the planet and all its people. When we do this, we can expect the reactionary control addicts to step up their battle plans on the homefront.

From the highest levels of command/control, policy and programs are being created to eliminate our holy drugs and their advocates and creators, and to increase the spread of death drugs like heroin and speed. This is only new to our blossoming revolutionary culture in our new Nation, but it is a well-developed method of counter-revolution used against the Black colony in Amerika and against the other colonial liberation movemets around the world.

THE VAST INCREASE IN HEROIN USE AND THE PERIODIC SCARCITY OF GRASS ARE THE RESULTS OF A CAMPAIGN WAGED JOINTLY BY THE MAFIA, THE CIA, AND FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL NARCOTICS AGENCIES. These people are hooked on control, and when things begin to really get out of control they start to flip out and get dangerously paranoid.

During the last Moratorium in Washington, Nix-On wandered dopishly into the crowd early Saturday morning and started babbling to the youthful protestors about college football games, spaceshots, and used cars. Those present reported him to have been totally incoherent. Either he was drugged (remember Hitler was the world's first speed freak), or suffering from control withdrawal, or both.

Dig: Operation Intercept is no longer in the headlines, but military operations utilizing helicopters, napalm, high altitude sensing devices and chemical defoliants are carried out against

marijuana fields from Mexico to South Africa. Boy Scouts scour the countryside ripping the "killer weed" out by the roots. Perverted dogs sniff out the contraband at major airports. Major portions of all money allocated to handling the "drug problem"—fast becoming Amerika's new-found national crisis—is spent to hire hundreds of slimy narcotic pigs to make full use of the marijuana prohibition to create political repression.

All this while millions of visionary marijuana maniacs plant their seeds everywhere—another direct application of Comrad Kim Il Sung.

Other scenes in the control battle are much grimmer. As the rhetoric flows about relaxing the marijuana prohibition, our people are still getting popped and more and more people are getting strung out on heroin and speed.

In the past the government has been very reluctant to send its youth to prison for ten years, so the situation existed where thousands of people were ARRESTED for use and/or sale of the weed yet only dozens ever got CONVICTED AND SENTENCED. If the penalties are reduced, the oppressive capabilities of the police and courts will vastly increase, and NOT become more liberal as the public is led to believe. We can expect that if the penalties are reduced to a one-year maximum for marijuana, that of the tens of thousands who will be arrested this year, most of them will face jail. This is why Amerika's concentration camps are being readied. Those camps are built to hold more than the heavies like H. Rap

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Junk

From page 16

Brown and Pun Plainondon—they will accommodate the victims of the racist genocide being waged against black people and the victims of the cultural genocide being waged against the revolutionary youth culture of our new Nation. But the chomps who are desperately and viciously trying to hold back history know that black people and young people are not about to be willing Jews—they know we will die in the freedom struggle rather than go to the ovens peacefully. It is with this understanding that we have to prepare for a new onslaught of ugly chemical warfare. The Black Nation has already felt the deadly ruin of the Plague—heroin addiction—chemical genocide where the victim pays to be killed slowly.

Dig—The Turkish government, which produces 80% of the world's raw heroin, has offered to sell its annual crop to the United States for a measly \$10,000,000. Uncle Dick refuses to buy, knowing much is to be gained financially and politically if this heroin is pumped into the developing revolutionary colonies. Dig—The CIA Cambodian coup put into power one Lol Nol, whose tribe has traditionally been responsible for producing the bulk of Asia's heroin crop. A worthy investment for control addicts like the CIA.

The forces of international capitalism have worked hard to create the image that there is a (moral)

difference between "legitimate" corporate enterprises and "illegitimate" or criminal enterprises (Mafia). To the masses of people who have been exploited and murdered for profit there has never been any difference. The only differences existing within the ruling-class are based upon greed and style, but mainly greed. When the federal government moves against the Mafia it is not to protect the health of the common people, but because the Mafia got too greedy to pay off the government in taxes. The image-laden differences between the crime world and the government world become irrelevant because the illicit profits made from narcotics sales are channelled directly into so-called legitimate businesses.

When the CIA executes military coups, exercising power beyond the control of Congress and probably beyond the Presidency and the Pentagon, and it is revealed that the CIA is heavily involved in narcotics smuggling, we must prepare ourselves for a life and death war against people who are addicted to CONTROL. As long as we stay out of control, as long as we resist the Plague, as long as we engage in the revolutionary activity of getting high while turning others on and planting seeds, and as long as we work to eliminate capitalism's most evil source of profits—narcotic addiction—we will ultimately achieve the great satisfaction of seeing these foul control addicts withdraw into their own paranoid little shells and die.

To this end, the White Panther Party hereby issues the following Declaration of a State of War:

ON THE PLANET, this 4th day of July, in the Second year of Zenta, 1970, it is declared that:

A STATE OF WAR EXISTS between the revolutionary people building an alternative culture, and the counter-revolutionary forces represented by death drugs such as smack and speed, those who push it, and those who use it.

THE PEOPLE BUILDING the revolution in the mother country and

SMACK AND SPEED HAVE NO redeeming characteristics: physical, spiritual, or social. Whereas marijuana and the psychedelics serve to heighten the awareness of the user and bring him/her in closer harmony with the life-giving energy of the universe, smack and speed have exactly the opposite effect. Heroin only destroys awareness, it puts the user in a state of catatonic stupor that is a complete rejection of the concrete realities of all life on the planet. Speed (amphetamines) shatters all unity within the user and society,

".....JUNK IS THE IDEAL PRODUCT.....THE ULTIMATE MERCHANTISE. NO SALES TALK NECESSARY. THE CLIENT WILL CRAWL THROUGH A SEWER AND BEG TO BUY.....THE JUNK MERCHANT DOES NOT SELL HIS PRODUCT TO THE CONSUMER, HE SELLS THE CONSUMER TO HIS PRODUCT. HE DOES NOT IMPROVE AND SIMPLIFY HIS MERCHANTISE. HE DEGRADES AND SIMPLIFIES HIS CLIENT. HE PAYS HIS STAFF IN JUNK."

—William Burroughs, NAKED LUNCH

working to liberate all people on the planet from those ideas which bind them to their oppressors, realize that within our own culture there has emerged drugs which drain the energy and crush the spirit of revolutionary consciousness. The use of these drug-drugs is totally opposed to the concept behind the mind-expanding sacraments which symbolize and re-enforce our existence—marijuana and the psychedelics.

and divides the individual against him/her self and against all others—it is totally paranoia-inducing.

SMACK AND SPEED, in any form and in whatever amount, cause immeasurable and irreparable damage to the life cells of the human body, and both drugs are addictive. The continued use of smack and/or speed can only result in slow and ugly death. All scientific knowledge and all of our

My name is Nils. I'm a correspondent for a daily newspaper in Copenhagen. I just returned from the Middle East from visiting Lebanon and Jordan where I was dealing specifically with the situation within the Palestinian Liberation Movement.

What has happened since the June 1967 war is the formation of a new renaissance movement, made up of 11 or 12 different commando groups into the Palestinian Liberation Movement.

They all represent different ideas from within the Palestinian people and I should say the whole Arab world as such.

Until February of this year, there was a lot of disagreement among the Palestinians about how the fight against Israel should take place and also a lot of disagreements among the individual groups.

In February there was a crisis in Jordan, because King Hussein wanted to move against the Fedayeen. Fedayeen is an Arab term meaning "he who sacrifices", or loosely, "commando."

Hussein's attacks led to an historical event within the Palestinian movement, by forcing all of the commando groups into a coalition for self-defense, called the Unified Command. For the first time the guerrilla organizations stuck together and succeeded in matching the army of Jordan, and a compromise was established.

The historical event of the February crisis is that now you have a Unified Command which the people in the different organizations hopefully will develop a united front along the patterns that were developed in Algeria and what has been happening in Vietnam.

What one should understand is that this is not just a Palestinian issue, this is an issue which concerns the whole Arab world.

The reason for so many different Palestinian groups is that since Israel was established in 1948 the Palestinian people have lived all over the Arab world. In returning from the different Arab countries today they bring with them the ideology and many political points of view which the different Arab countries have.

So what is happening within the Palestinian movement today, is that it's actually a debate between four political parties and lines in the Arab world.

The following interview is with a member of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

They realize that the struggle is not only one against Israel, but also one against the conservative governments of the Arab world.

The PDFLP and the PFLP claim that they should liberate Palestine and they should liberate Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait at the same time as well.

This brings out a lot of contradictions within the movement, because the major group, Al Fatah, which is a nationalist group, says that they don't want to deal with the situation in the Arab countries. They say they should concentrate on the struggle against Israel right now.

The following is an interview in the northern part of Jordan. I visited a military base of the PDFLP. It is the only group which today would let an outsider visit one of their bases. Most of the other groups have had bad experiences about journalists coming there and giving the information to the Israelis, or in some way or another the Israelis obtaining it. For this reason the possibilities of visiting bases are very limited.

The base was established some miles from the Jordan river and about 30 guerrillas lived there in caves. The guerrillas had only the absolute of minimum needs to live on.

This interview was taken with one of the Fedayeen at this base, a 24-year-old Palestinian who used to live in Bagdad, Iraq. His name is Souht (phonetic spelling).

Q: What is life like up here in the mountains?

A: Well, of course, a large part of it is very tough. But we can sustain the toughness because we're fighting for a purpose. We're fighting for a cause so we don't care about the toughness. We left the cities and we gave up our whole lives for this cause.

We live in natural caves and sometimes we dig them ourselves. Also we live in tents. Some of the bases only have blankets, no tents or caves.

Q: When you take an action, do you go far into Israel?

A: Of course, that depends. Some operations are only minor. Most operations are made, let's say, a kilometer or two inside Israel. Some operations, which are increasing now, are made farther. The farthest point we move east is about 30 or 40 kilometers, and that's quite dangerous.

Of course we have our comrades who are always inside Israel. They live in the oppressed regions. They're always there and they also make operations inside. They even raid Haifa on the Mediterranean Sea, and that's the last point you can reach.

Q: What do you think of the capacity of the Israeli soldiers? I mean, when you meet them personally, face-to-face?

A: I tell you, he is a well-trained soldier, but the Israeli soldier—I think he is not fighting for a real cause. He is realizing that in his part he is serving imperialism, he is serving exactly the U.S.

Q: Do you really think the Israeli soldier is aware of this?

A: I think they are beginning to realize this. For one thing, our comrades inside have very close contacts with the Israelis. Also I've noticed their capacity for fighting. One year ago, two years ago it was different. There are many more now but we can see for sure that when they fight they do not want to die. Not like us, we do not care. We do not want to die but we don't care if we die. But he cares.

You can see these days they become very afraid. They are becoming very afraid of Fedayeen commandoes. Sometimes, even in combat, they get away from the area. They just don't want to fight, they don't want to be killed. But their training is good and their weapons are very very good, better than ours, much better. They use all kinds of weapons, especially heavy artillery and heavy machine guns.

Q: Against civilians?

A: Yes, of course. All the borders are filled with heavy artillery and heavy machine guns. They rarely ever use light machine guns like the ones we use—always their weapons are heavier. But we depend on surprise, that's one point we depend on. Our training and our knowledge of the combat area, our faith in our cause and our willingness to sacrifice are others. When we retreat from a skirmish it's for tactical reasons, not because we are afraid.

Q: Does it sometimes happen that the Israeli soldiers cross the river?

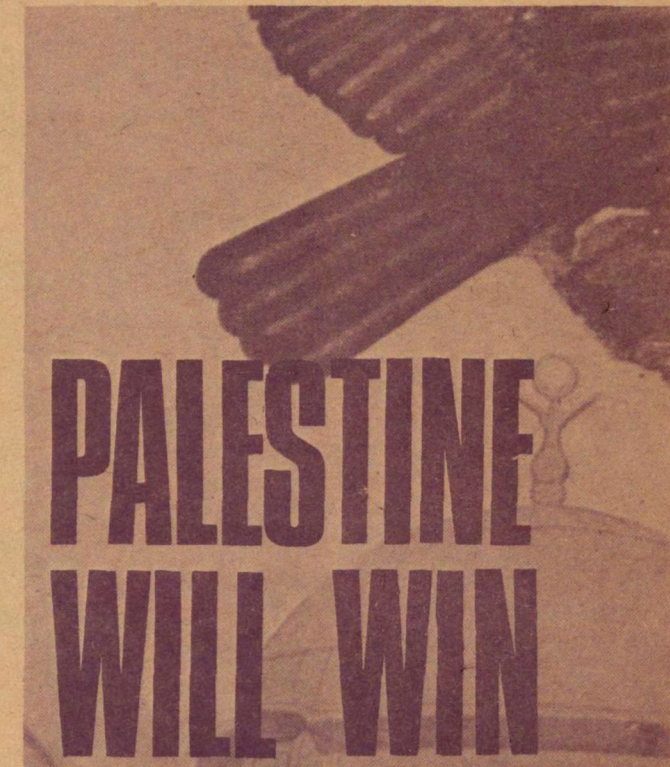
A: Yes, it happens. They cross many times, but not in small groups like ours, in larger groups, groups of 50 or 60 or sometimes 100. They rarely attack in these groups, they just cross to frighten people. On the Lebanese border they cross many times and take prisoners. Two years ago they crossed the Jordan river with over 10,000 troops and attacked Karamah, which was destroyed. However, they lost many soldiers and many weapons, tanks and everything. Another crossing

took place a month ago. They attacked Fedayeen bases and returned. They used about 10 or 12 thousand troops.

Q: To join the PDFLP one must have a certain ideology?

A: Ideology is very important to us. We don't fight because we like war and fighting. No, on the contrary, we fight for peace, and we fight for socialism. We fight for all the people of the world, all the peasants of the world, and all poor men and women of the world. So for us it is very important that the fighters know why they fight.

You see, we are not mercenaries. We fight because we have faith in the cause we are fighting for. As another point, also, we are not fighting against Jews—not at all. We are always ready to accept Jews in our front, in our fight against Zionism.



PALESTINE WILL WIN

We are fighting Zionism. We are fighting an ideology and some capitalists that stole our land from us, that made our people thrown away from their land. We also fight these capitalists because they are servants of the imperialists in this district of the world.

They serve the imperialists all over the world here and you know the Middle-East is a very important area for imperialism. That's a very important point for us to clear up, especially in Europe, because Zionists always show us as anti-Jews or anti-Semitic. On the contrary, we are not like that, we never fight because they are Jews. We respect the Jewish religion and we respect Jews. As I said, we are ready to accept Jews in our fight against Zionism.

Q: How long have you been in the PDFLP?

A: About seven months, six and a half months or so.

Q: Have you studied the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, and did they give you a special desire to join this fight here?

experience as a human species has shown us this—smack and speed represent death and only death.

THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF MANKIND drugs such as these have been used by colonial oppressors to divide and weaken the will of subject peoples. Today, the introduction of smack and speed into our communities is in the same way being used to carry out a plan of cultural genocide against the revolutionary elements in American society.

The ruling class of the USA has allowed the sale and use of smack and speed within the youth colony and the black colony in an attempt to undermine our people's natural desire for unity and freedom. The ongoing reality of this drug warfare being carried out on all levels of government in America is made even more evident by the blatant and outright suppression of the biologically harmless and benevolent drugs—marijuana and the psychedelics, drugs which awaken and revive the revolutionary fervor among our people.

WE WILL NOT ALLOW OURSELVES to be oppressed any longer. The existence of smack and speed in our communities is a real and present threat to our survival and healthy growth as a free people. We will not allow our brothers and sisters to be used by death drugs peddled by the lackeys of the colonial powers in America. We will use ANY MEANS NECESSARY to remove totally the poisonous blight of smack and speed from our communities.

—MINISTRY OF INFORMATION,
WHITE PANTHER PARTY.

CHEMICAL WARFARE

Heroin—junk, smack, horse—is a semi-synthetic derivative of morphine, which in turn comes from opium. Heroin is a white, odorless, crystalline powder which dissolves in water. It is two or three times more powerful than morphine. Four micrograms (mg) of heroin equal in effect about 10 mg. of morphine. The results are the same: relief of anxiety and tension, euphoria, drowsiness, and sedation.

Heroin has been illegal in the U.S. since 1924 but illicit traffic has always been high. The reason heroin has been brought in and used much more than morphine is that it is much easier to smuggle. It is more concentrated than morphine and comes in a powder instead of a brick.

Sniffing, skin popping (injection into skin tissue or muscle), and then mainlining (injection into a vein) is the common progression to getting hooked on heroin. Skin popping for a long time usually results in sores and boils and often tetanus. Older addicts revert to skin popping after their veins are "used up"—too weak to receive more injections. Mainlining is now common, since it requires less heroin to get high and the "rush" (feeling suddenly really high) is more immediate, with the drug

going directly into the blood stream. Shooting a grain (60 mg. or 3 or 4 bags) a day usually means being hooked after about two weeks.

Though there are as many reasons for addiction to heroin as there are addicts, the physical effects of the drug are in part the reason for continued addiction. Heroin alleviates physical pain. It used to be used as a painkiller. The body builds up a tolerance to its effects, so larger and larger dosages are needed to maintain a sense of well-being. If increased dosages are not continued, abdominal pain and other withdrawal symptoms occur. Addiction is accompanied by this physical dependence and a craving similar to that of hunger for food. Avoidance of withdrawal symptoms and the related anxiety is a powerful motive for continuing to take heroin.

Withdrawal symptoms from heroin start within a few hours after the addict's last dose. They can reach a peak in 24 to 48 hours. The symptoms, often called DT's or cold turkey, are: hot and cold flashes, goosebumps, sweating, tenseness, abdominal cramps, insomnia, increased blood temperature, respiratory rate, and blood pressure, muscle cramps, and dehydration.

Getting off heroin (kicking) causes

much suffering: mental alienation and physical pain is what keeps most addicts shooting. Kicking requires lessening the intake of the drug gradually, but more often another drug that is supposed to be less dangerous is substituted for heroin.

Methadone is a synthetic drug which supposedly can be safely substituted for heroin since you cannot get high on it and it prevents DT's. Experimental programs using methadone to help addicts have usually failed. It causes an addiction both psychically and physically though its withdrawal symptoms are less violent but more prolonged than for either heroin or morphine. Recent tests show methadone to be dangerous to blood marrow, causing excruciating pain in bones if it is used too long.

But methadone is legal. It is in fitting with the American system that such a drug be widely used. Being hooked on methadone is living without pleasure or pain. In an anesthetic society, which is moving toward an absence of all feeling—not just pain—methadone is a logical step.

Thanks to the OLD MOLE.

A: Yes, even before I came to the Front I always read political books. But I didn't come here because of a desire to fight or a desire to live like this. I came here because I thought it was my duty to come here. It's my duty to fight against imperialism and because the fight against imperialism is the same everywhere, in Iraq or here, or in every other country, wherever it is. Since it's a fight against imperialism it's the same fight to me.

Q: How much time do you give here to ideological and political questions?

A: We have a central program here, as a matter of fact, more than half our time is spent on these things. We study here in the caves. We study in central programs, programs from the Central Committee, and we have free studies also.

There is a committee in the days that is responsible for the program and every day we have a conference of more than two hours or a special

The following is the transcript of a recording of a visit to a refugee camp outside Amman, Jordan. The part of the camp which I am in belongs to the Popular Front, the PFLP, and we are in a tent with Arab women being trained in how to use their weapons. I'm interviewing one of the women from the front about the situation of the women within the Palestinian Revolution.

Q: Do you have enough weapons for demonstration purposes. Do you have enough guns to give all the women in case it should be necessary.

A: Yes, if the woman lives in the Front, or in a house that needs a weapon, we provide her with one. But of course we would like to provide the families as much as we can, not the individuals only.

Q: So you give each family at least one gun to each house, and the father is in charge of the gun.

A: Sometimes, the father. Of course the one who is trained will be in charge and he or she trains the whole family to use it. As many guns as we have we give to the people.

Q: Isn't that something new—I mean, when these people lived in the West Bank before the June '67 war, I had the feeling that they were not given arms by the Jordanian government and they were not at all trained to be using arms.

A: Yes, they were not trained at all. Of course, this was the policy of the government. They try now to do it here, but they can't.

Q: They have tried to stop the training of guns in the camps? In the refugee camps?

A: Yes, three times they have tried to stop the arming of the population. But, they failed.

Q: So, if you think that some day there comes a real crisis in Jordan, with the government once and for all wanting to take the weapons away from the people, that the people would be ready and have the strength and sufficient knowledge to shoot back?

A: Yes, of course, they would fight. They have now the sufficient knowledge of using the weapon, and they will use it.

Q: They would fight against the army?

A: Yes, if they were confronted. But if they were not confronted they would like to use it of course for fighting Israelis.

Q: Do you give the people political training at the same time as the military training?

A: Yes. Every member of the Popular Front in our organization, every man and woman should receive both political and military training. They do it all together. They have programs. A special time for training, and other times for political education. Of course we try to educate the people politically too, especially in the camps. We call them to general meetings and we try to persuade them of their actual goal in this movement. That not only those of us who joined the commandos and stay in bases should be educated and should be informed of this revolution. All the population, especially the poor classes, should be the major part of this revolution. So that they could, in time, all be our reserves.

Q: What do you mean?

A: Reserves consist of all the members of refugee camps whom we train, both politically and militarily. They stay in refugee camps, they live normal lives there. They get jobs and they are reserves for the commandos. And if the people are confronted, they have the ability to fight against the confronter.

Q: What is the role of the Palestinian woman in the revolution? I mean, there is a kind of emancipation taking place at the same time as this training is going on, isn't there?

A: When the commando movement started we recognized that the women form half the population. So from the beginning, we have recognized the role of women as being the same as the role of men.

Q: For tactical reasons or because you believe that women should have the same rights as men have?

A: Because women are a part of the people, and they have all the time been pushed away from being participants in any political action or any military action. So if we have to carry out a revolution, you have to mobilize all the poor people, men and women.

So we have started to mobilize them politically, and then we have opened military bases for them and given them courses in military education, as well as political training.

Many, many members of the commando movements are women. If you look at the role of women inside Palestine, you'll see that the women had taken up arms and participated in many operations against the Israelis. These are examples now for all the women inside Palestine and here. And we would like this of course to be much more so—we want for all the women to be mobilized on these bases.

Q: I can imagine that this is a total break in the traditions of the women's role in society. Palestinian society used to demand that women stay at home behind closed doors and windows serving the family, doing their jobs in the houses. That you have now recruited women as Fedayeen must be a total break in the tradition, isn't it?

A: Yes, especially in the poor classes, they were before 1967 and up till now in a very reactionary position. We think that is changing because most of the poor classes are involved in this misery. The women have recognized that as long as her husband or her son or her brother is participating, and even some of their responsibilities at home have been lessened, they have more time and more opportunity to participate and they are encouraged by their husbands who are commandos and their brothers.

Q: But if the father or brothers aren't commandos, it would probably be quite difficult to convince them to come here.

A: Well, when we decided that the women's role was the same as the man's role, especially in our organization, we have started to work hard on this aspect and we hope that by examples of women inside of Palestine who have participated and who have been jailed to convince all women that their role is not any different, and that they are capable of doing the same job as any man.

subject. We take the subject and discuss it between us. All of our studies are collective studies.

Q: I see you've got some books here as well. What kind are they?

A: Yes, we have a library here. There are more than two hundred books in it. Most of them, of course, are political books. We have most of Lenin's books. We use them for our central program and free study groups. There are also some of Marx's books, Engel's works, a big collection of Mao's works, and of Guevara. Also we have two or three books by Debray, and many others. We have one book by Trotsky, not that we are Trotskyites or follow his line, but we should know of every line in the socialist movement.

Q: You have a picture on the wall?

A: Yes, it is a picture of Lenin. We are Leninists and we like to have a picture of him. It's not that we worship individuals, but just like your pictures of a friend, or your father, we have a picture of Lenin.



The Minister

SUR



Photo by Magdalene Sinclair

[Note: This is an interview with the co-founder of the White Panther Party and its Minister of Defense, Pun Plamondon. Pun is a fugitive of justice, having been charged with three dope counts in Traverse City, Mich., Chicago, and New Jersey. He is, more significantly, charged with conspiracy to bomb the CIA office building in Ann Arbor, Mich., in October, 1968, along with Chairman John Sinclair and Jack Forrest, and is charged with the actual bombing. As a result of this, he recently had the extreme honor of making the FBI's 10-most-wanted list, along with H. Rap Brown. He has been underground for over eight months and will continue to remain so—an outlaw making revolution in the Mother Country.]

Sundance: Well, Outlaw, how does it feel to be deep in the belly of the great White Whale?

Pun: Well, it really hasn't been any different than what it has been for the last few years, since the youth culture has been growing and developing, cause our whole culture is outlaw, our whole lifestyle is against the law. From fucking to smoking dope to our music. They wanna stop us from smoking dope, they wanna stop us from fucking, they wanna stop us from listening to our music. But, now, when you get into a position where the FBI is looking for you, it's just intensified, and it's a little easier to deal with, I think, because things are more pronounced. The line of demarcation is just more pronounced.

Sundance: Well, I just think it's a great inspiration to most people because most people think, "Well Jesus, if I get caught I'll just have to go to jail," and you ain't in jail, you know. It's a great example for millions of people to relate to, what it means to be an outlaw. It doesn't mean being in jail, it means going out and making revolution in the mother-country.

Pun: Right. That's one reason that, when I went underground, about eight months ago, I didn't split the country, as an example to other people. It does two things, it shows just how fucked-up and lame the pigs are, and shows people that there are other ways to deal with the madness going on than just to go to Canada, or go to Sweden or wherever people go. There is a whole bunch of people in this country who are leaving, and that is an incredible energy drain on the movement. There is an energy drain from draft dodgers and army deserters, they get jammed up and just split the country. I understand that there are something like 40,000 or 60,000 in Toronto alone, who are army deserters. What we would like to say to those people is stay in the mother-country and organize in the mother-country, and try to bring about an end to this fascist terror that's going on. Mao calls it flightism, avoid flightism. There's other brothers and sisters that get busted for dope, and are facing big prison terms for dope, and we would just like to encourage them to stay here, stay in the country and get it on. And it can be done, because the White Panther Party wasn't

tuned into some kind of international communist conspiracy or nothing, we were just trying to deal with the situation on a day to day basis. And what we found-out is that there are people all over the country who will feed us, hide us, and take care of us, and there is a real underground developing in this country now, it can be done. I went all over the motherfucking country, I've travelled more since I went underground than before I went underground, living with people, talking with people, trying to raise their consciousness, and my consciousness has really been expanded at the same time by listening to other people's ideas. Ideas, as Mao Tse Tung says, come from the people to the people. And we can do this, but we gotta avoid flightism and stay here and make revolution in the mother-country.

Sundance: You've been developing a lot of international consciousness since you've been underground, too. From Malcolm and the dispatches from Eldridge and things. You should talk about the international struggle, and how it relates to the White Panther Party.

Pun: Well the biggest thing, the biggest influence on me, is that I've just finished reading Malcolm X Speaks, which is his speeches and writings after he got back from Mecca, after his historic pilgrimage to Mecca. The internationalist trip is just an unlimited source of energy and inspiration, when you get into it and when you understand it. It's like this country can't deal with the brothers and sisters going down to Cuba to cut cane because that does two things. The people that go there find out that the Cuban people really love them, really love the people in this country, and it shows the Cuban people that the people in this country love them too, and that we're willing to get started on some meaningful international relations. And so now we read in the press that that fucking punk Eastland, Senator Eastland and the rest of those sissies say that the brothers and sisters are learning guerilla warfare. Well, I personally wish that they would, that brother Fidel and them cats would find ways and find time so brothers and sisters from Amerika could go down there and learn some guerilla warfare. I know I'd be down there right now. But I know Castro is concerned with his eight million brothers and sisters. He's concerned with just feeding them and harvesting ten million tons of sugar, and I don't think he's teaching strategy or sabotage. But, like I said, I wish he was.

Sundance: The pigs want to execute Bobby Seale right now on the bogus thing in Connecticut, along with fifteen other brothers and sisters, including Erika Huggins. It seems that conventional methods of dealing with this kind of thing have sorta flown out the window when you consider what the pigs have done with brother Bobby.

Pun: Well Bobby Seale man, that's like Huey

Newton. Those motherfuckers wanted to gas Huey Newton a while back but the people rose up in indignation and demanded that Huey not be gassed. And like I tried to say in an article I wrote a while back the newest, most powerful, most advanced gas chamber in the world couldn't gas Huey Newton cause the people wouldn't let it happen. But like Eldridge says, we're getting down to the nitty-gritty and we're not gonna miss no nits or no grits, and I don't know how to say this powerfully enough, but Bobby Seale has got to be cut loose. Because it's just getting out of hand. There's just no way you can deal with fascism in any kind of organized, legal manner. You can deal with it in an organized manner by all means—organized, revolutionary violence against those motherfuckers to cut Bobby Seale loose. We gotta do something. Because they're just trying to intimidate other members of the party, they're trying to intimidate the people at large. They figure if they can get away with putting Bobby Seale in the gas chamber, they can get away with frying anybody. But we just gotta show them that we ain't just jiving and that we're going beyond any sort of a turning back point now.

Sundance: Well, the success of the brothers in Latin America, ripping off fucking U.S. ambassadors and Guatemalan foreign ministers and shit, and demanding that the people be set free, is really inspirational.

Pun: Yeah it truly is, man. We could just kidnap five or six hundred of those motherfuckers, cause it's gonna take about six hundred of those motherfuckers to even halfway equal Bobby Seale. So we think, well fuck, we got a whole lot of things we can do. We could kidnap the motherfuckers, we could assassinate the motherfuckers, we can blow up their mommas, we can blow up their grandmas, it's just outta hand, and it's a crying shame that it's gone this far. And the only way it's gonna stop or change at all is if the people get so pissed off, and they realize that they ain't got nothing to lose, and they got everything to gain, and they start moving on that shit.

Sundance: We were talking about this before, the thing about the Conspiracy march, about trashing, when seven white men get put in jail, but when Bobby Seale gets kidnapped, and Fred Hampton gets murdered, you know, and there's all this liberal sympathy. It just seems to me that it really brings out the racist thing best, that that kind of situation could happen with people doing nothing about it.

Pun: Yeah, how 'bout that, man? There's seven white mother-country people get sentenced, and people go out and do millions of dollars worth of damage and shit, but like you said, when Bobby Seale was gagged, and now he's extradited to Connecticut, and Fred Hampton was wasted in his bed, man, after he was drugged, and what happened? Nothing happened. People did a little bit of shit, but nothing, man. I know if I'd been there, there'd have been some ass-kicking one way or another. I'd have kicked ass or died trying. People just cannot be intimidated behind that shit, man, because that's how they been holding us back all this time.

Sundance: It's a totally defeatist trip. It's like they can get away with this shit and we just stand by.

Pun: Right. It's like they can put John in jail, put John Sinclair in the slam for 9½ to 10 years, and we ain't done nothing yet, I don't really think we have, not anything near what needs to be done. That's why I really relate to the Weatherman, I really gotta relate to them, cause they ain't giving out no position papers, man, they don't have to call no press conferences on where they stand on Vietnam and liberation and shit, cause, like they say about the Weathermen, actions speak louder than words. And all I can say about the Weathermen, man, is power to 'em, I think they're a great inspiration to everyone in the mother country. And after what happened with sister Diana Oughton, and those other brother's in New York, Ted Gold and Terry Robbins—I would think that that would inspire people to a higher level of revolutionary violence, to avenge ourselves of these brother's and sister's deaths.

of Defense Speaks from the Underground:

PRISE ATTACK

Cause they were doing it for the people, and I believe that now people are gonna carry on and pick up their weapon. I understand in Ann Arbor we're moving to have a Diana Oughton Memorial Park.

Sundance: Right on.

Pun: I believe we should have yearly celebrations on Diana's birthday, or something, because what we have to do, people have to hold her up for the masses of the people to see, cause the masses of the people don't know how to be revolutionaries yet. They have the potential to be the most far out revolutionaries on the planet, but we have to hold up the right images, the right things to strive for, or they ain't gonna know. So Diana and those other brothers and sisters are our new heroes.

Sundance: What about John Sinclair? Like you say, we haven't done nearly enough, which I agree with, but the position that we have to exhaust all legal means is in effect right now. And we still have his Conspiracy trial to deal with. What do you think?

Pun: Well, we have to exhaust all legal means, like you say, because that's a way of further heightening the contradictions, and that's a way of showing the people that we're willing to do anything. We're willing to fight in the streets, we're willing to fight in the courtrooms, we're willing to fight in the alleys, where the pigs are we'll fight 'em. But, Kapigian, the narc that busted John Sinclair, that motherfucker's still walking the streets. He owns a clothing store in Detroit, "Washington Clothiers". The pigs are awful dumb, if four or five of those fuckin' narcs start getting shot right in the head, the other ones, it might take them two or three years to find out, but they'll learn that if they fuck with the people they're going to face the consequences. If you just look around we got unlimited shit we can do.

Sundance: What about your trip?

Pun: Yeah, I took a little trip. I waited till now to do this, because I wanted to set some sort of example to the brothers and sisters who are still in Babylon, to let them know that it is possible to live underground and to survive and function. I would say for an unlimited amount of time. Personally, I got busted in California with a loaded pistol and a bunch of dope. The thing for the pigs is that they're just so jammed, they got so much shit going on, they're trying to protect so many rich people, that they just get jammed up and they can't deal with it.

I had a chance to meet with the Vietnamese at a conference in Sweden, also with the Koreans. It was truly a mindblowing experience—they love us so much, and we get so much inspiration from them. My partner Genie was also invited to Hanoi, to see firsthand the heroic struggle they're fighting. (See later this issue.)

I also had a chance to spend a couple weeks with Eldridge Cleaver—another mindblowing experience. What a powerful brother! He's incredibly busy—he gets up at 7 every morning and works well into the night, always busy advancing the struggle from his position. And he's coming back to the Mother Country, to participate from the belly of the beast.

Mostly what we want to do is to get the young sisters and brothers here in Babylon to relate to internationalism, cause then they find out that the pig power structure isn't so overwhelming as they have been led to believe. Even on just a national basis, not dealing with internationalism, they're fucked up. But, when we start tying in with international struggle that's goin on everywhere, every place you look—shit, we got unlimited power. We can get some brothers from Japan, who have to go underground in Japan, we can get those brothers over here. Shit, man, we'll freak those motherfuckers out. They can't deal with the wrath of the people when the people really get their shit together, and really start studying and worrying about shit. Malcolm really blew my mind, that book MALCOLM X SPEAKS is the finest book I've read in a long time. I also just finished WRETCHED OF THE

EARTH by Frantz Fanon. That book has got so much information in it I'll probably have to read it five or six times before I can get everything out of it that's in it. But that explains a lot about what we're dealing with right now as cultural revolutionaries in the mother country. And our culture really has developed. Frantz Fanon said a groovy thing about culture. He said, "Culture comes out of struggle, and revolutionary culture comes out of revolutionary struggle." It's manifested by the music, art, etc. But it comes out of struggle and we're gonna see that our culture's gonna become truly revolutionary when we start struggling, and our artists and poets and shit start picking up on the struggle and start writing poems about the struggle, start writing songs about the struggle.

I know the UP are doing this. I know the MC5 used to do it before they got separated from the people. "Motor City's Burnin'" is a good tune. I think it's a really historical, revolutionary piece of art. The reason why that tune is so good is because the '5' went through those riots, Wayne Kramer and his old lady and some other brothers got busted in those riots along with 10,000 other people. Dig—they arrested 10,000 people in those riots in '67. And they got busted in that and had to go through all that fuckin' shit of going and having to get thrown in jail by all those fascist pigs, and get fucked with and stuff. And so what they did was to capture all the energy and the spirit of the people in those days of insurrection and put it into music, and I think that that tune is a motherfucker. I love "Motor City's Burnin'." That's why it's so great—cause they took that energy from the people and then gave it back to the people, you dig? Course that don't be happening now cause they're separated from the people.

Sundance: The thing that's going on right now is that sisters are finally getting their shit together and realizing that one of the prime sources of alienation is fucked up honko male domination in this fucked up honko male-dominated society, and a lot of men are reacting to it. They're not being very revolutionary about it, they aren't realizing that Women's Liberation is a revolutionary struggle.

Pun: Yeah, the sisters. I got nothin but the highest revolutionary respect for the women's liberation movement. I think that for me there's a very close example, and that's in my powerful partner Genie. That sister does more work, and has done more work in organizing the party than anybody else—myself and John Sinclair, or anybody. One thing I think that I learned from the women's liberation movement is that men have to learn, from the civil rights struggle for instance that we cannot tell black people how to go about their liberation. And there's been a lotta screamin and woofin and hollerin about some women's liberation groups and all this, and...

Sundance: ...the men who are reacting to it.

Pun: Right, and it just strengthens what the sisters are sayin', you know, when the men start woofin' and tellin' the "broads" they're fucked up and shit—I dunno. I don't have nothin' to say to Women's Liberation groups except "Power to you, sisters," and "Right on." Just like there's not a white person in Amerika who wasn't racist at one time, and probably a lot of us who think that we're not racist now have a lot of deep-seated racism. Along the same lines, I don't think there are any men in Amerika who don't have male chauvinism. And even though we may think that we have rid ourselves of male chauvinism, it's still there, there's still some deep roots there.

Sundance: Well, it's a constant struggle that we gotta carry on together to make ourselves truly revolutionary people. That's the only way to deal with anything, to deal with each other. That's what's gotta happen. And it can happen only when people stop reacting to each other.

Pun: Right. Start analyzing, start seeing where the sisters are coming from, you know? Cause the sisters most definitely got some righteous bitching to do, you know? And the best way to deal with that is to be open to it to analyze and criticize yourself, criticize the sisters, struggle with the sisters, you know, cause that'll purify that analysis, and it'll purify the men's analysis.

Sundance: What else should we talk about?

Pun: I think I'd like to talk about our international program. We're adopting this from the Red Army of Japan. We're gonna adopt it. Our strategic program for internationalism is right here in the United States. We also recognize that there are many other imperialist countries, including Japan, France...

Sundance: Israel...

Pun: ...Israel, but our primary target and our primary conflict lies with the United States. And by defeating United States imperialism we play a direct role in defeating all other types of imperialism. Second, we'd like to see some sort of "nation", and this is what I'm gonna be doing when I go across the ocean, out of struggles between all Mother Country radicals and all imperialist countries—"nation" with third world struggles. And thirdly we want to smash racism, support all just struggles of national minorities, in all countries, and we recognize the importance of the liberation of all women and youth. Fourth, we have to organize all U.S. soldiers at home and abroad. In other words, we want power to the people.

On a national level we would like to see individual and organized resistance against fascism, we want arms for all national minorities, starting with the Indians, black people...

Sundance: Arms for everybody.

Pun: ...well, we want to push the national minorities first cause they're getting the brunt of fascism and racism.

Sundance: Yeah, I'm hip, but you ain't gonna be able to buy guns pretty soon, and we got to get as many guns to as many people as possible, right now. You know, right now.

Pun: Right on. Yeah, the people need guns. I love guns, I think they're great. They're the the most democratic thing around. If everyone's got a gun, everybody's equal, ain't no two ways about it. But internationalism, that's the key, man, it's so far out when you think about South America. I'd love to go to South America. I'd love to fight with those brothers, I'd love to go to Vietnam and fight with those brothers. But I'd rather stay right here and fight in America.

Sundance: Well, that's right on—bringing the struggle home, keeping it where it belongs.

Pun: Right. There's so much to do, there's so much—like the beautiful quote from Mao, "So much cries out to be done, and all urgently, ten thousand years are too long. Seize the time, seize the hour." There's just so much to be done, we have to build international consciousness. We also have to build national consciousness. We have to fight on every level, on every front. We gotta fight on the streets, the courts, our homes. Gotta purge the pig out of us, we all got pig in us, a lot of pig. By struggling, that's how we purge the pig.

Sundance: We should talk a little about culture. We can't overlook the fact that we got an awful lot—that culturally, in terms of building a truly liberated culture, we got an awful lot of shit to teach the rest of the people of the world. Our cultural revolution is truly that—a revolution. Off alot of that is gonna come the whole kind of world we wanna build—what we're developing right now, and we can't lose sight of that. In most countries the political revolution has been made, and it's now turning into a cultural revolution. Although when you have imperialism on such direct levels, as in the Vietnamese and Cuban struggles, you don't have much time for it. But what we're saying is that we have a lot to teach the rest of the world, as well as learn, because we're pretty far out.

See page 27

THE RED PANTHERS: 'THE YOUNG PEO-

From a letter from my brother in East Germany (German Democratic Republic);

"I'm sure you can imagine how mad I was when I got the letter from Customs. They returned all the records just because one of the records is illegal in the GDR. On the form it states: "Importation of this record is not permitted." So only one record was not allowed. I assume that they meant 'Sympathy for the Devil' by the Rolling Stones. (Ed. Note; The other records sent were KARMA by Pharoah Sanders, and records by Bob Dylan and Creedence Clearwater.) It was also a mistake to send Abbie Hoffman's Woodstock Nation together with the Red book. Mao's Red Book is illegal here and the other one would probably have gone through without any hassle. We'll wait and see."

I had left home in 1958, when was 18. The Berlin Wall hadn't been built yet and it was easy to get out. All you had to do was go to East Berlin, take the subway to West Berlin and turn yourself in to the refugee camp.

I spent about three months in their lousy camp, being interrogated the whole time by French, British and American officials who were trying to get me to go back to East Germany to become a spy. That was routine; they did it with everybody who escaped.

But I hadn't left because I was anti-communist. I knew, either intuitively or from reading the right books when I was a kid, what REAL communism was supposed to feel like. And it wasn't happening there.

So I just split; I wanted to come to America, to see the Mississippi the prairies, maybe some real Indians. Besides, Amerika was where Louis Armstrong and Paul Robeson were from. I had to get there and I did, in 1959.

In February of this year, I received a telegram informing me that my mother had died. I got a plane ticket to East Germany so I could attend my mother's funeral, and I took little four-week-old Celia Sanchez Mao and went back home.

In 1970, the only difference between East Germany and Marquette Prison is that my brother can have Woodstock Nation (but not the Red Book) and John can have the Red Book (but not Woodstock Nation). My brother can't have the Rolling Stones and John can't have the MC5 record. I'm permitted to go and visit John every two or three weeks, as often as we can afford to make that 500 mile trip up to Marquette but I can only go see my brother, sisters and parents when

someone in the immediate family has died. Think about that.

When I left home, my youngest sister, Uta, was only four years old. My brother, Erhard, was eight. And, though I had been back for a short visit once, in 1963, it was 1970 now and the whole scene had changed.

There was Uta, sixteen, taller than me, complete with bell-bottom levi's, long blond hair, hating school, listening to rock'n roll.

Erhard is 19 now. In 1967-68 he was West Germany's "only freak." But his shoulder length hair had been cut off when he was drafted into the army. (Sound familiar?) He was now on leave from the army, because of our mother's death.

The army was just like jail to him. He'd already been arrested twice; the first time they caught him listening to BBC on the radio, which is illegal for everybody not just soldiers. The second time, they raided his locker and found letters from me and some of his pen pals from Birmingham or Royal Oak, Michigan. To correspond with people from western countries is highly illegal, and he spent a week in the stockade for that. The letters were turned over to the Secret Service, who had to translate them. When they found that we were all against the war in Vietnam and got arrested all the time, etc. they were apparently satisfied that it wasn't some kind of capitalist plot and let him go.

Erhard's no real oddity, though. ALL the common soldiers hate the army. They all buy measuring tapes and carry them around in their pockets. The tapes are 150 centimeters long, so when they have only 150 days left in the army, they cut one off for each day and paste the number on a champagne bottle, which is opened on the day they get out. The practice is so widespread that the common greeting among soldiers is to unobtrusively pull out the tape and flash it to the brother.

The whole practice is super-illegal, just like listening to western radio is, but everybody does it and does his best not to get caught. (Same as our soldiers smoke dope and listen to THEIR jams.) These people have even less allegiance to their officers and government than Amerikan soldiers have to theirs. The slogan to be advanced should be; "Soldiers of all countries, Unite and kick your respective government's ass!" Right on!

Same as here, the army knows the soldiers don't dig being there and they do their best to keep the real information away from the people. For instance, there is a radio station, located

in East Germany, but close to the western border, which broadcasts towards West Germany, addressing itself to soldiers in the West German Army (Sort of the opposite of Radio Free Europe, you dig?) The announcers always say; "we're broadcasting from a clandestine location in West Germany..." and go on to read letters, supposedly written by West German soldiers, running down how fucked the army is and urging them to desert.

This is the only East German radio station with ANY decent music; it's like an FM underground station here. They lift all the hits from the west, and play them on the soldier station, because they know that all the kids in east germany are listening to it.

Everybody, that is, except the soldiers. They don't even let THEM listen to that, 'cause that might get them thinking about their OWN army. There really isn't any difference, in the end, when you're a private first class or something like that, you're oppressed, by some authoritarian fools with guns.

East German TV for example, is even worse than its radio. The country is almost split down the middle between the people who can receive WG TV and those on the other side of the mountains that can't get it. Those people further to the east are DEPRIVED. They just ain't got no culture. They don't see no ads for Coca-Cola and VW (which doesn't matter, really, since they couldn't get 'em anyway) but neither do they get to see the Jefferson Airplane or Jimi Hendrix when they're on the boob. They don't know how to dress, how to grow their hair long or how to dance. What East Germany needs, finally is a righteous cultural revolution. And it's starting to happen.

"...Yesterday I went and listened to the band I told you about. Two guys from Uta's class are in it. They are really pretty hip. They play almost underground beat. They've only been together for about six months and can only practice once a week, but they're pretty good. They still need a lot of equipment, like amplifiers and microphones. We'll see, maybe I'll manage them. They don't have a name yet. I want to name them the Panthers. Foreign names are not allowed for bands and Panthers would be just right." (Ed. Note; Panther in German is also Panther.)

Beat groups, European for rock 'n' roll bands, are very popular in East Germany. They know most of them from listening to Radio Luxembourg, BBC or a pirate station in the North Sea. Some kids get records, though it's

illegal to send them from West Germany. It was o.k. to send them from a foreign country, like the U. S., until recently. Now they seem to be threatened by the music on these records (and they're right) as much as by newspapers or books from the west.

Some freaks in England are planning a pirate TV station that will broadcast from airplanes circling over neutral waters over the North Sea. I guess they'll have to call it "overground" TV. They already had some trial runs and the reception is perfect for almost all of Europe.

So the dudes in East Germany are pretty hip and getting further out all the time just like back in the U.S.A. The state has hired bands from West Germany for dances. You see these long-haired musicians on the stage, kickin' out the jams, but no guys with hair below their ears are allowed in the ballroom. The bands are required to take five minute breaks between each tune, so that the audience will calm down and not get too frantic and out-of-hand. There was a rumor, last summer, that the Rolling Stones were going to play a free concert near the wall in Berlin and thousands of young people traveled to Berlin under the ruse of attending the socialist youth congress there but actually in the hope of catching a few Stones riffs floating across the international air, over the wall, if the wind was right. Long live Rock and Roll!

But rock and roll repression exists there, too, same as here. My brother told me of a band, the Electrons, who were really getting far out in their music. But they were outlawed by the government. When they got the word that they couldn't play anymore, they just loaded all their instruments and equipment into handcarts and marched down the middle of the street in silent protest, gathering a couple hundred young people behind them. The police didn't know how to react to that. They had to wait for orders from the Central Committee of the party before they could figure out what to do. And the next day 200 agents of the secret police were sent to the city, to prevent anymore demonstrations.

To really explain what's going down in East Germany, I have to give a little historical background of that country. East Germany, with a population of about 17 million, was occupied by the Russians after Germany lost the war. There was never a successful revolution by the Germans, but under Russian occupation, a land reform took place, industry, or what was left of it after the war was over, was nationalized and the whole social system was transformed and adapted to the one in the USSR. The old German socialist party and the communist party merged and formed the Socialist Unity Party, which founded the German Demokratik Republic in 1949. The leaders were all people who had fled Germany during Hitler's regime. Walter Ulbricht (Party Chairman), for instance, had fought against the German Army during the Battle of Stalingrad on the side of the Red Army. Now Stalin set him up as the Minister President of the GDR.

The main task was to industrialize East Germany, which had been predominantly agricultural before the war and to industrialize it as quickly as possible. This happened at the expense of producing needed consumer goods and through strict discipline and what we now call Stalinist methods.

It was too much for the people to put up with. On June 17, 1953, there was a spontaneous uprising with workers in all the big cities walking off their jobs and going into the streets.

It didn't take long, of course, before the first Russian tanks began rolling towards Magdeburg and Berlin (just like Detroit in 1967 or Watts in 1966 or the other black and youth uprisings in Amerika). I was 13 when this happened and remember it very clearly. We arrived at school that



Photo by Magdalene Sinclair

The death-culture is universal, "East" and "West". Here, a street scene of East Germany.



Gerhart Arndt, brother of Magdalene Sinclair, and private in the East German Army.

Photo by Magdalene Sinclair

morning and all the kids took off their blue Young Pioneer neckties and put them in their pockets. We were told to go home, not to talk to anybody and to STAY home until further notice. Martial law was declared and it was illegal for more than 3 people to talk to each other on the streets. We went to work in the fields in the afternoons and from there we could see endless columns of Russian army trucks and tanks advancing towards Berlin on the Autobahn.

Of course, Law and Order was restored quickly, in the same oppressive manner it would be in the United States; lots of people thrown in the slam, troops in the streets and shortly thereafter, everything went back to normal. And essentially, that's what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Before 1968, I had been able to communicate with my brother fairly

much different than in West Germany and the difference gets smaller every day. Soon they'll be able to tear the wall down, without running the risk of large numbers of people fleeing the country. People generally leave only to seek a higher standard of living. When the living standard is as high as it is in the west, there won't be any need to leave. "Is there or is there not a great business conspiracy called the United States & Russia?" (Charles Olson.) East Germany has a higher standard of living than any other "satellite" country, including the USSR. More TVs per capita than even in the United States. Is that any achievement, when what you see on TV is the same old western honky Death Culture than you see in Detroit? Or anywhere else in Amerika, for that matter.

But the young people in East Germany are watching us. They know

and last herself. Right up to the day she went to the hospital.

And here was the family, and all the members of the collective, sitting in the freezing chapel in the cemetery and this preacher starts talking about how her illness was god's punishment: how she always let her work be more important than the worship of God, and how her sudden death should be a warning to the living, and the rest of his jive bullshit. The whole Christian-guilt trip.

I looked around and studied the faces of the people. Did they feel as insulted as I did by the theologian up there, spouting counter-revolutionary bullshit? No reaction. I felt like getting up and setting the record straight—"She was no 'sinner', she was a revolutionary; we should give honor where honor is due. If everybody lived like she did, we might get it together yet." Out of

of the distinction between collective and private. Work is fun and fun is work. Art is politics and politics is art. Everything is everything.

"If you want knowledge you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the structure and properties of the atom, you must make physical and chemical experiments to change the state of the atom. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution."

—Mao tse-Tung, "Mao on Practice", Volume I, Collected Works, p. 300.

This is it! The people in East Germany have taken part in the revolution for a long time. But only part of it. The cultural revolution is the other half, which has yet to take place.

PEOPLE OF E. GERMANY ARE WATCHING US

freely and with a certain regularity. I would send underground papers, posters, etc. to a friend in Prague, who in turn would send the stuff to my brother in East Germany and it would always get there. Under Dubcek, censorship was abolished. Students in Prague turned into hippies and turned on and listened to rock and roll and generally got out of hand.

Too out of hand for Moscow. Troops were sent in and old Stalinist law 'n' order was restored. Dubcek was given a job as ambassador to Turkey, where he could do no more harm. One Prague student, Jan Palach, burned himself in protest of the Soviet occupation of his country and became a hero, not just in Czechoslovakia, but also in East Germany. Some students in Berlin printed up some leaflets that said "Viva Dubcek", and six of them were caught and sent to jail for 2 to 4 years. ONE OF THE STUDENTS WAS THE DAUGHTER OF THE MINISTER OF CULTURE! Right on!

One dude in a neighboring village printed up his own flyers and rode his motorcycle through a bunch of villages, throwing these flyers out wherever he saw groups of young people standing around. Someone finally squealed on him and he was sent to the slam for four years.

No, the real revolution in East Germany has yet to take place. There has been no attempt made yet to "build the NEW MAN (and woman) and the NEW ORDER". The quality of life isn't

all about the Black Panther Party, they know all about the Conspiracy trial, they know about Timothy Leary. And they know that Rock 'n' Roll is not a decadent western art form, as their government tries to tell them. They're living in the middle of the same old honky death culture, themselves, that we live with, only it's a couple of thousand miles away and they speak a different language. But really, those are the only differences.

Just as they are for us, rock 'n' roll and long hair are symbols for them. In fact, just like here, they ARE freedom. What is needed then is a truly international youth party, or Youth International Party, in East and West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Amerika, Canada, Japan or any other western, highly industrialized mother countries. My brother wants to start a chapter in East Germany and call them the Red Panthers.

The funeral was a drag. An insult to human dignity, to say the least. My mother was the strongest woman I ever knew. Worked for the collective ever since it was formed back in 1951, without ever taking a vacation or hardly ever taking a day off. She was manager of the chicken farm which is a full-time, seven-day-a-week job. At 62 she was still working hard, getting up every morning at 4:30, washing heavy milk cans and preparing communal meals for the people working in the fields. Always, the collective came first, then her family

respect for my grieving old father, I kept my mouth shut.

Why is it illegal to read the Red Book in East Germany but not in Amerika? Kids growing up in East Germany are trained from Kindergarten to think dialectically. It's almost unconscious. We can't think differently because that's the only way we were taught to think. To give people the Red Book to read would be even more dangerous than it is here, because they would immediately understand it, and discover that they're being cheated out of half the revolution.

Revolution means change; there was a change in East Germany, but it was only a 90 degree change, not the 180 degree change where the last is the first and the first is the last. They'd discover, if they read the Red Book, that what Mao is talking about is a complete changeover in values. (The same things we discover, only it'd be easier for them, for they've always thought in the terms it relates to.)

Get rid of western dualistic thinking completely. It's not enough to turn the means of production over to the people. It's not enough to form agricultural collectives. There is a difference between collectives and communes. There are no communes in East Germany. A collective is people working together, and going home to their individual places after work. You only have communism when you get rid

Equipped with the thought of Mao, there would be no holding it back. But ideologically, East Germany is part of the west. So is the USSR. Culturally, they are much closer to Western Europe or Anglo-America than to China. So, "No Red Books Allowed."

Why are they allowed here? I think it's because people in Amerika are trained to be idealists and not dialectical materialists. To change the mode of thinking of a whole people will take years and years. Acid might help speed up the process for us, because it breaks down resistance to new ideas. But it will still be a long time, even after the revolution is won, before ALL people can learn to think in terms of dialectical materialism.

So the government doesn't outlaw the Red Book, because it doesn't understand it. To study revolution, and to truly understand it, is already to take part in it. Dialectical materialism is the science of revolution. Just like physics or biology—thru the study of science you discover natural laws. One of the laws of dialectical materialism is that, at the point of its highest contradiction, a thing will turn into its opposite—capitalism into communism. That's a natural law, independent of man's will.

WE CAN'T LOSE!
VENCEREMOS!

—Magdalene Sinclair,
Minister of Propaganda
White Panther Party

CHAPTER★REPORTS

POWER TO YOU, OUTLAWS,
EVERYWHERE ON THE PLANET!!

We will win! Much is happening in the Motor City. Last Sunday we played a game of muddy softball with the Young Prides, a neighborhood streetgang. We played the game to liberate the field it was played on. Matthei Field (across the street from our house) is the site of what everybody remembers as the farthest-out neighborhood in this part of the city. There were fine old houses (with decent rent) and a bunch of good people.

Then Wayne State University moved in, in the imperialist manner that all universities move, and tore down the houses, displaced the people to make room for a huge physical education plant. They promised the community that the area residents would be given use of the gymnasium facilities. As soon as the houses were torn down and the gym built, the urban fascists broke their word. All of us in the neighborhood—People Concerned About Urban Renewal (PCAUR), The Young Prides, and the Detroit White Panthers have been working to liberate that field—people are run off everyday by WSU's pigs. So we decided to rip off that field with a lot of people, rock & roll, softball, dope & frisbee. The day came with pouring rain, but we could not be stopped, even though we had to cancel the bands. We played a 7-inning game in which the Young Prides kicked our asses, 22-0.

We got two of our M-1 carbines ripped off by the pigs last April on the way to a target-shoot. The pigs charged our chairman, deputy minister of defense and our deputy minister of information with CONSPIRACY TO BOMB! This is becoming a typical ruse in Detroit. We beat the rap and are pleased to report that our pieces are safe back in the hands of the people once more. Pig repression only further emphasizes the need for self-defense. Our weekly political education classes are growing in the community, and we just opened a large downstairs office to deal more effectively with serving the needs of the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Deputy Ministry of Information
Detroit Tribe
White Panther Party

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

We have been coming more and more together as each day begins.

The Aragon Ballroom has a White Panther Party bookstore which carries underground newspapers, movement books, red books, posters and Free John petitions. The Ministry of Education runs the Bookstore, and we're working on a Free city Bookstore.

Our Deputy Ministry of Information has gotten a street sheet together called Free City News. We've also been printing up 10 point programs and other White Panther literature, and distributing them to different cadre around the city.

The White Panther Party, Rising Up Angry, and the Chicago Seed have collaborated in free concerts (Free City Music) on Sunday afternoons. On that same day we set up the Free Feeds.

We have opened up an office at 2261 N. Lincoln, hours are from 1-6 p.m. Monday thru Saturday, 281-7197. We have started the Red Star Press.

We have had to take a lot of harrassments, and rip offs from our local oppressors lately. Our Deputy Minister of Defense has been kidnaped three times, twice within 16 hours. Our Deputy Chief of Staff has been busted twice on bogus charges. Our house was raided on Wednesday, May 20th, by the combined fascist elements of Gang Intelligence Unit, Red Squad, and the Chicago Police. It was up against the



Young Prides trounce Detroit Regional White Panthers in revolutionary softball game.

wall as four shotguns and several handguns allowed the pigs to ramsack the house for 2-1/2 hours. They split after finding nothing.

We've been working on benefits and have one set up on June 27th with the Committee to Defend the Panthers. We've also set up survival programs for the house.

We have many other programs we are working on and we will tell you more about them once they get operating.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!

Illinois Chapter of the White Panther Party

People:

Far fucking out! We were all glad to hear about the national paper. Half way through an action to avenge the Kent State brothers and sisters, I had to come home to get bail for a brother who got busted (on a bullshit charge of

"pedestrian interfering with traffic") and I got your letter. We had 31 people busted (one Panther), and we sustained a minor back injury (Holley Pruess), and a split lip (myself), but the pig got more than he gave...another 'first' for Portland! The pig openly beat one of the people busted, and today, we are closing the courthouse to avenge him. We have ceased calling ourselves "protestors", that's bullshit. We here are part of a loose coalition calling itself the People's Army.

Portland State, Reed College, and Lewis and Clark College are all shut down for the week, as well as many of the large companies downtown.

Isn't the whole national action great? Solidarity! Even the Progressive Labor people here are in the streets with us! The spirit of the four fallen will trample Pig nation and Pig Nixon, or we'll all be remiss in our duty.

So much for preaching....

It's right on that you are invited to Hanoi, but it's a shame that Ho is dead...what a rap that could be!

I think that we can handle a regional office from here. I'd planned a trip to Seattle anyway, to try to set up another office there, and we have a brother interested who lives in Pullman, Washington. We here have patterned our Chapter after the Black Panther office here with regard to security, training, and operations, rather than on a more relaxed level, for the same reasons that you mentioned. We have a duty watch in the house at all times, and sleeping next to the door with a 16 gauge pump shotgun. The pig goes by every hour on the hour at night, and one asshole even gives us a raised fist! Just read Revolution in the Revolution—another good book is People's Army/People's War, by General Giap. No wonder pig nation is losing!!

Bob Yapple,
Deputy Minister of Communications
PORTLAND, OREGON

Sexism

From page 30

block from the People's Office in Berkeley because she refused to respond nicely to their proposition) women not only have to learn to defend themselves, but they must start taking actions that show men that they are together, strong and able to deal with both physical and verbal violence whether it be from hip men or the pigs. There should be women's militias formed to take care of sisters on Telegraph, Haight and other sister streets all over the country.

"Those who savor the grotesqueries of a society in decay may have been limp from the pleasures of the day, but for us the touted Cultural Revolution looked more like the Nuremburg Rallies, policed by Hitler Youth on acid."

—From TOOTH & NAIL, No. 4

Altamont was behind some of the most hellish acid trips that have ever been described to me. Most of the hell happened to women. Mostly to political, sensitive, intelligent women. There was the claustrophobia, being man-handled, attacked everywhere you went in the crowd, having to deal with the heavy machismo of the Hell's Angels, which was often carried to its insane conclusion with the stabbing of a black man to death during Jagger's performance of "Sympathy for the Devil." The pig Hell's Angels gangbanged women, and brutalized hundreds of people, including some of their own.

Rolling Stones refused to perform it

anyone made an announcement to raise money for the Black Panther Bail Fund. They sang while a Black man was being murdered 25 feet away from them by their "bodyguards" and they wouldn't allow money to be raised for the Black Panthers on the same weekend that Fred Hampton was murdered in his bed in Chicago. The Stones did Brown Sugar, Under my Thumb, Honky Tonk Women, Little Queenie, Midnight Rambler—all of which degrade women.

Altamont was the end for many people, but it was also the beginning for others. It was such a shock that people felt we needed a revolution in youth culture where now what seemed revolutionary in the culture was just the trappings but not the substance. To see the shit in the culture after so many had idealized it after Woodstock was so heavy for us that we knew as women we could not ignore what was happening. If we do not struggle against acts of violence towards women and the unconscious ideology of male supremacy in the culture we would be creating a situation where we would be ripped off more and more by our "own" people.

People are beginning to see that we have to be able to take care of our own people, those people who are struggling to change the fucked up human relationships we've developed in this decadent Babylon. What Huey Newton said about blacks is true also for women: an unarmed people are subject to slavery at any moment. We have to be able to mete out revolutionary justice to our own pigs such as the Hell's Angels, pimps, narcs and agents. We have to

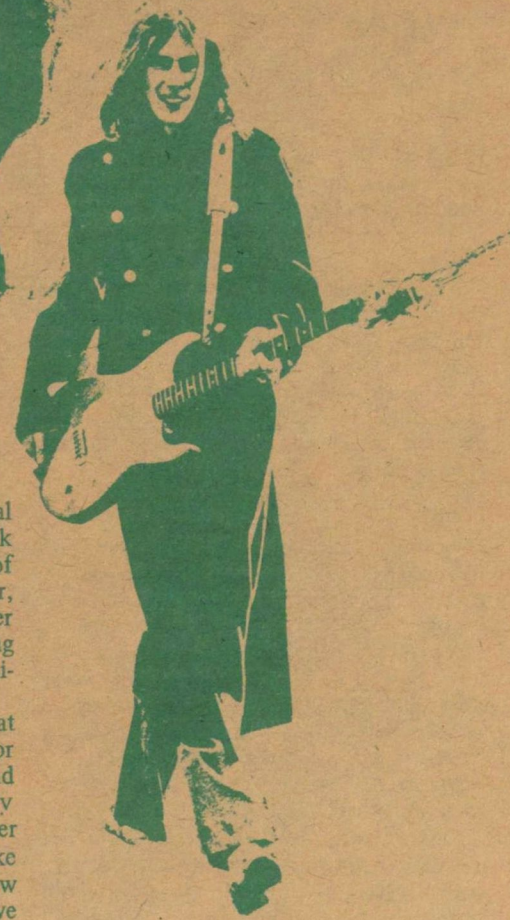
protect our men, women and children from being brutalized and fucked over by counter-revolutionaries, hip capitalists, cultural nationalists and other pig types. If we scorn any semblance of revolutionary organization and discipline, we will have no capacity for resistance.

Women cannot work within a culture that is male supremacist anymore than we can work within the system that we have to destroy. It was claimed that women should work with or take over the Conspiracy. But taking over from the media freaks is a losing game as you just get devoured by their concerns politics and paranoia, and you lose sight of a real movement to fight for women.

Women should desert the woman-as-slave-extension-wife-girlfriend-invisible & nothing else role in the culture. Women cannot work within a male supremacist culture to change it. The culture must be struggled with and attacked from an autonomous women's movement, and if it does not change it will have to be destroyed. There will not be a revolution of women being a primary struggle.

We can't let decadent, chauvinist men parasitically take the energy of women and transform that into personal power and glorification. We must be the ones who help transform the culture/movement into a collective community where we are all doing shit work and we are all doing heavy work and are with the people, not behind them or way out in front of them. We must destroy the elitism which is rampant in the culture. When people are

UP



The White Panther Party

"Cultural Revolution is a weapon of the Social Revolution."—Charles Olson

Up is the guerrilla arm of the White Panther Party Ministry of Culture, and as such its function is aggressively to seek out Amerika's children in the death culture's own territory and to move them to come over to the side of the revolution. Up, like all high energy rock and roll, is anathema to the culture that nurtures Amerikan imperialism, as it is a magic curse that destroys the psychological

roots of common/ness with its brothers and sisters all over the planet.

Up has been associated with the White Panther Party since it was founded in 1968 by Chairman John Sinclair and Minister of Defense Pun Plamondon. The Ministry of Culture lost a band or two when the repression against the Party commenced in earnest, but the Up responded to the heat by consolidating with the National Headquarters of the Party, which moved in with the Up household at 1520 Hill Street, and by resolving to

build their operation up as a financial base for the Party. Lead singer Frank Bach was formally instated Minister of Culture and Up manager David Sinclair, as Chief of Staff of the White Panther Party, assumed the duties of managing the practical/business affairs of the unified operation.

The White Panther Party believes that the cultural revolution and the social or political revolution are inseparable, and that all revolutionaries must put theory into practice by LIVING the New Order and by struggling continuously to remake themselves into the New Man and New Woman. The four men in the Up live communally with about 25 other White Panthers at National Headquarters, taking part in the collective life of the Party and in the process of criticism and self-criticism that is the Party's fundamental method of development.

As Minister of Culture, Frank reports on developments in the youth culture and in the music industry for various revolutionary publications, including SUN/DANCE, and he takes an active part in the organization of community cultural events. As Ministry of Culture cadre, Bob Rasmussen, Gary Rasmussen, and Scott Bailey work on the production and

promotion of these events and take part in formulating Party programs for building up self-determination in the field of music.

Self-determination is a goal common to all revolutionary peoples, and it is the specific goal of the Up for the production and presentation of their music. Through the White Panther Party Ministry of Culture and in alliance with other revolutionary organizations and people's bands, the Up aim at building up a people's recording company, a people's booking agency, people's printing presses, etc., so that the peoples' music can always be presented in a revolutionary manner and so that the music can give economic support to Woodstock Nation, instead of that other one.

The Up played at the Free Bobby rally in New Haven May 1, and have gone to Lincoln, Nebraska, to play peoples' benefits. On their own Sundance label, they recently released the first pressing of their single, "Just Like an Aborigine"/b/w "Hassan I Sabbah". More information on the Up, including booking and the purchasing of the record, may be obtained by writing Rejuvenation Society, Up, 1520 Hill St., Ann Arbor, Mich., 48104. (313) 761-1709.

All Power to the People!
Long Live Rock and Roll!

WOODSTOCK NATION NOTES:

Brother Jerry Rubin is right now in the hands of the pig in Cook County Jail, Chicago, serving charges stemming from the Pentagon (remember that?) and from Czechago. He'll be there about two months, and brothers & sisters should write him and let him know we love him. Write: Jerry Rubin, c/o Frank Oliver, 30 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Revolutionary Radio in Chicago: WEAW, Radio Free Chicago, 105.1 By the Chicago Regional, White Panther Party.

Revolutionary Radio in Mount Clements, WBRB-FM, 102.7, with David Dubay and Leslie Hankey. Sunday 10-12, M&T, 6-7, Wednesday, 6-9. Support YOUR culture.

getting to the point where they are risking their lives they are not going to die for a movement that treats them as inferior either because of the shit work they are doing or because of their sex.

To be a revolutionary Eldridge says that we must fuck with the oppression of all people at all times. That means that women must be working to free Bobby Seale as well as their own, White Panthers and Yippies have to struggle around the oppression of women in the culture as well as around dope oppression and the freeing of John Sinclair, freaks have to be struggling against the racism in the hip community as well as liberating new space for parks and vegetable gardens, and we all have to stop American imperialism in Vietnam and the rest of the world.

Leadership in this culture is male supremacist. It is not yet revolutionary. With the exception of some good statements by Eldridge, Bobby Seale and Pun Plamondon, the question of women's liberation has not been taken at all seriously. To lead people doesn't mean that you stand still, say everything's great and act like a cheerleader. You also try to deal with the shit in the culture and make people stronger, tougher and more willing to take risks to advance the level of struggle. You don't keep pushing the good things that are taken for granted—i.e., dope, fucking, music—to insure your popularity but instead tell people to maybe stop tripping out so much and work harder to free Bobby Seale. Racism IS worse than the oppression that comes with middle class

suburbia. The cultural revolution is profoundly ridden with bourgeois individualist hangups that hold us back.

Women have to move together to overthrow old decadent brutal forms of leadership. Women will not fight for a revolution that does not include the abolition of male privilege along with white skin and middle-and-upper class privileges. We must create new images. Those of the Vietnamese and Cubans are not enough in our situation. No more images of macho males, but images of a strong dedicated revolutionary person who works collectively to build a movement that will help to bring the empire down and at the same time be creating the style and form of the new society.

Vietnam

From page 15

beautiful right here where we are—to the east a couple of miles is the ocean, the Gulf of Tonkin, where the Seventh Fleet moves to bomb from—shelling from the ships, and the planes take off from the ships to bomb. Even now they say the Seventh Fleet stays close by and you can see it every once in a while. We'll be going to the beach to swim in the Gulf of Tonkin today and maybe we'll see it. I really hope we can go even further south, but we would have to get the OK from the next province checkpoint about the military situation, and I guess we haven't because we're still here. Sometimes it sounds like artillery fire to the south.

I found out later that the 10 o'clock flowers are dedicated to Ho now because that's about when he died and that's when the flowers open.

The spirit of Uncle Ho is everywhere—unity. Vietnam is surely a whole new level in the history of civilization. There are so many stories I have to tell—like visiting a factory built inside a mountain where all these young people, men and women, work together, sing together and fight together and are ready to fight together again if necessary.

They sang to us and told how they had learned to sing together during the War of Destruction so the sounds of their songs would drown out the sounds of the bombs, and now they sing while they work, making machine parts to help their country. And always the spirit of Uncle Ho, and the many stories about him. We went to a first grade school where Uncle Ho had visited once TWELVE YEARS AGO and they were still excited about it! They had pictures of him everywhere. Even way back in the mountains there were pictures of Ho in every house. I wrote on May 30:

Up at 4:00 this morning, heading for the mountains—we stopped for breakfast at the Mosoleum of a 15th Century hero in the mountains. We crossed the Ma River on a ferry, entering the Thai minority territory. We crossed streams wading across them, and across one river on a raft pulled by four young dudes

See page 26

Hayden

From page 9

strike began in April. The Yale President granted the validity of the question the Panthers had been raising all along: that a fair trial in America for black revolutionaries was hard to imagine. When 25,000 people came to New Haven on May Day, called by the Panthers and the Conspiracy, despite the threats of Spiro Agnew and the National Guard, a militant united front involving moderate to revolutionary whites at last began to appear.

To understand the unevenness of black-white coalitions is to understand the structure of racism. All whites are part of a racist system: they live better materially, never experience the daily crisis that the Panthers do, never will be repressed as severely as the blacks have been. Even becoming "more militant" than blacks will not erase the color line; whites who try to act like John Brown are usually seen as manipulators who will not have to bear the consequences for whatever repression they bring down. The racial barrier which holds whites above blacks does not mean that all whites are individually racist in their attitudes, nor that white support is unimportant. But the attitudes, including alienation and protest, which develop in the Mother Country, are remote and often contradictory to black feelings. Women's liberation will tend to seem secondary to Panthers fighting for physical survival; hippie lifestyles will seem indulgent to blacks looking for work.

Huey Newton pointed out these differences in an essay from prison on white "anarchists". Huey wrote that the black community, experiencing collective oppression and collective material needs, will grasp the idea of organization and discipline much more quickly than will the young alienated white person whose goal is self-expression. Breaking out of slavery requires a personal change in the black subject far different than the new life style of the young white. The black is changing from dependence and powerlessness to an aggressive pride in collective power. The young white is breaking out of the straitjacket of conformity towards a sense of personal discovery and experiment. The young white will view organization and discipline as an infringement on a free consciousness. By implication, even if whites sense a common oppression, their needs will still drive them towards a strong emphasis on personal transformation.

The white radical plays a difficult part in this ambiguous world. The radical professes solidarity with the Panthers and the ghetto. At the same time, as a white, special privileges are received and, as a Mother Country radical, special needs for liberation arise which are quite different from those which move the black community. The white radical thus is likely to exemplify both the nearness and the difficulty of achieving real solidarity. In political terms, this means that while whites can help the black struggle, they are inherently undependable. While blacks will never have to "go it alone"

completely, the principle of self-reliance is more basic than that of coalition.

A comparison with the coalition strategies of other national liberation movements shows parallels as well as vast differences with the American situation. The Vietnamese and Algerians both dealt with a French Left which contained racism and national chauvinism. Yet while fighting both wars, the Algerians and especially the Vietnamese, patiently educated and organized the French people because they knew that French public opinion would encourage dissent and a new political atmosphere in the United States. Their strategy is to conduct a long guerrilla war, waiting for the cost in blood, taxes and honor to awaken some Americans while tiring others. While a "revolution in the Mother Country" would be desirable, they believe more DIVERSIONS are enough to bog down the US. Beneath this strategy lies a remarkable faith in the ability of human beings to overcome ignorance and prejudice. The Vietnamese believe that even the American soldiers they are fighting are pawns who would change sides if they knew the truth. The moral force of an idea is their greatest weapon. They are not a "vanguard" giving commands to the American anti-war movement, but more of an armed conscience trying to move and persuade.

But in the American case the black and third world colonies are dispersed inside the Mother Country. There is no national territory on which blacks can develop schools, industry and agriculture, establish an identity as a people and fight for their freedom. A war of independence here would not end in the political separation of two geographic territories, like France and Algeria, but would rearrange America itself.

One result is that black people here become more interdependent with white people than in any other colonial society. Feelings of familiarity and hatred are bred at the same time. While they are culturally separate, blacks can think like white Americans easily and "naturally". The hypocrisy of even the white radicals is felt day to day.

Painful relations can often be broken off, but this one has a way of continuing. Even while blacks despair of whites, black motion itself constantly pushes some whites towards a better, more radical understanding. Blacks have been the trigger of the early white student movement, the radicalizers of the antiwar movement, the legitimizers of revolutionary violence, and the soul of the underground culture. The black assault on white racism has its effect: young white people become less racist than their elders even though they remain part of a racist system.

The black-white relationship becomes hard to break for another reason. Because they lack a unified national territory of their own, blacks are almost forced to depend on a "base" in the consciousness of the White Left, or on the bank accounts of white liberals—more so than in other liberation struggles. In Vietnam the revolutionaries can leave political relationships with the Americans to skilled and patient diplomats. They are confident that their image of the American people will be fulfilled but they do not go through the

psychological torment of dealing with whites every day. They shoot those who invade, they welcome those who protest. They do not need immediate evidence to confirm their ultimate faith that whites can be human beings; they gain strength enough from their schools, their factories, their army, the land they till, and their national tradition. In America none of this seems possible, at least not in the form taken by other peoples. As long as there are no "Panther zones" as fully self-sustaining as the "Vietcong zones", the black liberation struggle will be tormented by depending on the support of the white left.

So white radicals are in a coalition with the black struggle even if the coalition is not recognized formally, simply because we are part of a common dialectic. In the case of the Panthers we will either vindicate their gamble on white support or become evidence of white failure and therefore bolster "cultural nationalist" arguments for years to come.

It is sufficient to understand and act on the fact that the black colony is a time bomb inside the fragile center of the colonial Mother Country. The eventual detonation of that bomb will wreck a system which dehumanizes all its people, and it will not leave our lives or social structure intact.

If we consider the issue in the framework of colonialism, we can see most clearly what must be done.

If we consider the Panthers an embryo Vietcong of the United States, if we assume that a Vietnam situation is developing at home, it becomes logical to adopt and improve the strategy of the anti-Vietnam war movement and direct it against the aggression at home.

We would see that the demand for black self-determination cannot be accommodated by a welfare state which is colonial in its power relations. We should see that the Vietcong started without white support, alienated most Americans, yet are winning their own struggle and contributing immeasurably to ours. We would see that the differences between white and black radicalism are not antagonistic because our destinies are totally bound together.

FIRST, THIS WOULD MEAN RECOGNIZING THAT BOBBY SEALE AND OTHER PANTHERS SHOULD NOT EVEN BE TRIED IN THE COURTS OF THE PRESENT US GOVERNMENT. THEY GO TO TRIAL ONLY UNDER PROTEST. As prisoners of war the Panthers should be freed, not by higher courts but through NEGOTIATIONS coming about because of public pressure. The slogan "Free Huey" must be enlarged to: Free All Political Prisoners. Many whites cling to the concept of a "fair trial" for the Panthers because they do not want to fully accept the idea of self-determination for blacks. This leads to whites believing they should examine the "facts" of Panther court cases before deciding to support the Panthers. Such a paternalistic approach would still vindicate the Panthers. In New Haven, for instance, it would reveal that the High Sheriff selected his personal barber and several other "friends and neighbors" for the Grand Jury which indicted the Panthers. It might even reveal a high-level government plot to frame Bobby and the others.

But the most enlightened approach that a white could adopt toward the "facts" would be to dismiss them as irrelevant, as an internal matter of the black colony. This is no different than the issue of "terror" by revolutionaries in Vietnam.

All we need to know is that the Panthers, like the NLF, rely on popular support, not on coercion, for their success, and that the colonial invaders rely precisely on massive terror to frighten away that popular support. If white Americans are concerned about the "terror" of the Panthers, they should stop police aggression in the ghetto instead of condemning black extremists at cocktail parties. Bobby Seale was indicted, not for his supposed role in a killing, but as an effective way to remove him from the streets and scare away support because of the gravity of the charges.

SECOND, WE NEED A NATIONWIDE POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASS OR "TEACH-IN"

MOVEMENT. A TACTIC TO CREATE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THIS EMERGING DOMESTIC WAR. It is curious that whites spoke thousands of times in the Vietnam teach-ins, but have done so little to take the issue of the Panthers to the same audiences. The amount of continuous political education needed cannot be underestimated.

THIRD, TAKING TO THE STREETS AGAINST RACISM AND REPRESSION CAN BE AS IMPORTANT NOW AS IT WAS IN THE EARLIER PHASES OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT. The recent strike and massive demonstration in New Haven was the first time that whites have come out in large numbers for the Panthers in a nationally-visible way. The national student strike triggered by the Cambodian invasion could not have included the demand to free the Panthers were it not for the initiative of the New Haven strikers. The trial in Connecticut will continue to create an urgent climate in which effective demonstrations are made possible. Plans should be made for demonstrations from now through the end of that infernal trial, with the definite objective of freeing the Panthers "by any means necessary". Where trials are not an immediate focus, the new Justice Department might well be. As a symbol of centralized evil, it might serve as a target institution in the same way the Pentagon has for the antiwar movement.

FOURTH, FORCING A CONFLICT WITHIN THE NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT OVER THIS QUESTION IS CRUCIAL SO THAT REPRESSION AGAINST THE PANTHERS IS SLOWED. Repression can be foiled in the short run only by creating sharp divisions among America's powerful elites. The anti-war campaigns of the Senate doves were crucial to slowing and sometimes preventing military escalation, and it gave respectability to dissent in general. There is always a danger that such conventional dissent will cool out the militant edge of protest, but only in the unlikely event that the Panthers come to rely on the Establishment for their survival. If Ramsey Clark or Kingman Brewster want to become the William Fulbright of our domestic Vietnam crisis, it will be to the benefit of the Panthers and everyone but the all-out racist aggressors.

FIFTH, WE MUST INITIATE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS TO BRAND THE U.S. AS A CRIMINAL AND OUTLAW GOVERNMENT. Probably the chief problem facing the American ruling class is not Vietnam but the survival of the US as a racist nation in the new international scene. American racism is the number one foreign policy problem for this country. Each step of racist aggression further isolates the US in the world; each concession to the blacks for the sake of national image only raises the domestic confrontation to a higher level. Using all of its international contacts the American Left should expose the repression of the Panthers in every conference and journal of the world.

FINALLY, WE MUST CREATE A RESISTANCE STRUCTURE. There will have to be active, extra-legal cooperation between whites and black revolutionaries on every front of the struggle. A new underground railroad to protect the fugitives and resources of the black colony may become a necessity. This need is likely to become especially real in America where the black communities are geographically surrounded by whites, where communication and transportation are almost exclusively controlled by whites.

THE TRIAL OF BOBBY SEALE AND THE CONNECTICUT PANTHERS IS THE BEST POSSIBLE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR A NEW UPSURGE OF WHITE SUPPORT FOR BLACK LIBERATION. The government is hoping that one bolt of electricity will kill the spirit of all of us. The gag and chains of Chicago were not enough; they are now being replaced with the electric chair. Every sane person has a stake in preventing this maneuver—and it can be prevented. Just as our case was turned into a trial of our generation, so can Bobby's be turned into a symbolic trial of black and white people in this country.

Vietnam

From page 25

swimming out front—so far out. Feels like a safari into the jungle. It's 11:00 now, and we're sitting in a beautiful bamboo house drinking tea and coconut milk, relaxing after our long journey, listening to the very ancient peasants tell us about their colonial history—awfully repressive—despot-owned land, concubines and superstitions.

And so much more. We left from Hanoi airport on the Sixth of June, 7:00 a.m. This is what I wrote:

So now I'm sitting in a Soviet airplane looking at Vietnam perhaps for the last time—the boy and the ox, the forever rice fields, the mountains, the bombed buildings and pockmarked land, golden sunrise and last night's red sunset. I love Vietnam. Gold and Red. Dragon, Phoenix, Tortoise, and mythical

Lion. Vietnam is one and all the people brothers and sisters—North and South can never be separated, the United States is such a farce and its government are fools, assholes, blind in the cosmos. Now I feel such incredible love, such deep deep hatred, a sadness at leaving, and the coming excitement of returning to the belly of the beast, Babylon, the struggle, my despicable and beloved homeland, back someday to the arms of my other half, Pun—not even sure that he's still alive or free. If only I can take back with me and give to all my people what Vietnam has given to me.

We are the people of a new Nation in Amerika. The whole world is watching us. SEIZE THE TIME, OUTLAWS!

Genie Plamondon,
Minister of International Affairs
White Panther Party

Sun Dance

From page 5

kinds of sacrifice he will undergo. Some will drag buffalo skulls attached beneath the shoulder blades; some will dance with thongs attached to four posts and the breast and shoulders; some will be suspended from or attached to the Sun Pole itself, by thongs piercing either the chest or back, and some will merely dance for endurance, for the prolonged and trying period of the dancing. (The last is the only form now allowed by the Government.) Similarly, each dancer may vow to cut off even more pieces of flesh after the dancing, to leave at the center pole as offering to the universe.

Purified, painted, and pledged, the dancers are led along the Sun Trail, beside which the tribe has assembled. Circling the Sun Lodge, the dancers sing:

O Wakan-Tanka,
Be merciful to me,
That my people may live!
It is for this
That I am sacrificing myself.

They proceed into the Sun Dance Lodge where the musicians are assembled, while behind them the vigil lodge is torn down so that it may never be used profanely. Within the dancing area a buffalo skull is deposited on the earth-altar, the pipe is smoked, a fire is built, and each dancer is given a whistle made of eagle-bone. Each is painted with special signs signifying the kind of vow he has made; each wears a wreath of sage on his head which represents "the things of the heavens—the stars and planets, which are very mysterious and Wakan."

The fourth sacred day begins with a preliminary Buffalo Dance in imitation of an enraged bull bison, with the dancers staring at the buffalo skull on the altar (sometimes on the pole) as after they will stare into the sun; those who undeviatingly carry through this part become Buffalo Men and may expect a direct vision from the Sun.

Then comes the ear-piercing ceremony, which serves to initiate and consecrate small children into the tribe. It is the first bloodletting.

Then the dancers stand to the west of the centerpole, staring towards the early sun in the East at the entrance to the Lodge. Shifting their feet slowly, chanting and singing, they begin the Dance Gazing-into-the-Sun. They move round to the east, foreseeing the sun in the West and the end of the dance, singing "Our Grandfather, Wakan-Tanka, has given to me a path which is sacred!" Then to the South, looking North, blowing their eagle-bone whistles, "A buffalo is coming they say; He is here now; the Power of the buffalo is coming! it is upon us!" And round to the west, emotionless faces, whistling shrill as the eagle's attack, to the North to face South, dancing more swiftly, and once again to the west to face into the threatening Sun.

Suddenly mad warriors attack! They throw the dancers to the ground and capture them, the women scream in terror. Officials rush out to pin the dancers down as incisions are made in each dancer's breast or back-shoulder muscles by pulling up the skin and sticking a sharp stick deeply through the flesh. Long rawhide ropes, attached to the centerpole, or to buffalo skulls, or to four smaller posts, are tied to the sticks in the dancer's body; and each dancer is stood up roughly, a captive of the Spirit. Blowing on his eagle-bone whistle, leaning back on his thongs, he dances, and continues to dance until the sticks pull loose through his flesh. He must dance constantly facing the sun, and he must move on the ground or suspended in cruel space, at all times except for brief formal rest periods when the attendants may wipe his bleeding flesh with water and medicines. He must dance at least four times (through three rest periods) before he may struggle to break free, tearing the flesh sundering the bindings. The drumming, shrilling, singing, and dancing never stop all day. If a dancer

faints, the Leader may order him cut down, or, after the fourth dance, he may add the weight of his weapons and shield to his body's pull, or a friend may be allowed to assist by clasp him around the waist and pulling back.

Usually all dancers have torn loose or been cut loose by the end of the day, though it is of record that dancers have been held captive all day and all night, to be cut down at the leader's command only when a new day dawns. Those not too exhausted often danced on even after they had pulled themselves free.

At the conclusion, a pipe is taken to the singers and drummers to indicate their work is finished; a holy woman sits with the dancers at the west of the Lodge, offering the pipe to Wakan-Tanka; the tribal pipe-keeper or the dance leader concludes with a prayer to Wakan-Tanka... "In suffering they have sent their voices to You; they have even offered to You a part of their flesh, which is now here at the foot of this sacred tree. The favor that they ask of You is that their people may walk the holy path of life and that they may increase in a sacred manner."

The camp and the Lodge of the Sun Pole are destroyed, and only the tree itself, with its emblems, is left to stand until the Powers should wipe it, and the Dance, from memory.

II. THE VISION

The dancers retire to an Inipi lodge. Here soothing herbs are applied to their wounds, water is given their parched lips, and they may ponder the Vision vouchsafed by the Sun. Each dancer has let himself submit to the extreme dangers faced by warriors on the Plains: capture by an "enemy," torture, grinding unbearable pain, extreme hunger and thirst, blinding pain suffered alone in the face of the universe. Each has borne it as best he could; each has struggled to finally release himself. And, hopefully, each understands.

The Leader may speak. "This day you have done a sacred thing, for you have given your bodies to the Great Spirit. When you return to your people always remember that through this act you have been made holy... You have strengthened the sacred hoop of our nation. You have made a sacred center which will always be with you, and you have created a closer relationship with all things of the universe..."

Each dancer has had the experience; and each dancer has his own engagement with, his own Vision of, that experience. Each has danced out of his flesh, gazing into the energy-source of all life. Black Elk says:

"The flesh represents ignorance, and, thus, as we dance and break the thong loose, it is as if we were being freed from the bonds of the flesh. It is much the same as when you break a young colt; at first a halter is necessary, but later when he has become broken, the rope is no longer necessary. We too are young colts when we start to dance, but soon we become broken and submit to the Great Spirit."

But why the gift of the body? Why the self-mutilation, the willing torture? Could not the warrior give something else? Chased-by-Rears, a Yankton Dakota, says: "A man's body is his own, and when he gives his body or his flesh he is giving the only thing which really belongs to him. We know that all the creatures on the earth were placed here by Wakan-Tanka. Thus, if a man says he will give a horse to Wakan-Tanka he is only giving to Wakan-Tanka that which already belongs to him. I might give tobacco or other articles in the Sun Dance, but if I gave these and kept back the best no one would believe that I was in earnest. I must give something that I really value to show that my whole being goes with the lesser gifts; therefore I promise to give my body."

This, then, is the Vision: to give one's own dearest flesh to the Sun, to the Cosmos. In so doing, the interdependence of all life, the translation of all energy from sky to earth and back again, the renewal of the life-vision, are undergone personally by the dancers of the life-vision, are undergone personally by the dancers for the sake of the tribe. By their sacrifice, their strength and the interconnected power of the

tribe must increase. This makes the act a sacrament, its thought a Vision.

III. THE RELEVANCE

"The Sun Dance is a technique for living."
—Ed Dorn

The revolution is our Sun Dance.

A state of war exists in Amerika, and if we are to survive we must learn how to build revolutionary strong free tribes. We must learn to discipline ourselves, to cast out mere chaos and dissipated energy, to endure an unbearably hard struggle; we must learn how dependent we are on each other, we must learn how to struggle with our lives on the line, we must learn how to elevate and understand the revolution as a translation from earth to heaven, from ignorance to understanding, from captivity to liberation. These things we must learn from the original Viet Cong of Amerika, the red brothers and sisters whom we call Indians.

In our time the Sun Dance has been watered down almost beyond recognizability. Whites have committed cultural as well as literal genocide against the tribes; the few Indians who dance these days wear sun-glasses, and do not pierce their flesh: the buffalo-skull of old is now a stuffed head. We must recognize these facts—the incredible weakness of the tribes;—as a first step. The next step is to recognize that there are now millions of new Indians, new Blacks, new Whites, new Tribespeople of whatever hue, who are begging to learn how to become strong. We must understand the vow, commit our flesh, learn to dance TOGETHER.

Significantly, one of the few non-Indians to have danced the Sun Dance in recent times was Black photographer Leroy Lucas, whose pictures of the dance may be seen in *The Shoshoneans*. Ed Dorn, who wrote the text in that book, says: "I was away at the time of the dances, late July, and when I returned to Pocatello, Leroy had just been through it. He seemed at first the same as ever—large clear brown eyes, disarmingly easy manner—straight out in front of me, who had returned with the Troubles of the Great World in a bag. But he had, I gradually saw, changed. There was a subtle clarity and calm permeating his being."

Clarity and calm. Even in the rite reduced to spectacle there is strength.

Which is not to say, machismo. A recent article on revolutionary affinity groups (cadre, tribes) in the Berkeley Tribe, by a daughter of the Amerikan Revolution, got it right on:

"We were all of us, men and women, scared by what the revolution means. We still are—it isn't that easy to overcome Amerikan consciousness and seize control of our lives. Not only women, but men too, are fucked over by bourgeois roles. Like a man who thinks he has to live up to this big tough guy image, Amerika's image of a white male isn't an image of a real person—how can he grow, love, feel in that role? Macho is a false strength—it doesn't deal with our fears, our feelings. And unless we can learn to come to terms with ourselves there's no way we can survive."

Every revolutionary young person in this fucked-up country is hanging by his/her pectoral muscles from the Sun Dance pole. And every oppressed person in the mother-country—whether oppressed because of dope laws, political views, the school prisons, white supremacy, male supremacy, capitalism, religious intolerance, or whatever—is struggling to gain freedom from that captivity. We must learn the rituals which will increase our strength; the rituals of doing, the acts of being. We must dance—or die. And if we die, connected to the Cosmos, I think the planet dies with us, this time.

But we must not die; we must give everything we have short of death—and many of us individually must give death. We must be ready for that, in order that the tribe and the planet may live.

"I must give something that I really value, to show that my whole being goes with the lesser gifts; therefore I promise to give my body."

That is the Sun Dance we are undertaking.

Pun

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Pun: Yeah, but first of all, what is happening now, I think, in the mother country here, is that we're seeing the unity of culture and politics. I feel that revolutionary politics is an art, and I think that it's one of the highest art forms. There's the saying that there's no such thing as art for art's sake, you dig. And at the same time, I'm saying that there's no such thing as revolution for the sake of revolution. I think revolution is an art form, and I think every man, woman and child at this time in history has got a chance to become an artist, you dig? So what we're trying to do is bring together the unity of culture and politics. Break down any separation. Like a lot of people have nothing but contempt and bullshit criticism for any sort of cultural revolutionaries. They want us to cut our hair and go into the factories.

Sundance: Right, Progressive labor.

Pun: But we got a lot of shit to offer the brothers and sisters in the factories, that don't entail us gettin our hair cut, and going into a factory. And I think we can make that available to them without doing that.

Sundance: We have to. Also, like the development we've gone through with the party. Like at first we

were just goffin a lot, you know. And it wasn't taken seriously, like people gotta read something in the New York Times before they believe it's real. Somehow the Epitome of pig media saying something is true is gonna make it true. Whereas we're saying, man, that people gotta start believing themselves, gotta start believing their own people, their own media—the people's media, and not have to read it in the New York Times to believe it's real. And that's a lot ingrained in the consciousness, people pickin up on really letting the pigs dictate their consciousness, and how they relate to it. And that's bullshit, if we're dealing with those things on a real level—we all gotta pull together, and start learning off each other. And not having to deal with the pig consciousness. Does that make any sense?

Pun: Sure it makes a lot of sense. We have to develop a total alternative to pig culture, and we have to live it right now, totally all the time.

Sundance: Let's talk about terrorism and revolutionary violence.

Pun: Terrorism is an elementary stage. Terrorism is, however, a good way to gauge the intensity, and to gauge the energy level of the people. Cause when you see terrorism going on all over the United States, man, like you see it, the energy level of the people it's a good gauge. The whole thing, see, it's unstoppable now, it's just gone beyond stopping. So I'd like to say to the pacifists, when you pray, don't pray for

peace, man. Cause the violence ain't gonna end until the people have complete victory. History shows us that there are two kinds of wars, just wars and unjust wars. The White Panther Party not only supports just wars, but actively participates in them. That's paraphrasing Mao. But, it's relevant to what's going down here. The tide turned when the first civilian was shot down in the streets. I would think that would probably be James Rector.

Sundance: The first white civilian.

Pun: Yeah, so the tide turned then. But, we ain't got no repression yet. It's like Eldridge says, after traveling around the Third World he realizes that being oppressed in Amerika is like being squashed between two silk sheets. We ain't got repression yet. But it'll come, and that'll just heighten it more.

Sundance: That's the whole thing about repression just leading to an advanced consciousness of revolution. But also you see people talking about repression a lot, and really woofin on repression, really talking on it a lot, and really getting scared shitless, you know. We don't need to be told about it, it's going to happen soon enough, without us saying anything. People still relate to it like a legal thing, where you go to the courts and fight it, you know. Which is far out, but you can't lose sight, that ultimately we're just wastin our time if we ain't dealing with it now. Let the

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Sinclair

From page 7

Amerikan "ownership" class.

So we will certainly strike a killer blow for the freedom of all the peoples of earth when we win our liberation from the death culture. Our struggle is their struggle—their struggle is our struggle—we are all one people—we are all one humanity. And as Fidel put it, "This great humanity has said: ENOUGH! And has started to move forward." Just as we draw inspiration from the struggle of the Cuban peoples, just as we draw inspiration from the heroic struggle of the black people and other oppressed colonial peoples within the mother country of America, just as we draw inspiration from the struggles of all peoples around the world fighting for their liberation, so do these peoples draw inspiration from us. We have to remember that, because some of us have had the tendency in the past to downgrade and depreciate our own liberation struggle, to say that our revolution is not important, to say that our liberation struggle must be subordinated to the struggles of other peoples who are more materially oppressed than we are. And this is a mistake. It is a mistake and we have to realize that it is a mistake, that our struggle is as important as any other people's struggle, if not more important, simply because we are within the belly of the beast itself, and if we break free then the beast collapses and dies.

The thing we have to remember is that [1] the primary struggle in the world is the struggle between THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE—all the masses of peoples in the world—and the oppressive, exploitative, reactionary "ownership" class of people, which is a tiny, tiny minority compared to the masses of people who don't own the means of production in the world. And [2] that all liberation struggles being carried out by national peoples within the broad category of THE PEOPLE are equally important, and they support each other equally. As Abbie Hoffman has written, and this is what I quoted to begin this message to you, "The only way to support a revolution is to make your own." And Che Guevara, because I know some of us don't relate to our own brothers from our own colony, Che Guevara said essentially the same thing when he said, "To wish the victims of imperialism success is not enough, the thing is to share their fate, to join them in death or victory." And I don't think I have to remind you that I'm talking about the people's VICTORY here, not our death. We will emerge from this struggle victorious, free at last, and not just us, not just the people of the youth Nation, but all the people in the world. Right on!

Now I hope these things are clear: that we are a people, that we are an oppressed colonial people, and that we are moving now to make our struggle a

NATIONAL struggle, a struggle for national liberation for our youth colony. WE ARE A NATION, we have declared ourselves, and we must move to establish ourselves as a separate Nation among the peoples of the earth. We can do this, we can DO this, it is important for all of us to realize that it is certainly possible for us to do this. Our struggle from now on out must be a struggle of national liberation for the youth colony, and it must be a political struggle as well as a cultural struggle, and it will also have to take on some forms of the military struggle as well. But the cultural struggle and the political struggle must be first, primary, because as far as we are concerned that is the only thing we are interested in. And the cultural revolution is the political revolution finally, in its highest form, the cultural revolution IS the political revolution, and the political revolution IS the cultural revolution. There is no separation. So I will say that the political struggle here, but we have to remember that they are the same thing, they are not separate.

What we want is peace and freedom, peace and freedom, peace and freedom. We don't want war. We want peace, we want freedom, and we have to remember what Malcolm said, we can't have peace until we have freedom, there can't be peace until all the peoples of the earth have their freedom, to determine their own destinies in peace. We want to determine our own destiny as a people, we want to build the alternative culture, the new order, the New World of our holy dreams and visions. This is what we want. We don't want war, we HATE war, we want to eliminate all wars, but on the other hand we know that liberation is not possible without struggle. We don't want war, but we are aware that we have to deal with war, and we can't be afraid of war. We can't be afraid to fight for our freedom, because if we don't fight for it we won't get it. We have a slogan which expresses this reality, it says, "IF YOU WANT TO GET HIGH, YOU'RE GONNA HAVE TO FIGHT", because the people who are in power now will not permit colonials to just go ahead and do what they want to do. They will fight to retain their power, we have to expect that and prepare for it, we have to realize that they will not step off the stage of history of their own accord. They just won't. They never have in history, and they aren't about to start now. So we have to relate to that.

We have to make it clear to all the peoples of the world that if there is war in the mother country, it will be at the instigation of the established order. It will be THEIR war against the revolutionary people of the youth colony, and we will defend ourselves, and we will strike out for our liberation by any means necessary, even if it means war. We are ready for it, because we know that we have to fight for our freedom, it will not be given to us as a favor. We might wish that they will just give peace a chance, but if you look at it objectively, if you look at history, if you look at Vietnam right now, and South America, and Africa, and the

oppressed colonies within the mother country of Amerika, you will see that they are not going to give peace a chance at all. They are not going to do it. So we have to prepare for the other thing, we have to prepare to fight for our freedom, and we will have peace when we achieve our freedom—not before.

As far as I am concerned, as far as I can see right now, that war against the youth colony has already started. It has already started. And we have to realize something else in this connection, that war is not like they show it on tv, or in the movies, or in the comic books. It's not a sudden thing. It doesn't take place overnight, or all at once. It takes place over a period of years, and most of the time the people who are at war don't even realize that it's happening until the action comes within their specific territory. Battles are fought all over, one at a time, and there are lulls and quiet periods in between. It's not an apocalyptic thing like we tend to think it is. Remember that, because people will try to tell you that there is no war going on here because they don't see any fighting, or because the armed battles aren't continuous, or something like that. But that's not the point. The point is that war is a protracted struggle, which takes place over a period of years usually, and is made up of a lot of individual battles, a lot of individual victories and defeats for both sides, and the outcome is usually decided not on the battlefields but politically, at the conference tables. Remember that. Because war is just an extension of politics, it is not a separate thing—As Chairman Mao teaches us, "war is politics with bloodshed; politics is war without bloodshed." They are not two different things.

And another thing along this same line is that we have to realize very clearly that the Revolution is more than just an apocalyptic armed struggle which comes in a big flash, is fought out and decided on the spot. The Revolution is the entire scope of the people's efforts to achieve self-determination; armed struggle is just a tool of the revolutionary people. It is a tool, and it should be picked up and used when it fits the specific task to be undertaken, and then it should be put down and replaced in the people's hands by other tools of liberation: revolutionary technology. Please remember that. The Revolution is the whole scope of the people's efforts to achieve self-determination—no less. And the military struggle, when it occurs, is merely a small part of the Revolution. Merely a tiny part, but important as all parts in a whole are, or else there is no whole. So it can't be ignored, it can't be down-graded, but on the other hand it can't be blown up all out of proportion as we tend to do. Can you dig that? And too, we have those notions of the Revolution as simply an armed struggle because the people who control the information we get don't want us to know that the Revolution means more than just a fight. They don't want us to know that, because if they can keep us at that pynal level of consciousness they

can control us. They can defeat us in an armed struggle plain and simple, but they can't defeat the people's Revolution in which armed struggle is only an integral part of the whole, is only the people's politics extended one more decisive step.

Now what I was trying to say, that the war is on right now in the mother country, and it is a war directed against the people of the youth colony. We have already had casualties, fatalities, in that war. Maybe the first fatality was Dean Johnson, who was murdered in the streets of Chicago by mother country troops in 1968, when he came to Chicago to take part in the Festival of Life. Dean Johnson was a fatality of our nation. And James Rector was a fatality, James Rector who was shot down in cold blood by the mother country forces in Berkeley, where he took part in the movement to build a beautiful People's Park. He was murdered in this war. He is a casualty, one of our war heroes. And the latest casualties are the two brothers and two sisters who were shot down, who were massacred by mother country troops at Kent State University for protesting the war in Cambodia, or for walking across campus on their way to class. And the two brothers who were murdered by mother country troops at Jackson State University, in Mississippi, they are casualties in our war, or in the war of the black colony for its liberation. I don't know if their allegiance was to the black colony or to the youth colony—I don't know if their culture was black culture or youth culture—but I do know that they were our brothers, and they were murdered by the same power that struck down our brothers and sisters at Kent State.

There have been these casualties, and more, and there will be a lot more casualties before we win our victory over the oppressor. The people will have a lot more heroes before the war is over. We can't pretend otherwise. Because war involves bloodshed by definition—"war is politics with bloodshed"—and you don't have war without people being killed. But the important thing is that the people will win their struggle against the oppressor, and we will win our struggle because many of our brothers and sisters will have given their lives for their people, to advance the people's cause, and to bring about the people's liberation. They are going to kill us, and we are going to have to inflict some heavy casualties ourselves, but it can't happen any other way. It can't happen any other way. The people win their freedom through struggle. Some of us will die, but the people as a whole will win in the end. And those who die will be the people's everlasting heroes, just as James Rector and Dean Johnson and the brothers and sisters at Kent State and Jackson State and Augusta are our heroes now. Long live their memory in the hearts of the people!

NEXT ISSUE: BUILDING THE NATION.

—John Sinclair, Chairman,
White Panther Party

Pun

From page 27

lawyers fight it out in the legal system, but we got other work too, to occupy our time.

Pun: Yeah, the repression conferences and stuff like that are good, though, as media to get some information to some people who wouldn't regularly have it, the liberals, for instance. But they're not what revolution's about, the repression conferences. They're not what the revolution's about. The revolution is about bringing about a political consequence, the revolution is about power, quite simply I guess. Political power. And that comes from a couple of things.

It also comes from guns, it comes from dicks, it comes from pussies, it comes from babies. But Bobby Seale has gotta be cut loose.

Sundance: Before you sink back into the belly, Pun, what are the words that you want to leave people with?

Pun: Well, this whole interview I've been doing a lot of screamin and hollering about murdering and maiming and offing pigs and stuff. But there's more to revolution than just that. There's a whole thing about serving the people. Analyzing the needs of the people and then moving in a positive way to fulfill those needs. One of the needs of the people is that Huey Newton,

Bobby Seale, John Sinclair, Ahmed Evans, Erika Huggins and all political prisoners be released and returned to the people. That's one of the needs of the people. So most of this tape has been just dealing with that, with answering those needs. But there's a lot of other needs of the people—the people need free medicine, the people need free food, the people need free music, the people need legal self defense funds. The people need a whole lot of things. And these needs can be answered in positive ways. I don't want to make it sound like all you got to do is kill people, kill pigs, to bring about revolution. There's got to be some righteous stomp down grass roots work being done, and it is being done, but it's got to be carried on, at the same time that revolutionary violence is carried on. On all levels. I also want to take this opportunity to say that we have to say to those fools in the power structure, and those control addicts that if they don't give it to us, if they didn't give it up, we're going to take it from them, just the same way that they took it from our brothers and sisters before us. And we're going to take it from them the same way that they take it from the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America right now. We're going to rip the world out of their twisted, little lilly-white hands, scrape the shit off from it, and turn it back over to the people. And those CIA agents, and FBI agents, and plainclothes pigs and other fools of the power structure don't relate to that. And if they don't understand that then they only got to look about and see the rest of the world in motion. The people all around the world are moving to determine their own destinies, determine their own lives, and we're just as

much a part of the movement as any of the other peoples are.

So, in conclusion we got a lot of work to do, we got a lot of building to do, we got to start building national consciousness. We must start national construction, and this isn't as far out, or as far fetched as it sounds. It simply means we must support people's organizations and people's projects, it might be Legal Self-Defence funds, it might be food co-ops, it might be people's bands people's lawyers, people's radio, people's health clinics, people's doctors, what ever it might be. But it also means that individuals and organizations must step forward and assume their righteous roles as servants of the people.

Now I didn't even waste time talking about the F.B.I., you know. And I ain't up tight about being on the 10 most wanted list. They'd be looking for me coming out the front door and I'd be going out the back. They'd be looking for me on the Boulevard and I'd be in the ally and I think we're going to see the time where they're going to have to expand their 10 most wanted list, it's already expanded to the 11 most wanted list, they are going to have to expand it to the fifteen, and to the fifty, and to the hundred, and to the hundred and seventy-five and pretty soon they're going to have 40,000 ten most wanted criminals in Babylon.

All Power To The People! Free John Sinclair! Free Bobby Seale! Free All Political Prisoners! and Seize The Time!... and squeeze! And if there is any pity for those pigs in your heart, just pity them to death! Surprise attack! And brothers and sisters, this has been a surprise attack.



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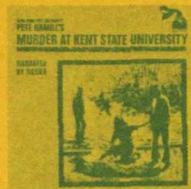


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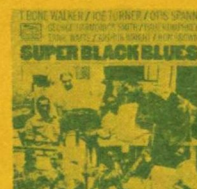
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Running Dog From page 5

go to the root of the problem, tried to give operational malfunctions to rationalise the trouble. It claimed that the problem of poor Indian relations was in the split administrative jurisdiction between the War Dept. and the Dept. of the Interior, in the denial by white men of the civil rights of Red men, in the bad relations of the army with the people of the reservation. The exact same problem that was described in the Kerner Report, written one hundred years later. And they believed it, because they could not see and would not study the truth.

In 1867 the Congress appointed a Board of Peace Commissioners, enlisted the aid of "philanthropists", the Great White Father appointed religious members to fill the posts in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and even members of the liberal press like HARPERS Magazine and Greely's N.Y. TRIBUNE heralded our cause, while concerned citizens wrote their congressmen and demonstrated their sympathy. And while this activity agitated the system, and gave the illusion that change was near, nothing changed, but the population of my people which steadily diminished.

RUNNING DOG CONTINUES:

The cunning of the white eyes knows no limits; he is not honourable in peace, and he is like a jackal in war. His strategy is to increase the repressive mechanism of the state, while at the same time he offers more phoney social programs to sooth the fires of revolt. We were forced by the army to go to the

reservations, and by the lure of annuities (welfare) to stay there; he killed our leaders who called for self-defense, Crazy Horse (he killed Crazy Horse with an Indian policeman like he killed Hampton with a black pig) and Capt. Jack and Chief Joseph, and he bought off other leaders by phoney promises of peace like Spotted Tail, Black Kettle and White Antelope. He talked them into non-violence and they talked us into laying down our guns, and he killed us without our being able to defend ourselves.

We call the white man's lackeys "Hang-around-the-forts" and "cut-hairs", we call the brave warriors and fighters of liberation "long-hairs". We called Custer "long-hair", but before the battle of Greazy Grass (Little Big Horn), he cut his hair at Ft. Reno, and that's why we defeated him in that battle.

Now the path lies open to the New Nation, to be a cut hair or a long hair, to hang around the fort or go to the field of battle. When Red Cloud of the Oglala Sioux defected to the white eyes after defeating them on the field of battle, he gave this cynical recommendation for braves wanting to become wealthy like the white eyes, "You must begin anew and put away the wisdom of your fathers. You must lay up food and forget the hungry. When your house is built, your storeroom filled, then look around for a neighbor you can take advantage of and sieze all he has." This is truly what Red Cloud said.

We must show what happened to White Antelope. After he had convinced the Cheyannes to be peaceful, the Colorado militia attacked his village and killed

many women and children. But White Antelope refused to run. He sat there, this 70 year old man of honour, while the other peace Chiefs ran, and sang his death song: "Nothing lives long, except the earth and the mountains." And after he had finished his song, he was struck by an army bullet and killed. And afterward one of the soldiers came across his body, and cut off his balls to make a pouch for his tobacco.

As the white eyes used their liquor to trick us and make us crazy, we will use our herbs and medicines against the white eyes to make HIM crazy. We have a tradition of great medicine men, Sitting Bull and Tim Leary.

We must use all our braves in the coming encounter, the men and the women, because we are all brothers and sisters. This was a mistake of the old nation, and lead to our defeat.

We must cure individualism, and our war councils must elicit the support of all our people. No more games like counting coup, throwing rocks, fighting when we feel like fighting. We must fight when the time is right and wait until the coming victory. Then we will have peace, and pass the pipe of peace.

We will begin again the Ghost Dance, and keep on moving so we can reclaim the earth: this is the Movement. And our musicians will play loud music, and the white eyes will see activity all over the globe, and we will keep moving. It will be the beginning of our prophecies, the beginning of a new nation, and the earth will belong to the people.

Statement of the Red Star Sisters

The Red Star is a universal symbol of COMMUNEism, of living and working together, coming together, a symbol of righteous revolution and love for ALL of humanity. We, the sisters of the White Panther Party, take the Red Star as the symbol of our own liberation, and align ourselves with all oppressed people on the planet.

In Vietnam the spirit and determination of the women to free their people is as strong as the men's. In Vietnam, the members of the Vietnam Women's Union tell of how before 1930, before the Party was formed, there were two main tendencies among women's liberation. One tendency was bourgeois, which wanted equal rights with men and opposed the bonds of the feudal family (which were extremely oppressive), but didn't commit themselves to freeing ALL their people. Their aspirations were right, but they didn't see the root of the problem. The constituency of this tendency was mainly women from the cities.

The second tendency was revolutionary, influenced by Marxism-Leninism. These women felt that only through the liberation of ALL the people could they achieve their liberation as women. They worked in many revolutionary groups, and only after the Party was

formed did they form a separate women's organization, which then became an anti-imperialist women's organization, not an organization just for the liberation of women. They knew they needed to give women a sense of confidence, and that through revolutionary activity, consciousness is raised to a higher level—through revolutionary struggle people begin to see their own potential as human beings. The Chairman of the Vietnam Women's Union is quoted as saying that making revolution is like going to a celebration; it makes you younger. And she tells of Minh Khai, a recent revolutionary sister, who engraved on her wall in prison, "Revolution is the way to Life." It is through righteous revolutionary struggle to free all the people that each one of us will achieve our liberation, each one of us as individuals, each class, each ethnic minority, each nation, as women, men, and youth. We will ALL be free.

We, the Red Star sisters of the White Panther Party, are a cadre of sisters united and dedicated to serving the needs of the people, with a specific purpose of educating and organizing more revolutionary sisters into the White Panther Party. We believe that women cannot be free

until ALL the people are free and dedicate our lives to that principle. We believe that male and female are two halves which make up the most powerful whole on the planet, and that united as brothers and sisters we are UNSTOPPABLE! In the past the White Panther Party has been criticized for male chauvinism, and the objective reality shows that there are indeed more men than women in the Party. We recognized that sisters throughout the planet are subjected to specific kinds of sexual oppression in the roles that we have been expected to fulfill, and we are determined to rediscover our true roles as a whole people, as revolutionary women. We, the Red Star Sisters of the White Panther Party, believe that we can deal with this problem within the Party, and are doing so. We call on all revolutionary sisters to unite with us to make the White Panther Party a truly revolutionary Party dedicated to serving all the needs of all the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
POWER TO THE RED STAR SISTERS
REVOLUTION IS THE WAY TO LIFE

FROM HIP TO REVOLUTION

At Woodstock or Altamont a woman could be declared uptight or a poor sport if she didn't want to be raped.

—Robin Morgan, "Goodbye to All That."

[Note: The author is a Berkeley activist in Women's Liberation.]

By ANNE WEILLS

During the Conspiracy trial in Chicago, I went to the movie THE DAMNED with some White Panthers. THE DAMNED was about the rise of the Nazis and the endless horrors that they brought with them. What terrified me the most about Nazi Germany was how women were treated. Women were total slaves, Aryan Breeders for Hitler or brutalized prostitutes.

My first reaction was how important women's liberation is as a force against fascism and for liberation. A cutting edge. It reinforced my making the struggle of women my highest priority. I felt that only women understood what has happened to them in this repressive society and we had to bring that consciousness to the culture that we see everywhere around us. The problem was that we in Women's Liberation are inside hip culture physically but more outside it in our heads. Because there is so little consciousness about the need for women's liberation in hip culture we have chosen to ignore it as an area of struggle.

This brings me back to the conversation with the White Panthers, the Party which in many ways is the vanguard of the cultural revolution. We were talking about the White Panther program, the changes they were going through and their tentative idea of a national central committee. It seemed at the time that the White Panthers were not yet so conscious for the need to free women from their singular oppression as part of their cultural revolution. (Since then there seem to be some fundamental changes going on concerning women.)

It was the combination of THE DAMNED and talking to White Panthers who saw themselves as revolutionaries and yet were still so unconscious about the struggle for women's liberation that shocked me into re-examining the role of women in Hip culture. It was a culture that I identified with but that still looked mainly to men to lead it. Despite the drugs, rock 'n' roll, and freaky clothes this culture was not very different in its views of women than the pig culture that we are trying to escape and destroy.

First of all youth culture resembles that of fascist Amerika because it is a man's culture: Male images dominate. It

is a male supremacist, egoistic, individualistic, cult of personality, do your own thing culture. The male of hip culture identifies with the Yippies, Rock groups, Hell's Angels, Leary, White Panthers, and to some extent Weathermen. These male leaders with the exception of Pun Plamondon (see interview this issue) — talk of revolution but treat women no better than some of the people we're trying to off. Life for women in this hip culture is perfectly described in this view of the Lower East Side by some Weather-people:

"Most of us who went to the East Side wanted to escape the mother role and ended up as Mother Earths. Nothing changed for us there, we tagged after men, played dumb, stupid or afraid while they were macho. But Lower East Side survival demanded cunning and brute force. We slept with many guys, not just one, we could do dope and everything we couldn't do before. But it was forced, we were expected to be beautiful but weak people. In a community where everything was supposed to be free, everything literally "cost you your ass" whether it was turning on or finding a place to crash. Not to fuck was a threat to the communal thing, was unhip. We never did anything from street-fighting to dope-peddling without a man as boss."

—The Rat, Feb. 24 - Mar. 9.

There are several images that dominate youth culture. One is the rock group which is purely cultural. We also have the new social structure exemplified by the pioneer hippie in his rural commune. And then there are individual men who see themselves as leaders and attempt to politicize the culture such as the Yippies, Leary, John Sinclair and others.

The rock group has the most powerful image in hip culture so it is then not surprising that the music, and the dynamic that flows from the structure of the rock group sets up a natural division of labor with roles that oppress women in a profound way. All women are essentially groupies whose survival depends on what and how much they can do for the group. Most of which is degrading to women.

Then we have the pioneer hippie who is trying to create new social relationships but who still relies fundamentally on the sexual division of labor or the original pioneers. The women still do most of the cooking, most of the caring for children and most of the day-to-day domestic chores. The man is the builder, provider and decision maker.

The Yippies have in the past acted the role of white, male, aggressive, cult of personality, media freaks. They have pushed themselves while they idealize hip culture—at the expense of women

who are brutalized both psychologically and physically by the perpetuation of a "Chick", groupie consciousness. The Yippies must now struggle much harder with their people about racism, chauvinism, the corruption and opportunism in the culture, instead of just saying long hairs are great, beautiful, and encouraging them to do what they are already doing—smoking dope, taking acid, talking revolution but not "doing it."

As in straight culture, young hip women do not have control over their lives. The macho, cult of personality dynamic that runs through the youth culture has demanded that all women be defined as Groupies. A few who have made it as entertainers such as Grace Slick, Janis Joplin, Judy Collins, Joan Baez (even racists can dig black entertainers) are soft on men and not in any way a threat to male supremacy in youth culture. The women who went into the Weather Machine came out more like men than the revolutionary feminists they could have been. They took aggressiveness and macho style from the men and started to break through their own fears and passivity. But macho is weakness, a crutch, a false consciousness about one's ability to create new revolutionary images that are not Butch Cassidy, the Sundance Kid, or Trashman.

The only person who comes to mind when I try to think of that Vietnamese style revolutionary we should all be trying to be is Jane Alpert, one of the "New York bombers" who is now underground. She does not push herself, she speaks in a very serious way for the need for revolution for women, blacks and Third World People. She is a feminist and a revolutionary. I don't know how much the image that Jane represents is respected in Hip culture but I'm sure there will have to be many more struggles before we make a serious impact on the culture. Women still have to push their sex, their freakiness, their mysterious powers, their sensuality, their intuitiveness, their ability-to-make-a-house-a-home, their availability to do shit work of all kinds but rarely if ever can they display and receive respect for their intellectual and physical power, their politics, their independence and strength as women. Since the time of the first human be-in the woman has been sexually exploited, objectified, and made to believe that her biggest achievement in life can be taking care of her old man or several old men. In hippie communes, yippie politics, and street culture, women have the hippie versions of their roles in straight society.

On the Dick Cavett show not so long ago, Grace Slick, two women from Women's Liberation in New York and Hugh Hefner had a discussion. The WL women were attacking Hugh Hefner for the exploitative nature of the Playboy

Bunny which oppresses all women and which also fucks up a lot of men who then are all hung up about finding that air-brushed, touched up, ideal, simple, beautiful woman.

Hefner was saying that he really agreed with Women's Liberation and had a lot to do with liberalizing the culture so that women would have it easier. All he was saying was that he wanted to destroy the puritan morality so that women could and should fuck more men. Such strange bedfellows...then Grace defended Hefner by saying that she thought it was groovy being a sexual object and liked being propositioned. It reminded her that she was desirable. The message was that in order to live like Grace women should develop the sexual part of themselves to acquire some power. What men do not understand about the "sexually liberated" woman is that like the "American Dream" it is a fiction. It is a myth that obscures real power relations. How can we women, subordinate in every other sphere, be free and equal in bed?

In Berkeley we had a women's rally to talk about the issue of pig helicopters and about using the same money for childcare centers for poor people, street people, students and whoever else was in need. It is usually "peace and good vibes" on Sundays with the Berkeley White Panthers organizing bands to play in the park for free. But this Sunday the women almost incited a sex riot. The women who spoke put the street people, freaks, bikers, Hell's Angels, politicians, and some of the sisters with them very uptight. It wasn't so bad until the women started talking about their personal experiences of being ripped off in the streets, in bed, in meetings and in almost everyplace where they have to deal with men alone. They talked about the violence that is directed towards women in what was once People's Park, the People's Park Annex, now in the Haight and on Telegraph. The Women talked about being raped, man-handled, laughed at, intimidated, made to feel helpless without a man to protect them and then forced to avoid the streets because they were just tired of being hassled. The tension and violence that these raps created was shocking for everyone concerned. We hadn't anticipated what was right beneath the male ego when threatened with desertion by women. We did not have any bodyguards for our women (one was attacked) but next time they will be necessary so we can feel even freer to speak about our experience and persuade other women to join us in this revolution within the cultural revolution.

To avoid being brutalized on the streets, (a woman was beaten with chains by two men in broad daylight a

See page 24

THE PROGRAM OF THE WHITE PANTHER PARTY, JULY 4, 1970

We are living in a time of great change. The social order which has developed in the West since the Industrial Revolution is now obsolete. The conditions which have made the present mode of life necessary for the development of humanity have now changed, irrevocably, and we must address ourselves to the need for creating a whole new social order, a new economic system, a new culture, based on the new conditions now in effect on the planet: a highly-developed post-industrial cybernetic technology, the possibility of a post-scarcity economy, and the need for positive human planning on all levels so that the energies and resources of the planet can best be used in the service of all the people of earth now.

For the first time in human history since the Paleolithic we have the possibility of a post-scarcity world economy, which is characterized by an abundance of goods and services for all the people of the earth. This post-scarcity economy is now possible by virtue of the post-industrial cybernetic revolution and the technologies and human visions developed within the past twenty five years. Yet our technology is still being used to perpetuate an out-moded, out-dated, totally obsolete life-form—the consumer/war economy and the death-culture which supports it—because it is still being controlled by a tiny minority of the people, controlled and used by this minority to keep the people from realizing their full human potential and the full potential of their technology.

The natural development of humanity is still being held back by this minority class of "owners" who control the technology, the mass information media, the land, the means of production, the educational system, the government and its armies, in short the whole range of the means by which the people's needs are satisfied. In order to advance the people's interest, the whole consumer/war economy must be dismantled completely, to be replaced by a free world economy based solely on serving the needs of all the people all the time. This is the absolute minimum step which must be taken to bring freedom to the people of the earth.

We do not make this statement lightly. As the first wave of born-and-bred consumers we, the youth of the post-industrial west, have experienced first-hand the excesses and the emptiness of the consumer society, and we have rejected it as unfit for human consumption. We don't want it for ourselves, and we insist that our brothers and sisters all over the planet must not be subjected to this degradation either. We know what our modern technology is capable of, and we demand that it be placed entirely and directly in the service of ALL the people, not merely a tiny elite of a class of "owners" and exploiters.

We have seen the future—we ARE the future—and we know that it is not only ours, but that it likewise belongs to all the people on the planet. We know that the age of capitalism, competition, consumerism, and the class society is finished, and we demand total entrance for all people into the New Age of common wealth, cooperation, communalism, and the classless society which is now possible. We understand that modern electronic technology has enabled us to break down the artificial barriers between classes, races, cultures and nationalities so that we can now come face to face with each other on the planet as natural brothers and sisters. Everything belongs to everybody, and we all share a common interest, a common wealth and a common fate. We demand the end of the present control system with its consumerism and war and its death culture, and the beginning of a continuous human revolution based on the free exchange of energy and materials, the free passage of people and goods from place to place as demanded by the absolute needs of the people, the free use of the energies and resources of the planet and its people within the context of a free social order based wholly on the needs of all the people all the time, and the free development of a new Life-Culture which will give voice to the highest spirit of mankind. These are our most basic demands.

WHAT WE WANT/WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. We want freedom. We want the power for all people to determine their own destinies.

We believe that we will not be free until all people are free, and that there will not be world peace until all the people of the world have their freedom. We believe that freedom means, first, the power of all peoples to determine and control their own destinies, in cooperation with all other peoples, giving full respect to the rights of all other peoples to control THEIR own destinies. We believe that the first right of man is the right to live, the right to bread for his children, the right to live by his own labors, and the right to have his own culture. And we believe that the western notions of freedom as "free markets," "free enterprise," and "free competition" are wholly out-moded, out-dated, obsolete and inimical to the best interests of the peoples of the earth.

We believe further that all oppressed peoples have the absolute right to national self-determination, and that they are not bound to recognize or respect the so-called laws of the oppressor. In this connection, we support the national liberation struggles of the black, brown, yellow, red and youth colonies on the North American continent, of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam, the Pathet Lao in Laos, the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, the revolutionary peoples of Thailand, Malaysia, Japan, and the Philippines, the Palestinian Liberation Front, all African, Asian and Latin American national liberation movements, and the struggles of all other peoples throughout the world who are fighting for their liberation from the forces of modern imperialism. We unite particularly with the revolutionary youth of the western world who are struggling with us to bring the New Age into being on this planet.

2. We want justice. We want an immediate and total end to all political, cultural, and sexist repression of all oppressed peoples all over the world, particularly the repression of women, of black people, young people, and all national minorities within the confines of the United States of America. We want the complete transformation of the so-called legal system in the United States so that the laws and courts and police and military will function only in the best interests of ALL the people. We want the end of all police and military violence directed against the people of the earth right now!

We believe that the American police, courts and military as they are presently constituted are used as instruments of repression by a minority "ownership" class against the revolutionary peoples of the earth; that they are the means by which the tiny "ownership" class manages to keep control of the world's natural and human resources; and that control of these forces must be removed from the hands of this minority class and placed in the hands of the people as a whole.

We believe that sisters throughout the planet are subjected to specific kinds of sexual oppression in the roles that they have been expected to fulfill. We are determined to rediscover our true roles as whole revolutionary people.

We believe that laws, courts, police and military should be used only to defend the people against the usurpation of their lives, liberty, and common wealth by any minority group, and to keep the earth's resources and the means of production and distribution of goods, information and services in the hands of the people as a whole. We believe that all domestic troops must be kept out of the people's communities, and that all international armed forces under the present control of the United States government must be recalled from their various outposts around the world, starting with Southeast Asia, and kept from interfering in the affairs of sovereign peoples throughout the world.

3. We want a free world economy based on the free exchange of energy and materials and the end of money.

We believe that the present world economy based on scarcity and consumerism is obsolete and must be abolished, and that it must be replaced with a free, post-scarcity economy in which all the energies and resources of the earth are held in common wealth and used strictly to promote the welfare of all the people on the planet. Only in a scarcity economy do people and goods have a price; in a post-scarcity economy everything is free for every body, energies and materials are exchanged freely within an overall world planning system based on the absolute needs of the people, and minority control of the earth's energies and resources is completely eliminated. We believe that money, or "currency," is merely a curious function of the scarcity economy which will disappear when the free economy is allowed to develop and flourish.

4. We want a clean planet and a healthy people. We want to eliminate all industrial and military pollution of the land, the water, the air, and the universe itself, and of the people of the earth whose minds and bodies are now polluted by the products and the propaganda of the consumer/war society. We want to restore the ecological balance of the planet and secure the future of humanity and its environs.

We believe that the present state of disaster on planet earth is a direct and inescapable result of the irresponsible capitalist system and the greedy conduct of the "ownership" class which controls that system. We believe that control of the planet's resources must be placed entirely in the hands of the people, who will develop new forms of energy and fuel, eliminate unnecessary jobs and degrading products, and stop the pollution of the planet and its people.

5. We want a free educational system that will teach each man, woman, and child on earth exactly what each needs to know to survive and grow into his or her full human potential.

We believe that the present so-called educational system in the west is merely a high-pressure training device by means of which the "ownership" class provides itself with adequately-trained workers for the various levels of its exploitative production system, from the high-school-trained factory worker to the college-educated manager, professor, general, manipulator, judge, prosecutor, insurance salesman, etc. We believe that the schools are also used to wipe out all creative and humanistic impulse in the country's youth population and replace them with the cheapest brand of materialism, the anti-human ethic of the consumer culture. We believe further that education is one of the most important and one of the most exciting functions and responsibilities

of the free society, and that all people should receive any education which will teach them to provide for their own needs and to determine their own destinies. A free revolutionary educational system is central to the development of a free revolutionary society, since the people have to be fully informed and made fully aware of the possibilities open to them so they can truly have freedom of movement and freedom of opportunity. We believe that the free educational system of the future will go far beyond classrooms and teachers and textbooks and tests—it will include the whole universe and will make full use of the highest forms of modern technology to bring all relevant information to all the people and teach them how to utilize that information for their own happiness and welfare.

6. We want to free all structures from corporate rule and turn all the buildings and land over to the people at once.

We believe that the land and everything on it belongs to no one but to the people as a whole, and that the land and any structures built on it must be used solely for the benefit of all the people. We believe that deeds, mortgages, leases, rents, liens, all of those things are simply phony means of control through which the "ownership" class exploits the rest of the people. We believe that the actual and absolute needs of the people, all the people, must control the uses to which the land and the structures built on the land are put.

7. We want free access to all information media and to all technology for all the people.

We believe that the people must control the means of production and the entire technology of production, service and distribution, and that the people must control and have free access to the mass information media so they can control their own consciousness. We believe that the mass information media must no longer be used to propagandize the consumer economy, that it must instead be used to free the people from obsolete beliefs and values which are detrimental to their highest human development. We believe that the people's technology must be used solely to keep the people informed of all the possibilities open to them in the New Age and to help teach them how to realize those possibilities.

8. We want the freedom of all people who are being held against their will in the conscripted armies of the oppressor throughout the world.

We believe that the only legitimate armed forces are those which can only be defined as people's armies, that is, armies made up of citizen volunteers and patriots who are fighting in defense of their homeland against imperialist aggressors/invasers, or who are fighting for the national liberation of their peoples against oppressive mother country forces. We believe that all conscripted soldiers, particularly those brothers who have been ripped off from the black and youth colonies in the United States and forced under pain of imprisonment or death to promote U.S. imperialism wherever they are sent throughout the world, must be released from that service immediately and returned to their own communities, where they can join the struggle for the freedom of their own people.

9. We want the freedom of all political prisoners of war held in federal, state, county, and city jails and prisons. We want them returned to their communities at once!

We believe that the government of the United States and its various agencies and subsidiaries is presently carrying out an organized, calculated, wide-ranging program of political and cultural repression and terrorism against the people of the black and youth colonies of North America, and against all revolutionary peoples throughout the world. We believe that thousands of our brothers and sisters are being arrested, jailed, dragged into courts, subjected to cruel and unusual punishments, and imprisoned or exiled on phony charges such as marijuana possession, trespassing on the people's property, resisting illegitimate arrests, refusing to accept inhuman and illegal orders from government agents, etc. And we believe that these brothers and sisters must be released from their illegal confinement and returned to the people immediately.

We believe particularly that John Sinclair, Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Brika Huggins, the Panther 21, Timothy Leary, Akoned Evans, Martin Sostre, Lee Otis Johnson, all marijuana prisoners, all draft resisters, all deserters and resisters of illegitimate authority within the mother country armed forces must be released from all jails at once.

We believe further that all American prisoners are political prisoners finally, since their "crimes" have been prompted and promoted by the insane consumer culture which teaches people to rob, steal, rape, murder, plunder and destroy as a means to personal power and property. Property itself is theft—the real criminals are the members of the tiny "ownership" class who have ripped off the land and its resources from the people's common wealth and who use their illegal power to keep the people from assuming full control of what is rightfully theirs.

We believe that prisons and jails have nothing to do with the "crimes" committed by their inhabitants, and that all prisoners should be released and given a chance to prove themselves as free citizens of the New Age. If there are "criminals" who cannot restrain themselves from harming other people, they must then be brought before juries of their PEERS and, if convicted, sent to real rehabilitation centers which will teach them how to live in the New Age.

10. We want a free planet. We want free land, free food, free shelter, free clothing, free music, and culture, free media, free technology, free education, free health care, free bodies, free people, free time and space, everything free for every body!

We believe that the only solution to the problems of the people of the earth now is through the creation of a free world economy based on the needs of all the people all the time, and that any social system which does not provide for the needs of all the people must be abolished and replaced by a free social order.

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 for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separations.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable 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 power 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 ABOLISH IT and to institute a new government, laying its foundations 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 has shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing inevitably the same object, evince 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.

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