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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	SBH	III. 2. 15

June 24, 1970

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BLACK ART WORKERS DENOUNCE ART STRIKE AS RACIST

WSABAL, Women Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation, is a student organization which has joined with several black members of the Art Workers Coalition to expose Art Strike as a racist organization which is designed to project SUPERSTAR ANTI-HUMAN ARTISTS. The Emergency Cultural Government Committee of Art Strike is responsible for the bigoted Venice Biennale Exhibition to begin at the School of Visual Arts on July 6th. The show was stated to be by Art Strike as a protest against war, racism and sexism, when in reality the show supports these tools of oppression and is using them to project several anti-human artists as relevant. Black Art Workers refuse to be their own slave masters, therefore while they will remain members of the Art Workers Coalition - a forum for all artists; regrettably the black students of WSABAL and black artists must withdraw from Art Strike all support and denounce Art Strike as a RACIST TOOL OF THE SUPERSTAR ART ESTABLISHMENT.

WSABAL, a student organization of black women student art workers and other black art workers which support WSABAL's struggle to end the oppression of black women artists, will protest the Venice Biennale Exhibition on July 6th at 3:30 p.m. with the intention to close the show down. *We invite all students to join us in enforcing WSABAL's major demand which is that.

ALL GROUP SHOWS ARE TO BE OPENED TO THE PARTICIPATION OF ART WORKERS THROUGHOUT AMERICA.

ALL SHOWS MUST BE AT LEAST FIFTY PERCENT WOMEN.

All shows which are not a stated projection of a particular cultural group, such as Afro-American, American Indian, American White, etc., must reflect the ethnic distribution of the metropolitan area in which the show is being given.

Black artists have united under WSABAL to finally bring to an end the complex system of THE BIGOTED ART ESTABLISHMENT OF ANTI-HUMAN WHITES AND TOKEN NIGGAS.

** The show has been closed
by WSABAL*

by Michele Wallace - Art Writer

WSABAL

354 West 145 Street

Harlem, New York 10031

For further information call: 862-5876

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June 24, 1970

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

*Women Students & Artists Protest Venice Biennale Exhibition
at The School of Visual Arts on July 6 at 3:30 p.m.*

Due to the Exclusion of Women, Blacks, and Art Relevant to Youth, Racism and War

The newly formed student organization – WSABAL, Women Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation – will protest the Venice Biennale Show at the School of Visual Arts (which is being given by the Emergency Cultural Government Committee of Artists Strike) because of the show's exclusion of women and blacks (and particularly black women) from the exhibition. The government-sponsored Venice Biennale was forced to close in Venice in 1968 because students there protested the show's lack of relevance to the horrors taking place in the world then. WSABAL can see no improvement in the world situation since that time and thus no improvement in moving this show of ART FOR RICH PEOPLE from Venice to New York.

Although sponsorship has now been taken over from the government by the artists themselves, the exhibition still continues to discriminate against women and blacks, and most certainly against black women. The artists are attempting to disguise the show's actual purpose which is to project themselves, by stating that their action is one against the war and the government. In addition, their poster of three black fists conjures up images of a protest against racism which is a total misconception, as they themselves are racists. WSABAL respects the Emergency Cultural Government Committee's right to make a statement; but WSABAL then reserves the right to expose that statement for what it really is:

TO DO ANTI-HUMAN ART FOR RICH PEOPLE AND IN THE PROCESS TO KEEP
ALL BLACKS, WOMEN, AND PARTICULARLY BLACK WOMEN, OUT OF ALL
SHOWS, EVEN "PROTEST" SHOWS.

Black women artists do art for people, and we, as black women, along with our supporters, will protest this exhibit and all others which fail to inject this human element. We will not accept the last-minute addition of a few blacks or a few women to the show at Visual Arts. New York has an extremely sizable population of blacks, women and black women, and they should be fairly represented.

The Venice Biennale was a bad enough insult in Venice in 1968; but to have this exhibition brought to New York City in 1970 is to commit the greatest insult of all. WSABAL cannot ignore this exhibition as the Emergency Cultural Government Committee has ignored three-fourths of the population of New York City, by implementing such an action.

by Michele Wallace

WSABAL
345 West 145 Street
Harlem, New York 10031

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THE MANIFESTO OF WSABAL
WOMEN STUDENTS AND ARTISTS FOR BLACK ART LIBERATION
A STUDENT ORGANIZATION OF BLACK ART WORKERS

THE FUNCTIONS OF WSABAL

To Inform the Student Public of the Esthetic Oppression of Black Women in the Visual Arts —

This Esthetic Oppression Comes in the Forms of:

Brown Art shows filled with Token Art Niggas which are being passed off for Black Art Shows.

Anti-Human Art Shows which are being passed off for Protest Shows.

The exclusion of Black Women Artists from ALL shows because of their position as the only group which is creating A Revolution in Art.

To Encourage All Students to Protest and Challenge All Trends Against Art for People —

WSABAL has done this most recently in the cases of:

Letters to the New York Times in response to articles written by Hilton Kramer, "Uncle" Benny Andrews and Edmund Gaither concerning the show — Afro-American Artists: New York & Boston — which intentionally excluded black women for the purpose of leading the public to believe that the BROWN SHIT ART done by black male artists was Black Art; and for the purpose of projecting particular Token Art Niggas which do not threaten the Anti-Human Art establishment.

A commitment which was expressed in a letter to Edmund Gaither, the organizer of the Boston Brown Shit Art Show to actively oppose all Brown Art Shows which are meant to oppress all real art in the future.

A demonstration against the Venice Biennale Show at the School of Visual Arts on July 6th at 3:30 p.m. because of its exclusion of women, blacks and black women; and because of its intention to disguise the exhibition as a protest show when it was actually another implementation of Anti-Human Art and a projection of superstars.

It appears, at least for the moment, that THE EMERGENCY CULTURAL GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE has complied to WSABAL's first demand by making the Venice Biennale Show open. Notice of this change was not in the papers, nor have we seen it written anywhere. WSABAL suspects that the arrangement will be the following: The Anti-Human Artists will be exhibited in the Gallery, and the black artists and women artists will be exhibited in the lobby. If this be the case, WSABAL will protest this segregation. WSABAL demands that the art works be totally integrated throughout the lobby and the gallery. WSABAL invites all students to see that the superstars projection of these Anti-Human Artists be stopped.

To Support the Exposure of Real Black Art Which is Done by Black Women Who, As Mothers and Sisters, Are Concerned With the Afro-American Situation of Today —

We supply the black women with a liberated voice to protest bigotry on the part of black and white male artists against black women artists.

We are destroying the walls that separate the art of black women from the view of the people by exposing so called black art shows as Brown Shit Art Shows, and so called protest shows as Anti-Human Art Superstar Shows.

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We are revitalizing an interest in black art among students, outraged by social injustices, and thus we are bringing an end to the disenchantment of ALL students with ALL art.

WSABAL'S DEFINITION OF BLACK ART

Black Art is Truth Which Is —

The Black Color of our skin.

Rhythm which is the major black artistic contribution.

An artistic heritage which comes from the Principles of African Art.

The severity of our oppression, our persistent will to survive, and our determination to effect a liberated black society.

Black Art is Not:

All Brown Shit (or all male).

"Picture" art.

Political propaganda or predictions of The Future.

Black Art Talk (we don't talk it, we do it).

Token Nigga Art.

Mainstream copy whitey art.

THE MAJOR DEMAND OF WSABAL

*ALL GROUP SHOWS ARE TO BE OPENED TO THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL ART WORKERS
THROUGHOUT AMERICA —*

All shows are to be fifty percent women.

All shows which are not a stated projection of a particular cultural group, such as Afro-American, American Indians, American Whites, etc., must reflect the ethnic distribution of the metropolitan area in which the show is being given.

WSABAL'S PRIMARY INTEREST IS IN THE OPPRESSION OF BLACK WOMEN ARTISTS

By Michele Wallace — Art Writer
WSABAL
345 West 145 Street
Harlem, N. Y. 10031
862-5876

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Dear Mr. Highower,

Most children that go to schools under the New York City School System have visited your museum at one time or another. This includes Black, ~~to~~ white and Puerto Rican Children. I feel that Black and Puerto Rican children should be able to see more art made by Black and Puerto Rican artists on a permanent basis. White children ~~and~~ feel that white children will benefit from ~~the~~ ~~to~~ The Martin Luther King Study Center too. It is also wrong to show them a one sided view of what art is. It may also help Blacks and whites understand each other if they can see ^{collections of} each others work shown together.

Darlene De Four
4-25H

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Mr. John Hightower

my name is Vincent Floyd Anderson I
my skin is Black my mind is Black
my Talk is Black and I feel Black,
and think you and your people
should put some Black and Puerto Rican
art in your museum.

I would like to see more Black art
more Puerto Rican art. I feel this
way as the Black people and Puerto
Rican feel this way too.

I would like to see a [Martin Luther King
Study center] in the museum of modern art
"now".
because the power is going to the people now.

P.S

Power to the People.

2-12 Vincent Anderson

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal

S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Mr. Hightower

Ever since the Black man first came to the United States his culture has been stolen from him. His arts, music, customs and even his right to be a man. The Black man has worked your land, fix your food taught and taken care of your children. Yet! We cannot even sit down at your table to eat.

We definitely need The Martin Luther King Study Center. To learn about our culture which was so wrongfully stolen from us. To learn about our people. To know that they were there also. With The Martin Luther King Study Center we ^{can and} will learn.

Leslie Ashe
Brandeis Annex
4-25 H

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Sonny Pagon

THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal

S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Mr. Hightower

I think the idea of having Black & Puerto Rican art in the Museum, all I can say about time. We pay tax money for that Museum & none of our works are not in there. There are over ~~10,000~~ ^{10,000} paintings in there & there's only 12 Black paintings & none of Puerto Ricans.

I hope there will be more museum & galleries in this city & the whole country, since we do pay with our ~~taxes~~ taxes. It's not right to have only White Paintings in our museum.

Sonny Pagon 4-32

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The Museum of Modern Art

To Bill Rubin
From Emily C. Stone
Date May 5, 1970
Re Letter from Mrs. Eugenia Guinier

Dear Bill,

Walter Bareiss sent me this to answer but I somehow feel that since you were working on this subject you are better suited to draft a reply than I am. I would very much appreciate your sending me a copy for the records.

Attachment

Emily Stone

Gentlemen:
For the last several years
I have discontinued our
family membership in the
Museum because of its policy
(seemingly deliberate) of the
exclusion of Black artists
either in a permanent exhibit,
or special showing.
The new policy of free
admission on Mondays seems
to be a healthy signal. I have
re-joined, with some misgivings.
I would like to hear of
plans for the immediate future
on the above question, surely
if the Whitney Museum, and

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

69 Dunster St.
Cambridge, Mass
March 30, 1970

Board of Directors
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53 Street
New York City 10019

Gentlemen:

For the last several years
I have discontinued our
family membership in the
Museum because of its policy
(seemingly deliberate) of the
exclusion of Black artists,
either in a permanent exhibit,
or special showing.

The new policy of free
admission on Mondays seems
to be a healthy signal. I have
re-joined, with some misgivings.

I would like to hear of
plans for the immediate future
on the above question. Sincerely,
if the Whitney Museum, and

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The Metropolitan Museum
have ^{now} and are making future
plans to devote special
offerings to the outstanding
contributions of Black artists
in all fields - painting,
sculpture, films, ~~etc.~~
The Museum of Modern
Art afford to lag so
far behind?

Sincerely yours,
Eugenia Guinier

cc: Board of Regents
State of N. Y. under
which the constitution
is authorized

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The Museum of Modern Art

May 26, 1970

Mrs. Eugenia Guinier
69 Dunster Street
Cambridge, Mass

Dear Mrs. Guinier:

Thank you for your letter of March 30. In reference to your request for information regarding plans that the Museum may have for exhibiting art by Black artists, I am pleased to report that we are on the way towards that end. The exclusion of Black artists' work from our exhibits has neither been part of our policy nor deliberate. Rather, it has been a product of our admittedly and lamentably limited knowledge of Black art. We recognize the need to have Blacks discover and interpret work of Black artists to the public. We neither want to be patronizing nor paternalistic in any Black arts program or exhibition on Black art. Instead, we want it to be, as Vinnette Carroll has said, "A program of riches".

You may be interested to know that I will announce an Advisory Board comprised of Black artists to advise and inform me of the developments and directions that Black art is taking, and which will influence exhibitions in our galleries. I hope it is a step that will shape future decisions I would like to see the Museum make.

Best regards,

John B. Hightower
Director

JBH/es

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The Museum of Modern Art

To John Hightower
From Bill Rubin
Date 12 May 1970
Re Letter from Mrs. Eugenia Guinier

Emily has passed on to me this letter which Walter Bareiss sent to her for a reply. Since the subject is very tender and touches upon Museum policy, I think the reply should come from your office. I would be perfectly happy to give my views on this subject but they are, I believe, minority views and they would certainly be taken by this lady as a statement of some sort of policy for the Museum, which could then be publically used to embarrass us. An answer to this letter--had it been written some weeks ago--might have pointed out some of the ideas which Bill Agee had in mind for the Americans show next year. All the more reason for us to clarify our aims and intentions in that regard.

cc: Emily Stone
William Lieberman

ES -
Wm. Lieberman
is correct as
replying to this?
JL

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The Museum of Modern Art

To Arthur Drexler
From William Rubin
Date February 24, 1970
Re Report on Black and Puerto Rican artists

It is now over a month and a half since the last meeting of the Subcommittee on Black and Puerto Rican Artists. I realize that with the pressure of work from the other committees it has been difficult to assemble your ideas and prepare the report which you, as Chairman, will naturally be doing. At the same time, I feel that further delays will make us not unjustifiably subject to the criticism of bureaucratic burial of the issue. Since I have given considerable thought to these problems and would like to get my feelings down on paper before they get stale, I am writing you my purely personal recommendations in this matter. This will assuage my conscience--discomfited by our failure to bring this issue to a conclusion--and, I hope, will provide you with some material which you may want to incorporate in the Committee report.

1) Black and Puerto Rican Coordinators

Under the umbrella of the new Study Center--revised in its goals and its table of organization--there should be two coordinators with wide contacts in their respective educational and artistic worlds. Among the activities of these men or women would be the following:

- a) act as participant, guide, and liaison officer in a program of publications related to these communities' roles in modern art and, hopefully, the increasing role of modern art in their lives. To the extent that funds could be raised for this purpose, useful publications, not ordinarily undertaken by this museum, might be realized.
- b) coordinate such activities as museum-sponsored events or pocket exhibitions on a community level.
- c) draw to the attention of the administrative and curatorial staff qualified Blacks and Puerto Ricans in all areas from that of secretary to curatorial posts so that we may really have these groups represented in a fair proportion in the serious activities of the museum. In this respect the Coordinators should recommend talented people who may not yet be fully qualified but for whom funds could be raised for on-the-job training (e.g. curatorial assistant) with the understanding that they might continue on in the Museum afterwards.

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- d) develop a continuous liaison with the curatorial departments to make sure that Black and Puerto Rican artists of interest to them--especially the great majority who are not represented in galleries--are seen by the curators.
- 2) Acquisition of work by Black and Puerto Rican artists for the permanent collection
- a) the collection has acquired and is acquiring the work of these artists but, as with the acquisition of works by other artists, is hamstrung by financial limitations. I recommend the creation of a fund of at least ten thousand dollars per year to be exclusively available for the acquisition of works by Black and Puerto Rican artists. This sets no new precedent for the Museum, since we accepted money specifically earmarked for Latin American artists at an earlier date. I also recommend an attempt to raise money from the Museum community, and also from the city and state, to be used as grants for talented young black and Puerto Rican artists whose work is not yet such that the Museum is considering an acquisition. It will be said by some that this gives special advantages to Black and Puerto Rican artists; if so, it merely compensates in a most miniscule way for the fact that artists from these communities are much less likely to be able to get help from home or get good part-time jobs--the two methods by which young artists usually have to eke out their precarious existence.
- 3) Exhibition of Black and Puerto Rican artists.

Certainly there are a number of artists in both these communities which the Museum will want to exhibit in one format or another. In its reportorial capacity, the Museum should show that there are lively artistic communities in these groups and, by so doing, encourage them. There are some who believe that Black artists, for example, should be shown only in "integrated" exhibitions with no special notice taken of the fact they are Black. By the same token, there are numerous Black artists who would not wish to exhibit except under the banner of Black art. I have more than once asked Black artists who believe in the essential unity of Black art wherein this unity lies. It is certainly not a matter of style. Most of the answers deal with subjective and generally mystical feelings about their artistic activity--but should not be discounted for this reason. In an age when Japanese, Spanish, or American paintings share the same basic stylistic assumptions and differ only in inflection--and that more from painter to painter than from nation to nation--it is very difficult to allow that a group of Harlem artists showing together makes any less sense than an exhibition of Japanese artists.

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Personally, I feel that neither the Museum nor any bargaining group for the Black community should determine the format in which a particular artist's work should be exhibited. I would like to leave that to the artists themselves. Thus, for example, those Black artists whose work we would like to show and who prefer not to be shown in a Black art exhibition (and this is true of many) should be included in one of our "15 Americans" type exhibitions, or, if we wish to emphasize the work less, in one or another larger group show. In the case, however, of an artist whose work we would like to show, and who definitely wishes to show only in the context of a Black art exhibition, the Museum should be prepared to hold such an exhibition. These artists feel, and rightly so, that such exhibitions have a value to their community (over and above the value to individual artists) by drawing attention to the fact that, measured at least by the standard of this Museum, the plastic arts is a profession not only open to Black and Puerto Rican artists, but in which they have attained a level of recognition.

In the organization of such exhibitions the direction should be by a curator from the staff but it should be a curator who not only is in sympathy with such work but who, with the aid of the Coordinators from the Study Center and other groups in the respective community, explores all possible areas of artistic expression.

In addition to these exhibitions it would be interesting to have--as the Art Workers Coalition originally suggested--an exhibition of the relationship of African and other ethnic and indigenous ~~arts~~ to the tradition of modern painting and sculpture. This would make a fascinating exhibition--even though that contribution is, I believe, less marked than some people believe--and could also provide the basis for a most useful publication. It should, however, be done by an expert in the field so that it in no way gets entangled with contemporary politics or methodology.

Please excuse the haste with which this is written. I didn't take time to redo it because it's an informal report.

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THE PUERTO RICAN ART WORKER'S COALITION
INDICTS THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

6/18/70

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is about to embark on a project which will double the size of its building at a cost of at least 50 million dollars. This expansion is to house the Rockefeller and Lehman collections which, themselves, are valued at well over 50 million dollars. The Metropolitan Museum of Art will then become a glorious monument to the cultural neglect of the Puerto Rican and other neglected peoples of this city, this state, and this country. A quarter of the Met's budget now is at the public's expense. If the Metropolitan Museum of Art doubles in size, the tax monies needed to run it will at least double. It means millions of dollars of public funds used to propagate the private interests and fantasies of the Met. It is time for the Metropolitan Museum of Art to concern itself with the interest of the culturally disinfranchised Puerto Rican and other culturally neglected communities. This proposed expansion by the Met will be the cultural crime of the century. The struggle in New York City as throughout this country is people's outcry for a more equitable distribution of all facilities for all people. The Met must cease its expansion and utilize the millions and millions of dollars at its disposal for Community Controlled Branch Museums modeled after the community branch Library. This is no time to build a culture palace, this is no time to build a culture pyramid. The Puerto Ricans, as many other neglected peoples have sacrificed enough. We are told we have to wait for our garbage to be picked up; we are told we have to wait for decent medical treatment and, now, the Met tells us 'you can wait for your culture.'

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THE PUERTO RICAN ARTISTS AND DESIGNERS, as members of the ART WORKERS COALITION, demand that the Metropolitan Museum of Art's master plan expansion of the Metropolitan Museum cease at once and that the Met instead immediately implement the following demands:

1. Immediately establish in all communities of New York COMMUNITY CONTROLLED BRANCH MUSEUMS using as a model the Community Library Branch a precedent set by the New York Public Library many, many years ago.
2. Open hearings are to be held in every community in New York wherein the Metropolitan Museum of Art will convince the people of the relevance of the Metropolitan Museums master plan expansion by first implementing the COMMUNITY CONTROLLED BRANCH MUSEUM CONCEPT.
3. Recognizing the traditional cultural neglect and oppression of the Puerto Rican peoples we place top priority on the implementation of COMMUNITY CONTROLLED BRANCH MUSEUMS in the Puerto Rican Communities. Only when the COMMUNITY CONTROLLED BRANCH MUSEUMS are a completed reality in the Puerto Rican Communities will the Puerto Rican Artists and Designers Coalition permit the Metropolitan Museum to begin its master plan expansion at its present site.
4. The PUERTO RICAN ARTISTS AND DESIGNERS COALITION demand that the building called the Museum of the City of New York be immediately turned over to the Puerto Rican Community to be EL BARRIO'S COMMUNITY CONTROLLED BRANCH MUSEUM.

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The Museum of Modern Art

11 West 53 Street, New York, New York 10019 Tel. 956-6100

Date June 11, 1970

Purchase Order 17657

Invoice bearing this number must be
mailed directly to Treasurer's Office

To The Art Gallery
Hollycroft Press, Inc
Ivoryton, Conn 06442

Ship To



		Discount Unit Price	Total
20	copies of the Art Gallery Afro-American issue		\$40.00

Ordered by John B. Higtower

Authorized by [Signature]

Goods/Services received;

Approved for payment

by _____

Acct. no. 550-815

Controller _____

Date paid _____

Check no. _____

Reg. page no. _____

great concern.

Sincerely
Nancy O'Neill
8th period art

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Via
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MODERNART NYK

LFTXGPPI 1214A EDT JUN 5 70 NA442

XNT2181 DT PDC NEW YORK NY 4 706P EDT

JOHN HIGHTOWER, CARE MUSEUM OF MORDERN ARTGN DLY 75

(BON 12) 11 WEST 53 ST NYK

HIGHTOWER, AWARE OF MUSEUM SITUATION. YES, CONFERENCE NECESSARY

AT THIS TIME. WE WOULD LIKE MEETING WITH BOARD OF TRUSTEES

MELVIN EDWARDS DANIEL JOHNSON WILIAM T WILLIAMS

(928).

their gallery. Thank you very much for your
great concern.

Sincerely
Nancy O'Neill
8th period art

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

June 3, 1970

Dear Mr. John Hightower,

I am interested in the Martin Luther King Study Center. I believe Blacks and Puerto Ricans should have their art equally displayed around New York City and other parts of the country, just as many other types of art are. Blacks and Puerto Ricans have very interesting art and they usually show their culture and their history.

I have the feeling that the people at the Museum of Modern Art will be glad to have the permanent art display in their gallery. Thank you very much for your great concern.

Sincerely
Nancy O'Neill
8th period art

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S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Mr. John Hightower

I am glad that the museum of Modern Art is trying very hard to get Black and Puerto Rican Art in the Martin Luther King Study Center. Black people need to see that the black man is just as good of an artist as the white man. Please I don't mean to sound prejudice. Black + Puerto Rican people seem to lose out on ~~the~~ culture. I know you are trying, but please try harder to help us out.

Thank You

Merdy Lenhardt
H-25H

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Karolyn Smith

THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Mr. John High Tower,

I think that your work should be exposed. Rather the art work of of many Black people because their are other artist besides white. there are murous of opening up more area for

Black and ~~pre~~ prehistoric artist it doesn't matter ~~what~~ ~~what it is~~ ~~what~~ Color Law but the meaning I can give in a letter.

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

June 3, 1970

Dear Sir,

I am a young Black-American student at the Louis D. Brandeis High School, who wishes to express my views on the Martin Luther King Study Center. This study center, is, in my opinion, the most promising center of Black-American, African, Puerto Rican, and Haitian arts, films, film slides etc. (if plans are carried out). Well anyways, lots of luck. And I shall visit the study center every week-end, and I will encourage my friends to do the same.

To Be young, gifted and Black,

Angela Y. Moody

2-26-14

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Dear Mr. John Hightower

My name is Emeric Garrett. As a director
of the Museum of Modern Art, I think
The Martin Luther King study center
should have 50% of Black art and 50%
of the Puerto Rican art and there
should a book to identify each art
So that the school teachers can borrow
The books for about 3 day to teach art and
I think every Friday the teachers should
take the student to the museum to see
some art

Emeric Garrett 2-19

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Dear Mr. John Hightower,

I think it would be a good idea because it would give people an opportunity to see works of people of their own nationality. I being neither black nor puerto rican appreciate the interest in such a project so those who are should appreciate it more so.

The many black and puerto rican artists will be given a chance to express themselves without having the feeling that their effort is in vain.

By establishing this center it would give narrow-minded people concerning different races the ability to realize that all people regardless of tongue or color contributes a valuable part in society.

Sincerely
Miss Sylvia Marx 4-30

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX

155 WEST 65th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal

S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Dear Mr. John Wightowers:

I think that the idea of a cultural center for Black art and ~~people~~ *people* art is wonderful, and that you should go on with it, and start building it as soon as possible. I am afraid that was all I could think of at the time to tell you. Pardon me.

... 216...

James Spain

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THE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS HIGH SCHOOL ANNEX
155 WEST 65th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023
Telephone: 799-0300

MURRAY A. COHN, Principal
S. C. REISER, Teacher in Charge

Dear Mr. John Hightower,

I feel as though more black artists and their works should be exposed in the museums. Not only should a black museum be established, but the work should be on exhibit in the white museums. I have been to almost every museum in New York City, and I have failed to see more than five black paintings; paintings expressing black people's feelings and ideas.

I would also like to see a Black Memorial Center in memory of all the great Black people in history - especially Martin Luther King.

Joyce Fleming
4-25H

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— Pharagoppy show

— Opening the ground

— Discussions in galleries

— ARTISTS ADVISORY COMM.

Writing lists to the members (both members and non-members) of the advisory committee, and the administration itself as an important part of our program. The members should know the people they represent and they are the starting date of elections. These are will listed now and then and before in their prospective voters. Before you will find a list of candidates in Washington to show you can write and state your positions on the committee's present position in Washington, California, and Iowa. Please take a few minutes each day and write.

You may be interested in taking other types of action, such as writing out or at stating your position and then either on behalf of your gallery, jointly with other galleries, or as an individual. You could also work a position which could be placed in your gallery for visitors and others to sign. If you are interested in the above or have any other suggestions, please contact us between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. at the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

Your help and cooperation are very much appreciated. Please write any of this program and be sure you are not out of touch with the committee and which are your best contacts to include us in your daily work day.

Thank you in advance for your contribution to this matter.

Charles G. L. L. L.
Charles G. L. L. L.

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NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Washington Square College of Arts and Science
Department of Fine Arts

914 MAIN BUILDING
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
AREA 212 598-3471

MAY 18 1970

May 14, 1970

Dear Sir,

The Department of Fine Arts of New York University is currently on strike in protest against the Nixon Administration's war policy in Southeast Asia. Classes and exams have been cancelled for the remainder of this school semester so that we may devote all of our time and energies to organize in the community, in Washington, and in the art world against the war.

One part of our current action involves approaching art galleries in New York City so that individually and/or collectively they will make a stand against the war and Nixon's policies. We would also like to unite support for the Hatfield-McGovern Amendment which would limit and finally stop the funds the President receives to continue his war by June 30, 1971.

Writing letters to Congressmen (both Senators and Representatives), Cabinet members, and the administration itself is an important part of our campaign. Congressmen should know how the people they represent feel and due to the nearing date of elections these men will listen more now than ever before to their prospective voters. Enclosed you will find a list of politicians in Washington to whom you can write and state your positions on this country's present policies in Viet-Nam, Cambodia, and Laos. Please take a few minutes each day and write.

You may be interested in taking other types of action, such as: taking out an ad stating your position against this war either on behalf of your gallery, jointly with other galleries, or as an individual. You could also draft a petition which could be placed in your gallery for visitors and buyers to sign. If you are interested in the above or have any other suggestions, please contact me between 9a.m. and 5p.m. at the N.Y.U. Department of Fine Arts 598-3471/2/3/ and leave a message.

Your help and organization are required now. Every voice across this country must be heard now and must cry out to stop this senseless war which our President continues to involve us in more deeply every day.

Thank you in advance for your co-operation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Elsbeth Gayle Selver
Elsbeth Gayle Selver

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NEW YORK CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10018, (212) 565-1866

NOTICE

"THE BLACK MAN AND HIS ARCHITECTURE"

Exhibit April 20 - May 20, 1970
Sponsored by the Exhibits Committee,
New York Chapter, A.I.A.

The work of the following Firms is being shown:

1. Barry Jackson
 - a. Six-unit turnkey apartment building for Oakland, California, Housing Authority.
 - b. Offices, shops, apartments in Berkeley, California for Wing Lee.
2. Harley Jones
 - a. Brownstone Renovation
3. Robert Wilson
 - a. Harlem Plaza, 125th Street, Harlem Development Corp., Owner.
 - b. Coleman Towers Apartments, Stamford, Connecticut.
4. Leroy Tuckett Associates
 - a. Fulton Park Urban Renewal
 - b. Ephesus S.D.A. Church, Main Sanctuary
5. John Louis Wilson
 - a. Public Library Branch, Throggs Neck, Bronx, New York.
 - b. Harlem River Houses, Associate Architect.
6. Bond, Johnson, Ryder & Associates
 - a. Regional Library, Bolgatanga, Ghana.
 - b. Mary Holmes College, West Point, Mississippi (dormitories under construction)
 - c. District Social Services Building, Bronx, New York.
7. Roger Decourey Glasgow
 - a. Brownsville Urban Renewal Project, Site D, Brooklyn, New York.
 - b. Housing of the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library.
 - c. Church of the Master, New York City.

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"THE BLACK MAN AND HIS ARCHITECTURE"

p. 2

Exhibit at New York Chapter, A.I.A.
April 20 - May 20, 1970

8. G.B.G. Associates

- a. Offices of Webb, Brook & Brooker, Realty Corp., New York City.
- b. Alkon Products Corporation, Wayne, New Jersey.

9. Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH)

- a. Morningside Heights Proposal.
- b. State Office Building Proposal.

10. Castroblanco, Piscioneri & Feder

- a. Notre Dame College of Staten Island.
- b. Apollo Theater, Harlem.

11. James Doman

- a. Brighton Beach Competition (Housing).
- b. James Farmer House.
- c. Coney Island West (Middle Income Cooperative).

12. Gindele & Johnson

- a. Lagrange Town Hall.
- b. Poughkeepsie Town Hall.

13. Ifill, Johnson, Hanchard

- a. St. Nicholas Park Urban Renewal Area: Site Plan.
- b. St. Nicholas Park Urban Renewal Area: 135th Street rendering.
- c. St. Phillip's Church and the New Community Youth Center and Parish House, New York City.

May 1970.

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1. Report from AM Meeting
2. CONFERENCE AS
3. Proposals - Dennis Kopit

A.
B.
C.
D.

4. International Government

5. Workshops (Auditorium)

Track Artists Comm
Pursued Artists Comm
W.A.B.
DWC
Artists Strike Comm.
Non-Aligned Artists

BAS
Amsterdam
Dinkler @ Mar/Wed.
EVERMORE
invited who
is ENCLOSED

TOM LOVING
IAN WHITE
KEH DREW

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The Museum of Modern Art

To John Hightower
From Bill Rubin
Date 30 April 1970
Re Committee on Black and Puerto Rican Artists

Dear John:

As Arthur has still--to my knowledge--^{not} produced his report on recommendations deriving from our meetings with the Black and Puerto Rican Artists Committee, I feel that I must send you a copy of my own personal recommendations. This is a matter of acquitting my own conscience and whatever honor I may have vis-a-vis the artists community. It was my hope that our recommendations would have gone to the Board long before this (which would have thus freed you from any involvementⁱⁿ or responsibility ~~from~~ them). The artists know that the staff⁶ can only propose and that it is the Board of Trustees that disposes. I would have liked to be able to tell them months ago that we had done our thing. Since I don't know when, if ever, these recommendations will go to the Board, I send them to you to salve my individual conscience.

As you will see from my memo (attached) of February 24, 1970, to Arthur, these were not necessarily the recommendations that would appear in the report. Arthur was the chairman and was presumably to bring together many different views in his summary. I did ask him to at least mention mine, even if only as a minority position. How much they are a minority position is open to question, since the only other staff member on this committee was Bill Agee, and he agreed with me on almost all points.

This brings me to the painful question of Agee's resignation. I feel his resignation was too abrupt, and told him so. When he called me after having typed out his letter, I urged him to reconsider, but the fact that he has resigned does not surprise me, since he was manifestly ill-treated by this museum. Some people will say that Bill did not accomplish very much in the time he was here, but this has something to do with the fact that he was given--relative to the other curators and to his own professional level--menial tasks. When finally he was assigned a major exhibition--the Barnett Newman retrospective--this was abruptly, unilaterally, and without consultation of either him or me, removed from him and assigned to Tom Hess, Editor of Art News. I can't describe for you what kind of trauma this produced in Agee, for whom this particular

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April 30, 1970
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exhibition would have been the capital work of his first years at the museum. I raised quite a fuss at one Executive Committee meeting about this and the way it was done. It will also be said that Bill has difficulty with writing projects, and it is certainly true that he is a slow writer. However, it is also true that he has published more and in a more professional and scholarly way than any of our other younger curators. In fact, I am deeply disturbed that this lone curator of scholarly competence is no longer with us. I realize that scholarship is not central to your concerns for the future of the museum, but I am also sure that you are aware that Alfred Barr established a tradition here which I am far from alone in wishing to see preserved. I think you would agree that there is no inherent contradiction between the museum functioning in the community and the museum maintaining a certain level of professional integrity. We have to be able to do many different things and to do them well. In the years prior to my coming to the museum, there were three Ph.D.'s in art history on the Painting and Sculpture staff (Alfred Barr, Peter Selz, and Bill Seitz). I am now alone in this respect. Bill Lieberman has a great deal of scholarly and connoisseurship experience, of course, in a more museological way, but below the level of Bill L. and myself our curatorial staff is now, with the departure of Agee, in what I would call an unacceptable state in this regard.

The other ironic fact about Agee is that one reason he wrote as little as he did is that he spent much more time than any other curator visiting artists' studios. He was, in effect, the MoMA "presence" in the studios. He has seen more black and Puerto Rican artists than any other curator, knows them better, understands their language and thinking, and gets along with them extremely well. He was intending in his "Americans" show of next year, to exhibit the best work of the artists in these communities.

Best.
Bill

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM RELEVANT TO THE BLACK AND PUERTO
RICAN COMMUNITIES AND THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. Immediate appointment of a ~~Black or~~ ^{and Black} Puerto Rican artist to serve as educational coordinator to be responsible to the artists advisory board.
2. Textbooks, portfolios of reproductions, slides and films about Black and Puerto Rican art and artists, to be available for sale and to rent to the public schools.
3. In service courses for public school teachers, to be taught by ^{Puerto Rican} ~~Black~~ and Puerto Rican artists.
4. Commissions for films and posters to be used as educational materials in the schools.
5. A continuing program of slide talks, gallery lectures, and film showings, for school children to be run by Black and Puerto Rican artists.
6. A program of busing children to and from predominantly Black and Puerto Rican schools to the Museum of Modern Art.
7. Rhythm and blues ^{Puerto Rican} ~~concerts~~ ^{and Black} relevant to ~~Black and~~ Puerto Rican culture to be performed in the garden.

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Black and Puerto Rican Artists of Art Workers Coalition and other Black and Puerto Rican artists groups have been discussing diversity with respect to the implications of radically changing the Museum of Modern Art into a more meaningful and relevant institution for Black and Puerto Rican people. The Museum of Modern Art must address itself to the specific changes inherent in an acceptance of diversity.

In response to the issues, Black and Puerto Rican members of Art Workers Coalition and other Black and Puerto Rican Artists put forth the following agenda.

Program for Change: Black and Puerto Rican Culture

- I. We demand that the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Study Center for Black and Puerto Rican Culture be created by February 10, 1970. The program necessitates the rearranging of the institutional patterns at the Museum of Modern Art.
- II. We demand that a Black and Puerto Rican Coordinator, meeting the approval of Art Workers Coalition Black and Puerto Rican Bloc and other Black and Puerto Rican artists, be hired by February 10, 1970. His function will be to organize and provide the basic machinery for the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Study Center.
- III. The Museum should immediately issue a press release committing itself to implementing the following cultural programs relevant to the Black and Puerto Rican cultural communities:
 1. Creation of a Black and Puerto Rican artist advisory board responsible for the administration of finances. The Black-coordinator will be responsible to the board.

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2. The immediate acquisition of no less than 100 works of art by Black and Puerto Rican artists.
3. Exhibit showing the impact that the arts of Africa^{and South America} have had upon the twentieth Century Western Cultural revolution- in painting, sculpture, music, ~~theatre~~ and dance.
4. Retrospective show of Romare Beardon's^{and Franz SERBONIS} work.
5. Exhibit of commissioned posters by ~~Black and~~ Puerto Rican^{and Black} artists.
6. Three man exhibit of Black and Puerto Rican painters.
7. Three man exhibit of ~~black and~~ Puerto Rican^{and Black} sculptors.
8. One large group exhibit of Black and Puerto Rican artists.
9. A program to give assistance to ~~Black and~~ Puerto Rican^{and Black} filmmakers to show work regularly at the Museum of Modern Art.
10. Support for a special program similar to the Parks department's sculpture of the month program for Black^{and Puerto Rican} sculpture, and a special program similar to the City Walls project ^{Puerto Rican} for Black painters.
11. Immediate appointment of patron memberships to black and Puerto Rican people.
12. Museum sponsored travelling exhibits ~~to Black and~~ Puerto Rican^{and Black} communities in other cities.
13. Museum sponsored series of concerts by Black and Puerto Rican choreographers and ~~Black and Puerto Rican~~^{and Black} dancers.

Art Workers Coalition Black
and Puerto Rican Committee

Tom Lloyd
Faith Ringold
Rosa Castillo
Bob Carter
Todd Williams
Jack Hunte
ADRIAN GOMEZ

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**TIME
LIFE
FILMS**

43 West 16th Street
New York, NY 10011
Tel (212) 691-2930

Dear ALA member:

We hope to see you at the ALA Convention, Cobo Hall, Detroit. Visit us at booth 1142-44 and preview a unique new series of 20 full-color, four-minute films on the black experience in America:

Black Views on Race
20 Prominent Blacks Speak Out

This remarkable series is the first use ever of four-minute single-subject films for social studies. Taken from actual public remarks, each film is "living history," summarizing an individual's philosophy at a given time and place. The purpose of the series is to present the broad spectrum of black opinion in America -- as spoken by people like Bobby Seale, Shirley Chisholm, H. Rap Brown, and Martin Luther King.

After preview screenings of these films for students and educators, we've found that the audience almost invariably engages in spontaneous discussion of the issues raised.

Gordon Parks, the famous photographer, writer and film producer, has said of Black Views on Race:

"I've never seen educational films more moving or more pertinent.... A wonderful way to lead students, responsibly and thoughtfully, into a deeper understanding of the race issues in America."

Black Views on Race will challenge university and adult group audiences, but these films are also well within the grasp of high school and junior high students. Beyond their obvious value for social studies and black studies programs, they make inspiring study materials for classes in speech, English and psychology.

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To give you an idea of the content of Black Views on Race, we have enclosed a list of quotations from the films. But to appreciate fully their relevance and impact in America today you've simply got to see them. And that's what we hope you'll do at our booth in Cobo Hall. In addition to the screenings there, we'll be scheduling more extensive programs of these and other fine educational films in our hotel suite. We'll tell you all about it when you get to booth 1142-44.

Sincerely yours,


Roz Appelbaum

P.S. Black Views on Race is part of a larger series of educational film libraries called "Which Way America?" Presently in the planning stages are White Views on Race and a series on drug addiction. All of these films are in the four-minute, single-subject format we have found to be so effective with Black Views on Race.

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BLACK VIEWS ON RACE
20 Prominent Blacks Speak Out

An Educational Film Series from

TIME
LIFE
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QUOTES FROM THE FILMS:

RALPH ABERNATHY

"...thanks be to God, the eternal being, who stepped out from nowhere into somewhere...if you're burdened down he's a burden bearer...if your heart is wrong he's a heart fixer...if your mind is disturbed he's a mind regulator...do you know him? With the help of God, in spite of the giants of the status quo, if we lock arms together, hand in hand, and unite our hearts...we can possess the land."

HARRY BELAFONTE

"...Black Power is a necessary force to repair the negativeness that has been heaped on a large mass of people who have suffered the indignity of second class citizenship...we have been told that that which we as a people have to offer is necessarily inferior when placed against that which reflects the ruling society."

JULIAN BOND

"...the worse a place is the more careful you are but you can't really be afraid because you don't know what you're afraid of...you can't expect that every white man you see is going to shoot you or that every policeman is going to lock you up or that every car that passes yours is going to shoot yours...and if you adopt the attitude that everything is going to happen then you might reduce yourself to such a state of nervous tension that you wouldn't be able to operate...but you have to expect things...you have to realize that in some parts of the South white people are willing and eager to kill..."

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EDWARD BROOKE

"...I remember when I was a young boy I had a grandmother who used to say to me, 'Edward, remember your place'... meaning thereby you should never get out of your place because it might be injurious to you. The advice always disturbed me...because I believe your place on this earth is anywhere you want to make it."

H. RAP BROWN

"...I say violence is necessary. Violence is a part of American culture. It is as American as cherry pie. America has taught black people to be violent. We will use that violence to rid ourselves of oppression, if necessary."

JAMES BROWN

"...I just left Africa. I always wanted to go to Africa because I wanted to know where my soul came from, the heritage... I wanted to know where it really started. So I went to Africa and I found people working for \$200 a year...and I thought of something else. With all the minor things that happen... America is the greatest country in the world."

JIM BROWN

"...We think that economics should be the number one area of concentration and we think that this economy is the greatest in the world. Since I have been traveling I realize that I like the comforts that I have in America...I think that all my black brothers like that part of it."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

"...We maintain that the total white America -- the total community -- is incapable of condemning herself for the acts of brutality and bestiality that she has heaped upon the total black community. She cannot do it. If she did, she would have to commit suicide.....that may not be such a bad idea."

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

"...There comes a time when we can no longer think in terms of business as usual if the Democratic party is really going to reflect the composition of all kinds of people in this country...the whole question of business as usual is the reason for the downfall of our Democratic party..."

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CASSIUS CLAY (MOHAMMED ALI)

"...The states here in America have now been increased to 50 and America refuses to offer one of these states to the so-called American Negroes who have worked 310 long years to enable America to have the 50 richest states on the planet. We believe that our contribution to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America justifies our demand for a complete separation in a state or a territory of our own."

DICK GREGORY

"...If I was drafted into the army today I would go under one condition...they would send me to the front line without a gun because as dirty as America is she's still Momma. I will die for her but I will never kill for her..."

CORETTA KING

"...We belong to an ancestry of royalty and we are descendents of princes and princesses...kings and queens of our distant African past.....The black woman is beginning to feel from the inside that black is truly beautiful, that blackness can be a source of strength rather than weakness, that it is great to be a black woman."

MARTIN LUTHER KING

"...I don't believe in riots so my slogan is not 'burn, baby, burn.' My slogan is 'build, baby, build'... 'organize, baby, organize'... 'learn, baby learn so that you can earn, baby, earn.' That's my slogan."

SIDNEY POITIER

"...I'm a relatively intelligent man. There are many aspects to my person that you can explore...but you sit here and ask me one-dimensional questions about a very tiny area in our lives. You ask me questions that fall continually within the Negroness of my life. I am artist, man, American, contemporary. I am an awful lot of things. So I wish you would pay me the respect due and not simply ask me about these things."

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

"...We want to be called black. It means that we're not anti-white but we're pro-black...it means that we have black dignity, black integrity and we want black equality...and we want it now! Now! Now! ...black is not the color of your skin...black is the way you think...in other words there are a lot of you who can think black and still be white."

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TIME-LIFE FILMS, INC.

43 West 10th Street
New York, New York 10011
(212) 691-2930

JACKIE ROBINSON

"...All these guys who are saying we have got it made through athletics...it's just not so. You as an individual can make it, but we have to concern ourselves with the masses of the people...people in positions of power in Washington have to stand up and be counted the very same way the leadership of baseball did in 1947..."

BAYARD RUSTIN

"...What we need to do is to force the American society to reevaluate its values, to set up new priorities, to create social planning. That will not be done in the streets. It will be done in the city halls, in the state legislatures, in the national congress and in the White House. In fact, the tragedy of the Negro movement today is the tragedy that we are attempting to use old methods for new situations."

BOBBY SEALE

"...the party definitely believes in implementing black liberation schools in the evening -- and we don't limit that only to black people -- we want a revolutionary institute so white people can also understand that it's a class struggle and not a race struggle..."

CARL STOKES

"...I can tell you this, for all of you who are Negro; when you see me stand up next to another man who's running for the same office and when he and I argue the issues, and then in fact it is apparent to everybody that Carl Stokes is the better qualified, then you feel proud that I am a Negro. But never put yourself in the position that you do the very thing that we have been fighting..."

MALCOLM X

"...Whenever a black man attains a very high level and is allowed to live too well he oftentimes forgets the severity of the conditions that his people are still living in and what seems like progress to him has long since ceased to be progress to his own people. One of the things that has hurt our people is many of the Negro leaders don't live among Negroes or live around Negroes, or eat with Negroes, and they have long ceased to feel like Negroes, and to think like Negroes, and then when you come along and meet a Negro who still feels like a Negro because he's catching hell like a Negro and when he speaks like a Negro he shocks you because you haven't heard one for a long time."

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TIME-LIFE FILMS, INC.
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New York, New York 10011
(212) 691-2930

16mm NON THEATRICAL FILM ORDER AND CONTRACT

APPLICATION (PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT)

EXHIBITOR NAMED BELOW WISHES TO RENT OR PURCHASE THE FOLLOWING FILMS	RENT OR PURCHASE	EXHIBITION DATES	ALTERNATE DATES	# OF EXHIBITIONS PER PICTURE	FEE

SHIP TO: _____

BILL TO: _____

ORDER # _____

ACCEPTANCE BY TIME: This instrument, when signed by Exhibitor, shall be deemed only an application for a license under copyright as to each Picture and not a binding agreement unless and until approved and signed by an officer of Time at its New York office. The receipt or deposit by Time of any check or other consideration given by Exhibitor shall not be deemed an acceptance by Time of this application.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have executed this application.

EXHIBITOR _____

By _____

Title _____

Date _____

TIME-LIFE FILMS, INC.

By _____

Title _____

Date _____

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LICENSE AGREEMENT between TIME-LIFE FILMS, INC. (herein called "Time") and the film society or other organization (herein called "Exhibitor") named on the Schedule on the reverse side hereof.

1. LICENSE: Time grants Exhibitor and Exhibitor accepts from Time limited licenses under copyright to exhibit the one or more motion pictures named in the Schedule (herein called the "Pictures"), but only to nonpaying audiences consisting of students and faculty or members or subscribers of Exhibitor's organization within the geographical confines of the area of exhibition and at the auditorium specified in the Schedule (herein called the "Theatre"), during the period and in the manner specified in the Schedule; and Time hereby licenses to Exhibitor and Exhibitor licenses from Time a print of each Picture for the purposes hereof. Exhibitor shall exhibit the Pictures only as herein specified and use the prints for no other purpose.

2. FEE: Exhibitor shall pay to Time for the right to exhibit the Pictures under the conditions set forth herein the greater of:

- The amount set forth in the Schedule, not later than ten (10) days prior to the first Exhibition Date of any Picture licensed hereunder; or
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3. GROSS RECEIPTS: If paragraph 2 b. above is applicable, the Gross Receipts for each performance shall consist of the entire or total receipts of the Theatre for said performance (i.e. the total of any and all moneys received, directly or indirectly, for admissions to the Theatre during the performance including, without limitation, sales away from the Theatre and the proportionate part of any subscription sales) less admissions taxes which are by law imposed on ticket purchasers and required to be collected by Exhibitor and which are separately stated on the ticket.

4. PAYMENTS: Exhibitor shall pay to Time at the address noted above the following sums in the manner and at the times hereinbelow specified, time being of the essence with respect to all such payments.

- THE FILM FEE for each Picture set forth above together with the delivery charge therefore shall be paid to Time as set forth in paragraph 8 c.
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- ALL OTHER CHARGES specified elsewhere in this agreement, in the manner there set forth.

5. ADVERTISING: Exhibitor shall adhere to all of Time's policies concerning advertising, publicity, promotion and exploitation (herein called "advertising") of the engagement including the nature, content, quantity and scope thereof and the various media to be used therefor. Time shall not be liable for any advertising expenses incurred by Exhibitor. Exhibitor shall not advertise any picture other than to faculty and students or members or subscribers and Exhibitor shall not advertise in motion picture theatres open to the public, on radio, television, in off-campus newspapers or on other public media. Exhibitor acknowledges that box-office sales are prohibited herein.

6. RESERVATION OF RIGHTS: Any and all rights not expressly licensed to Exhibitor herein, are hereby reserved to Time, and may be exercised and exploited by Time concurrently with and during the term hereof freely and without limitation or restriction.

7. PRINT:

- TITLE: Legal title to the Pictures and to any and all prints thereof shall at all times remain in Time.
- DELIVERY: Time shall, at Exhibitor's expense, deliver a positive print of each Picture to Exhibitor, (by delivery of same to the Post Office) in normal time for such print to reach Exhibitor for the first scheduled performance. Such print shall be deemed in satisfactory condition for exhibition unless Exhibitor, immediately after inspection thereof, notifies Time to the contrary specifying the nature of any defect and the footage found defective.

Time shall have the right to deliver any print C.O.D. for an amount equal to any film rental which may then be due Time under this or any other license agreement with Exhibitor.

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d. REPLACEMENT: Exhibitor shall pay Time the replacement cost of any print, reels and containers, lost, stolen, destroyed or injured other than by normal wear and tear, in the interval between delivery to Exhibitor and return thereof by Exhibitor. Such payment shall not transfer title to or any interest in any prints, reels or containers to Exhibitor or to any other party. Exhibitor shall immediately notify Time in writing of the loss, theft, injury or destruction of any print.

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- ADMISSIONS: Exhibitor shall account to Time for each person admitted to the Theatre by subscription, ticket or paying an admission price.
- RECORDS AND ACCOUNTS: Exhibitor shall keep, maintain, and preserve for at least four (4) months following the termination of the engagement, complete and accurate records and accounts including, without limitation, all invoices, correspondence, banking, financial and other records pertaining to the various items required to be shown on the statements to be submitted by Exhibitor pursuant to Paragraph 9c. Such records and accounts shall be available for inspection and audit at any time or times, during or after the engagement, during reasonable business hours, by Time or its nominees. Exhibitor agrees not to cause or permit any interference with nominees of Time in the performance of their duties of inspection and audit.

The exercise by Time, in whole or in part, at any time or times, of the right to audit records and accounts or of any other right herein granted, or the acceptance by Time of any statement of attendance, ticket sales, receipts or expenses, or the receipt and deposit by Time of any payment tendered by or in behalf of the Exhibitor shall be without prejudice to any rights or remedies of Time and shall not stop or prevent Time from thereafter disputing the accuracy of any such statement or payment.

c. STATEMENTS AND REMITTANCES: Exhibitor shall deliver to Time immediately after the end of each engagement an itemized statement (on forms furnished by Time if Time so requests) signed by Exhibitor's president or treasurer, reporting in full all information requested by Time. Each such statement shall certify (among other items) separately for each performance: the admission prices (exclusive of admission taxes); the number of actual admissions; the number of persons admitted on subscription tickets; the total price of the subscription and the number of admissions included therein; and the total receipts (exclusive of admission taxes) of each performance.

Each such statement shall be accompanied by:

- a computation of Time's percentage payments if any; and
- a remittance to Time of all film rental payable to Time.

d. All expenses of any kind or nature whatsoever in connection with the exhibition of the Picture hereunder including, without limitation, cost of printing tickets, theatre or auditorium rental, insurance, advertising, promotion and publicity, shall be borne by and are the sole responsibility of Exhibitor, who shall indemnify and hold Time harmless therefrom. Exhibitor shall be obligated to make the payments herein set forth to Time whether or not Exhibitor exhibits the Pictures.

9. PREVENTION OF PERFORMANCE: If Exhibitor shall be disabled or prevented from exhibiting any Picture at the Theatre, or Time from delivering the Picture, by reason of governmental action, regulation or order, or by reason of fire, flood, hurricane, labor dispute, riot, war, catastrophe or without limiting the foregoing, any cause beyond the control of either party, this license shall be terminated as to such Picture without liability to either party and without affecting any other provision of this license.

10. TERMINATION: In the event that:

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- Exhibitor advertises the Picture contrary to the provisions of Paragraph 5, or
- Exhibitor denies Time all or part of its rights of inspection pursuant to Paragraph 8 b, or
- Exhibitor defaults with respect to any of the other provisions hereof and fails to cure such violation or default within three (3) days after written notice therefrom Time, or
- Exhibitor becomes insolvent or files a petition in bankruptcy or is adjudicated bankrupt or executes an assignment for the benefit of creditors or an involuntary petition in bankruptcy is filed against Exhibitor or a receiver or trustee is appointed for any of Exhibitor's property, or
- Exhibitor voluntarily or by operation of law loses control of the Theatre or of any interest therein.

then, in any one or more of such events, Time may, at its option, immediately terminate the license herein granted and all rights granted to Exhibitor thereunder. Such remedy shall be in addition to and without prejudice to any right or remedy in law or equity or provided for elsewhere in this agreement on account of any violation or breach. Immediately upon termination of the license herein granted, Exhibitor shall, at its expense, deliver any and all prints of the Pictures previously delivered to it, together with the reels and containers pertaining thereto, to Time and shall turn over to Time all moneys payable to Time hereunder together with all supporting statements, vouchers and other records herein required. Nothing, however, shall terminate Time's right to inspect and audit records and accounts of Exhibitor as in Paragraph 8 b. provided.

11. TITLE OF PICTURE: Time reserves the right to change the title of any Picture hereunder, in which event the new title shall be used by Exhibitor in connection with any exhibition of such Picture hereunder. Exhibitor agrees that it will not cause, authorize or permit the duplication, recording or transcription of any of the Pictures or the soundtrack thereof or any part thereof, or the use of any of the Pictures for any purpose other than the purposes herein specified.

12. ASSIGNMENT: This agreement is not assignable by Exhibitor without the prior written consent of Time.

INTERPRETATION:

a. This agreement is complete and embraces the entire understanding between the parties. No change or modification hereof shall be binding upon Time unless in writing and signed by a duly authorized officer of Time.

b. This agreement is made in New York, and shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of New York applicable to contracts which are executed and to be performed fully in New York.

c. Waiver by either party of any breach or default by the other shall not be construed as a waiver of any other breach or default by such other party.

d. Paragraph headings are for convenience only and shall in no way modify or affect the intent of any provision or be given any legal effect.

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HERE AND NOW FOR BOBBY SEALE



FOR THE WHITE MAN, HISTORY, past and future, is very long, and his set of references is very imposing. For the black man, Time is short, for his History has been brutally interrupted and modified by the whites, who have done everything to prevent him from having his own, original development. And in the U.S.A., we are still busy setting limits on black people's Time and Space. Not only is each and every one of them forced to withdraw within himself; he is also imprisoned by us. And when this is not enough, we assassinate him.

Because of Chairman Bobby Seale's exceptional political stature, his trial is in fact a political trial of the Black Panther Party and, on a more general basis, a race trial held against all of America's blacks.

THE REALITY OF THE BLACK COLONY within the United States is very complex. Dispersed as they are within a nation so chauvinistic that she likes to think of herself as master of the world, the blacks, who are oppressed by racism and administration, have been forced to wage a very new type of fight. That is how the Black Panther Party was created: first of all to defend the rights of the colonized blacks inside the U.S.A., but also to synthesize new ways for blacks to struggle against white oppression.

Faced with the vigor of their action and the accuracy of their political thinking, the whites—and especially the police—had a racial reaction almost immediately: as soon as the blacks proved that they were able to organize themselves, the whites rushed to discredit their organization.

The police were therefore able to hide the true meaning of their intentions behind pretenses—trials based on drug, murder and conspiracy charges. The fact of the matter is that they were trying to massacre the leaders of the Black Panther Party.

In 1968, at the time of Huey Newton's trial, the government still seemed reluctant to massacre the Black Panther

Party. From May 2, 1967, to September 28, 1968—the date of Huey Newton's trial—there were 55 cases against members of the Black Panther Party. All of this happened within a period of 16 months.

But if we do another calculation, this time from September 28, 1968, to December 8, 1969, we find that there were 373 cases against the Panthers. That was during a period of 15 months. It is now April 1970. Less than a month ago, Bobby Seale was extradited from California and sent to jail in New Haven, Connecticut. There were a few demonstrations, but they were really very weak compared with what happened during Huey Newton's trial.

WHAT ABOUT US? What are we doing? When the bombs hit Hanoi, we had some epidermal reactions. So did we during the Korean war. These massacres were taking place far away. Here and now, we are finding out that the colonized, within our own borders, who still appear to us like shadows in our midst, are about to become our adversaries, in our own country.

To a foreign observer, the deterioration of relations between blacks and whites is without mystery. In one year, police repression has so brutally escalated that white Americans are full of fears. All kinds of fears. First of all, there is fear of the police. Intellectuals know (or think) they are threatened by Agnew's bragging. Even if they've demonstrated their disgust with Newton's trial, today they are silent: Bobby may die.

By intensifying the repression, the Nixon administration knew it could quiet the intellectuals who are comfortably set up in universities or in well-protected neighborhoods. *Intellectuals owe it to themselves to take up the challenge, and to refuse the Nixonian order.*

Liberals who hollered so loudly during the Chicago trial are now mute. And to justify themselves, they even say that the Panther Party is endangered by its own violence.

Another fear is showing its true colors, and without daring to call it by its proper name, everybody recognizes it: "Bobby Seale? After all, he's a black man."

This reflex, in each white man, is less abrupt than I have stated. Probably it's never expressed in these terms, even under people's breath. But in an even more surreptitious way, the thought goes through people's minds and corrupts them. The intelligence and political daring of the blacks makes white people uneasy and indignant.

Blacks who have kept their sensitivity intact even in the face of such threats once again recognize the appearance of the old enemy: racism.

If young white Americans in the past few years have tried to conduct themselves on an equal basis with blacks, police terror is about to throw them back into their forefathers' stupidity.

While middle-aged Americans in the lap of comfort huddle snugly in their security, the young will have every-

by Jean Genet

Photo: Steve Shames/Photon West

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thing to lose if they let themselves be dispossessed of their fighting spirit. If they want to bring themselves together with blacks, whose revolutionary maturity is evident, they will need courage—but also intelligence, which is much rarer in this country.

BOBBY SEALE'S TRIAL WILL BE a test for young white revolutionaries. It is their turn to prove how clearly they can analyze the situation and how skillfully they can go about finding the means for action. This, here and now, is the moment of truth—for Bobby Seale, for the Black Panthers, for young white Americans.

If the repression increases, it is obvious that the blacks will see a collective crime being committed against them, a crime committed in collective complicity. On the other hand, if whites who call themselves radicals are able to bring themselves together with blacks for this trial, theirs will be a great victory. The torment of guilt which supposedly is crippling them will lose its powers. Even a slight retreat in the repression would be a victory for the blacks, and also for the whites. One would doubt whether whites could prevent the trial from happening, but they could affect the verdict and its application. White Americans must do everything they can for Bobby, since this is how the blacks will see whether or not they must act alone. If they are forced to act alone, after the trial, they might have to act in desperation. And no one would dare want to be the cause of such desperation.

We must also be aware of the fact that blacks have been able to liberate themselves from the old terrors exercised by whites by means of the Christian religion. For more than 400 years, whites were able to use the Old and New Testaments with diabolic skill. We know what happened: to the blacks, the whites advised the gentleness of the evangelical moral which makes it a duty to respect the master—the white man; to suffer in silence; and to wait for divine rewards after death. At the same time, the Bible was read to them, filled with celestial threats against those who revolt.

Today, mixed with the descendants of their former masters on a common territory, the blacks want to be liberated from their former fears and to be free among men.

VIOLENCE. IF WE MUST, let's talk about it, but by seeing it first for what it is: a word. A word used by those who elaborated and imposed the language: the masters. According to how the word will serve them, it can signify God's will; used against them, it can become a sign of shame and degradation. When white men use violence, violence is good. When blacks use it, they are considered animals. However, it so happens that the blacks have exposed the tricks of language, as they have exposed religious tricks, legal shams and social deformities. Blacks aren't afraid of words anymore, regardless of the coloration that whites might give to them.

It is evident that recommending non-violence to blacks is an effort to retain the Christian vocabulary which has kept them imprisoned in passivity for so long. However Christian the whites are, they don't feel guilty about using guns: that is violence. Asking blacks in America to be non-violent means that whites are demanding a Christian virtue which

they themselves do not possess. That means that whites are once again trying to dupe the blacks.

White people call the blacks' revolt violent, their actions violent. The blacks don't give a damn, if they need violence in order to survive and to live. The blacks cannot be intimidated. They are already the stronger because they are right.

For the whites, the cry of the blacks is an act of violence which shatters their delicate eardrums. Apparently, these whites aren't conscious of the fact that black music was once a wail: today it's a battle cry.

Let's go back to the statistics I quoted earlier: from May 2, 1967, to September 28, 1968—a key date, the date that Huey was condemned to 15 years in prison—there were 55 cases recorded against the Panthers. From September 28, 1968, to December 9, 1969, there were 373 cases. The acceleration of the repression is staggering. It is aimed above all at the Black Panther Party. From March 1, 1968, to August 25, 1968, five Panthers were killed. From October 6, 1968, to December 20, 1969, 15 Panthers were killed. The figures are accurate. Here are some more: from March 2, 1968, to September 28, 1969, 130 Panthers were called in for questioning, as compared with 738 who were summoned from September 29 to December 9, 1969.

Therefore, in one year, the repression increased in a direct proportion of one to seven.

IF WE RECOGNIZE THE FACT that the Panther movement is the most profoundly revolutionary movement in America, it is time for us to act as quickly as we can to prevent its total destruction. Without a doubt it is a question of life and death for the Black Panther Party and for Bobby Seale—but also for all revolutionary movements in this country.

We might also add, for those who don't believe they are directly concerned with the revolution because they have material security: a critical, revolutionary mind doesn't necessarily develop only among the poor or the weak. In different ways it can develop in the minds of the rich and the strong. Even though it is fed by demands which are the result of social injustice and inequality, revolution is an act of intelligence and sensitivity. Above all, revolution *thinks* itself into being. As such, it uses the tactics most suited for its realization. The revolution will be made by everybody.

What is new about this situation is that in a nation where white people are in the majority, the revolutionary core is contained in the black community. We must therefore acknowledge the fact that its leaders are Cleaver, Newton and Seale.

We must save Bobby Seale because
we must save the Black Panther Party because
we must save the revolutionary spirit in America.

—Translated by JUDY ORINGER

As Jean Genet has so eloquently stated, the trial of Bobby Seale and the eight Connecticut Panthers is a test, a moment of truth for white radicals. New Haven should become a center this summer for radicals organizing around the trial. Anyone who can come to New Haven or can help in any way should contact the Panther Defense Office, 520 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511. Or, in NYC, Committee to Defend the Panther 21, 11 E. 16th St., 243-2260.

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POSITIVE ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY THE ARTISTS' COMMUNITY

Let parties to be struck be warned about action to be taken and asked to cooperate and take stands on issues connected to their business

WAR	ECOLOGY	PURE FOOD
POVERTY	POLLUTION	QUALITY OF LIFE
DISCRIMINATION	INFLATION	CENSORSHIP

1. Spread word throughout industry to boycott major products that advertize on TV (especially at news time) for more thorough and uncensored coverage and freedom of speech and subject. work with the networks for less profiteering and more public service.
2. Picket supermarkets, boycotting them as well as major products such as Coke, Revlon, Dow Jones, and others on the Brundage University List. Use small stores and Deli's until a clear stand is taken against the war and artificial colors and flavors, toxic preservatives, and dangerous over-processed foods are eliminated.
3. Call a mass telephone rally at the busiest hours to break down the system support existing strike and tie it into war and monopoly issues.
4. Build a total blackout with electricity overuse at Con ED. Refuse to pay bills for 6 mos.
5. Mob action on subway exit gates. Refuse to pay fare for such a shoddy uncomfortable system. "no fair" service "no fare"
6. Boycott and picket taxi Co.s Make deal with drivers if you must use a taxi but pressure him to help make them use smog devices, lead and sulfur free gas, and keep all vehicles in top repair. Busses too.
7. Start a reverse garbage and litter strike until the city and the public learn to keep the streets clean and enforce litter laws to the maximum.

We should develop coalition of all creative fields to pressure, advertize, promote, and extend our voice to the country a positive active treatise on these important subjects. We should work together, creatively, through all media and locations in every possible manner towards these ends.

There is already the Museum of Natural History's CAN MAN SURVIVE? exhibit, there remains TV, Cinema, Theater, Radio, Galleries, Public transit, Periodicals, and schools.

We can be a powerful part of the education and elimination of indifference in America.

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NOT OUR SONS

NOT YOUR SONS

NOT THEIR SONS

TO FATHERS, MOTHERS, SONS:

Do you know that thousands of young men have chosen legal alternatives to the draft? Others with student deferments, have returned their draft cards and face years in jail. Many young men are simply refusing induction. According to the Times, there are over 53,000 resisters and deserters. Many have chosen exile in France, Sweden, Canada and other countries.

If you or your son are troubled about the draft and the war, the following centers can offer draft counseling. Do not believe that he can't be helped until he has spoken to a trained draft counselor.

In this neighborhood:

Greenwich Village Peace Center
135 West 4th Street
533-5120 Tues. 7-9, Thurs. 6-8

C.I. Information Center
135 West 4th Street
533-5120 Tues 7-9 Thurs. 6-8

Other Manhattan Centers:

American Friends Service Comm.
15 Rutherford Place 777-4600

Nat'l Black, Anti-war, Anti-draft Union
2409 Seventh Ave.

Episcopal Peace Fellowship
300 Ninth Ave. 675-2141

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St. 2280450

Catholic Peace Fellowship
339 Lafayette St. 673-8990
342 E. 6th St. 533-9670 (nights)

LEMPA
105 Avenue B 477-9749

Jewish Peace Fellowship
420 Riverside Drive UN4-0737

Brooklyn Centers:

Metropolitan Board for CO'S
80 Pierrepont St. MA5-1195

B'klyn Draft Info. & Counseling
53 Prospect Park W., Park Slope
808-3071 Thurs. 7:30-9:30 or
by appointment

Bedford Stuyvesant Draft Couns. Serv.
Siloam Pres. Church, Jefferson Ave. ST9-7050

Bronx Draft Info & Counseling
St. Stephen's Methodist Church
KI8-1464 BWay & 228 St. Thurs 7:30
or by appointment

L.I. Draft Counseling Center
516/Wel-5765 (by appointment)

Westchester Draft Info. & Counseling
914/SC3-5439 (by appointment)

New Jersey Bergen Co. Draft Info. Center
(201/569-0909 (by appointment))

WE VIGIL TODAY ON VILLAGE SQUARE AMONG OUR NEIGHBORS TO TELL THEM:
We mourn for those who will become killers and those who will be killed in Vietnam. We show our love and support of the boys in Vietnam by asking that they be sent home safely to us at once. We honor and support the young men who have refused to fight this barbaric war. We should honor and support our own sons if they should take such a courageous action.

GREENWICH VILLAGE PEACE CENTER

135 West Fourth Street 533-5120

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WAR DEAD

AMERICAN SOLDIERS DEAD 49,024

SAIGON GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS DEAD 104,485

N.L.F. & NORTH VIETNAMESE SOLDIERS DEAD 618,061

OHIO DEAD 4

GEORGIA DEAD 6

MISSISSIPPI DEAD 2



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G.I. Information Center
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Other Manhattan Centers:

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ON THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

By Eldridge Cleaver



PART I

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The following article introduces a new series of articles on the ideology of the Black Panther Party by our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.



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"ONE OF THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS OF HUEY P. NEWTON IS THAT HE GAVE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY A FIRM IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION THAT FREES US FROM IDEOLOGICAL FLUNKYISM AND OPENS UP THE PATH TO THE FUTURE."

**Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party
U.S.A.**

ON THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(Part 1)

By Eldridge Cleaver

We have said: the ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experience of Black people and the wisdom gained by Black people in their 400 year long struggle against the system of racist oppression and economic exploitation in Babylon, interpreted through the prism of the Marxist-Leninist analysis by our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton.

However, we must place heavy emphasis upon the last part of that definition -- 'interpreted...by our Minister of Defense..' The world of Marxism-Leninism has become a jungle of opinion in which conflicting interpretations, from Right Revisionism to Left Dogmatism, foist off their reactionary and blind philosophies as revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. Around the world and in every nation people, all who call themselves Marxist-Leninists, are at each other's throats. Such a situation presents serious problems to a young party, such as ours, that is still in the process of refining its ideology.

When we say that we are Marxist-Leninists, we mean that we have studied and understood the classical principles of scientific socialism and that we have adapted these principles to our own situation for ourselves. However, we do not move with a closed mind to new ideas or information. At the same time, we know that we must rely upon our own brains in solving ideological problems as they relate to us.

For too long Black people have relied upon the analyses and ideological perspectives of others. Our struggle has reached a point now where it would be absolutely suicidal for us to continue this posture of dependency. No other people in the world are in the same position as we are, and no other people in the world can get us out of it except ourselves. There are those who are all too willing to do our thinking for us, even if it gets us killed. However, they are not willing to follow through and do our dying for us. If thoughts bring about our deaths, let them at least be our own thoughts, so that we will have broken, once and for all, with the flunkysm of dying for every cause and every error -- except our own.

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One of the great contributions of Huey P. Newton is that he gave the Black Panther Party a firm ideological foundation that frees us from ideological flunkeyism and opens up the path to the future -- a future to which we must provide new ideological formulations to fit our ever changing situation.

Much -- most -- of the teachings of Huey P. Newton are unknown to the people because Huey has been placed in a position where it is impossible for him to really communicate with us. And much that he taught while he was free has gotten distorted and watered down precisely because the Black Panther Party has been too hung up in relating to the courts and trying to put on a good face in order to help lawyers convince juries of the justice of our cause. This whole court hang-up has created much confusion.

For instance, many people confuse the Black Panther Party with the Free Huey Movement or the many other mass activities that we have been forced to indulge in in order to build mass support for our comrades who have gotten captured by the pigs. We are absolutely correct in indulging in such mass activity. But we are wrong when we confuse our mass line with our party line.

Essentially, what Huey did was to provide the ideology and the methodology for organizing the Black Urban Lumpenproletariat. Armed with this ideological perspective and method, Huey transformed the Black lumpenproletariat from the forgotten people at the bottom of society into the vanguard of the proletariat.

There is a lot of confusion over whether we are members of the Working Class or whether we are Lumpenproletariat. It is necessary to confront this confusion, because it has a great deal to do with the strategy and tactics that we follow and with our strained relations with the White radicals from the oppressor section of Babylon.

Some so-called Marxist-Leninists will attack us for what we have to say, but that is a good thing and not a bad thing because some people call themselves Marxist-Leninists who are the downright enemies of Black people. Later for them. We want them to step boldly forward, as they will do -- blinded by their own stupidity and racist arrogance -- so that it will be easier for us to deal with them in the future.

We make these criticisms in a fraternal spirit of how

some Marxist-Leninists apply the classical principles to the specific situation that exists in the United States because we believe in the need for a unified revolutionary movement in the United States, a movement that is informed by the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism. Huey P. Newton says that "power is the ability to define phenomena and make it act in a desired manner." And we need power, desperately, to counter the power of the pigs that now bears so heavily upon us.

Ideology is a comprehensive definition of a status quo that takes into account both the history and the future of that status quo and serves as the social glue that holds a people together and through which a people relate to the world and other groups of people in the world. The correct ideology is an invincible weapon against the oppressor in our struggle for freedom and liberation.

Marx defined the epoch of the bourgeoisie and laid bare the direction of the Proletarian future. He analyzed Capitalism and defined the method of its doom: VIOLENT REVOLUTION BY THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS OF CLASS OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION. REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CLASS VIOLENCE PERPETRATED THROUGH THE SPECIAL REPRESSIVE FORCE OF THE ARMED TENTACLES OF THE STATE.

This great definition by Marx and Engels became the mightiest weapon in the hands of oppressed people in the history of ideology. It marks a gigantic advance for all mankind. And since Marx's time, his definition has been strengthened, further elaborated, illumined, and further refined.

But Marxism has never really dealt with the United States of America. There have been some very nice attempts. People have done the best that they know how. However, in the past, Marxist-Leninists in the United States have relied too heavily upon foreign, imported analyses and have seriously distorted the realities of the American scene. We might say that the Marxism-Leninism of the past belongs to the gestation period of Marxism-Leninism in the United States, and that now is the time when a new, strictly American ideological synthesis will arise, springing up from the hearts and souls of the oppressed people inside Babylon, and uniting these people

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and hurling them mightily, from the force of their struggle, into the future. The swiftly developing revolution in America is like the gathering of a mighty storm, and nothing can stop that storm from finally bursting, inside America, washing away the pigs of the power structure and all their foul, oppressive works. And the children of the pigs and the oppressed people will dance and spit upon the common graves of these pigs.

There are some Black people in the United States who are absolutely happy, who do not feel themselves to be oppressed, and who think that they are free. Some even believe that the President wouldn't lie, and that he is more or less an honest man; that Supreme Court decisions were almost written by god in person; that the Police are Guardians of the Law; and that people who do not have jobs are just plain lazy and good-for nothing and should be severely punished. These are like crabs that must be left to boil a little longer in the pot of oppression before they will be ready and willing to relate. But the overwhelming majority of Black people are uptight, know that they are oppressed and not free; and they wouldn't believe Nixon if he confessed to being a pig; they don't relate to the Supreme Court or any other court; and they know that the racist pig cops are their sworn enemies. As for poverty, they know what it is all about.

These millions of Black people have no political representation, they are unorganized, and they do not own or control any of the natural resources; they neither own nor control any of the industrial machinery, and their daily life is a hustle to make it by any means necessary in the struggle to survive.

Every Black person knows that the wind may change at any given moment and that the Lynch Mob, made up of White members of the "Working Class", might come breathing down his neck if not kicking down his door. It is because of these factors that when we begin to talk about being Marxist-Leninists, we must be very careful to make it absolutely clear just what we are talking about.

On the subject of racism, Marxism-Leninism offers us very little assistance. In fact, there is much evidence that Marx and Engels were themselves racists -- just like their White brothers and sisters of their era, and just as many Marxist-Leninists of our own time are also racists.

Historically, Marxism-Leninism has been an outgrowth of European problems and it has been primarily preoccupied with finding solutions to European problems.

With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948 and the People's Republic of China in 1949, something new was injected into Marxism-Leninism, and it ceased to be just a narrow, exclusively European phenomenon. Comrade Kim Il Sung and Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied the classical principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in their own countries and thereby made the ideology into something useful for their people. But they rejected that part of the analysis that was not beneficial to them and had only to do with the welfare of Europe.

Given the racist history of the United States, it is very difficult for Black people to comfortably call themselves Marxist-Leninists or anything else that takes its name from White people. It's like praying to Jesus, a White man. We must emphasize the fact that Marx and Lenin didn't invent Socialism. They only added their contributions, enriching the doctrine, just as many others did before them and after them. And we must remember that Marx and Lenin didn't organize the Black Panther Party. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale did.

Not until we reach Fanon do we find a major Marxist-Leninist theoretician who was primarily concerned about the problems of Black people, wherever they may be found. And even Fanon, in his published works, was primarily focused on Africa. It is only indirectly that his works are beneficial to Afro-Americans. It is just easier to relate to Fanon because he is clearly free of that racist bias that blocks out so much about the Black man in the hands of Whites who are primarily interested in themselves and the problems of their own people. But even though we are able to relate heavily to Fanon, he has not given us the last word on applying the Marxist-Leninist analysis to our problems inside the United States. No one is going to do this for us because no one can. We have to do it ourselves, and until we do, we are going to be uptight.

We must take the teachings of Huey P. Newton as our foundation and go from there. Any other course will bring us to a sorry and regrettable end.

Fanon delivered a devastating attack upon Marxism-

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Leninism for its narrow preoccupation with Europe and the affairs and salvation of White folks, while lumping all third world peoples into the category of the Lumpenproletariat and then forgetting them there; Fanon unearthed the category of the Lumpenproletariat and began to deal with it, recognizing that vast majorities of the colonized people fall into that category. It is because of the fact that Black people in the United States are also colonized that Fanon's analysis is so relevant to us.

After studying Fanon, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale began to apply his analysis of colonized people to Black people in the United States. They adopted the Fanonian perspective, but they gave it a uniquely Afro-American content.

Just as we must make the distinctions between the mother country and the colony when dealing with Black people and White people as a whole, we must also make this distinction when we deal with the categories of the Working Class and the Lumpenproletariat.

We have, in the United States, a "Mother Country Working Class" and a "Working Class from the Black Colony". We also have a Mother Country Lumpenproletariat and a Lumpenproletariat from the Black Colony. Inside the Mother Country, these categories are fairly stable, but when we look at the Black Colony, we find that the hard and fast distinctions melt away. This is because of the leveling effect of the colonial process and the fact that all Black people are colonized, even if some of them occupy favored positions in the schemes of the Mother Country colonizing exploiters.

There is a difference between the problems of the Mother Country Working Class and the Working Class from the Black Colony. There is also a difference between the Mother Country Lumpen and the Lumpen from the Black Colony. We have nothing to gain from trying to smooth over these differences as though they don't exist, because they are objective facts that must be dealt with. To make this point clear, we have only to look at the long and bitter history of the struggles of Black Colony Workers fighting for democracy inside Mother Country Labor Unions.

Historically, we have fallen into the trap of criticizing mother country labor unions and workers for the racism

as an explanation for the way they treat Black workers. Of course, they are racist, but this is not the full explanation.

White workers belong to a totally different world than that of Black workers. They are caught up in a totally different economic, political, and social reality, and on the basis of this distinct reality, the pigs of the power structure and treacherous labor leaders find it very easy to manipulate them with Babylonian racism.

This complex reality presents us with many problems, and only through proper analysis can these problems be solved. The lack of a proper analysis is responsible for the ridiculous approach to these problems that we find among Mother Country Marxist-Leninists. And their improper analysis leads them to advocate solutions that are doomed to failure in advance. The key area of the confusion has to do with falsely assuming the existence of one All-American Proletariat; one All-American Working Class; and one All-American Lumpenproletariat.

O.K. We are Lumpen. Right on. The Lumpenproletariat are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of capitalist society. That part of the "Industrial Reserve Army" held perpetually in reserve; who have never worked and never will; who can't find a job; who are unskilled and unfit; who have been displaced by machines, automation, and cybernation, and were never "retained or invested with new skills"; all those on Welfare or receiving State Aid.

Also the so-called "Criminal Element", those who live by their wits, existing off that which they rip off, who stick guns in the faces of businessmen and say 'stick'em up', or 'give it up'! Those who don't even want a job, who hate to work and can't relate to punching some pig's time clock, who would rather punch a pig in the mouth and rob him than punch that same pig's time clock and work for him, those whom Huey P. Newton calls "the illegitimate capitalists". In short, all those who simply have been locked out of the economy and robbed of their rightful social heritage.

But even though we are Lumpen, we are still members of the Proletariat, a category which theoretically cuts across national boundaries but which in practice leaves something to be desired.

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CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE PROLETARIAT OF THE USA

In both the Mother Country and the Black Colony, the Working Class is the Right Wing of the Proletariat, and the Lumpenproletariat is the Left Wing. Within the Working Class itself, we have a major contradiction between the Unemployed and the Employed. And we definitely have a major contradiction between the Working Class and the Lumpen.

Some blind so-called Marxist-Leninists accuse the Lumpen of being parasites upon the Working Class. This is a stupid charge derived from reading too many of Marx's footnotes and taking some of his offhand scurrilous remarks for holy writ. In reality, it is accurate to say that the Working Class, particularly the American Working Class, is a parasite upon the heritage of mankind, of which the Lumpen has been totally robbed by the rigged system of Capitalism which in turn, has thrown the majority of mankind upon the junkheap while it buys off a percentage with jobs and security.

The Working Class that we must deal with today shows little resemblance to the Working Class of Marx's day. In the days of its infancy, insecurity, and instability, the Working Class was very revolutionary and carried forward the struggle against the bourgeoisie. But through long and bitter struggles, the Working Class has made some inroads into the Capitalist system, carving out a comfortable niche for itself. The advent of Labor Unions, Collective Bargaining, the Union Shop, Social Security, and other special protective legislation has castrated the Working Class, transforming it into the bought-off Labor Movement -- a most un-revolutionary, reformist minded movement that is only interested in higher wages and more job security. The Labor Movement has abandoned all basic criticism of the Capitalist system of exploitation itself. The George Meanys, Walter Reuthers, and A. Phillip Randolphs may correctly be labelled traitors to the proletariat as a whole, but they accurately reflect and embody the outlook and aspirations of the Working Class. The Communist Party of the United States of America, at its poorly attended meetings, may raise the roof with its proclamations of being the Vanguard of the Working Class, but the Working Class

itself looks upon the Democratic Party as the legitimate vehicle of its political salvation.

As a matter of fact, the Working Class of our time has become a new industrial elite, resembling more the chauvinistic elites of the selfish craft and trade guilds of Marx's time than the toiling masses ground down in abject poverty. Every job on the market in the American Economy today demands as high a complexity of skills as did the jobs in the elite trade and craft guilds of Marx's time.

In a highly mechanized economy, it cannot be said that the fantastically high productivity is the product solely of the Working Class. Machines and computers are not members of the Working Class, although some spokesmen for the Working Class, particularly some Marxist-Leninists, seem to think like machines and computers.

The flames of revolution, which once raged like an inferno in the heart of the Working Class, in our day have dwindled into a flickering candle light, only powerful enough to bounce the Working Class back and forth like a ping pong ball between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party every four years, never once even glancing at the alternatives on the Left.

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT?

Some Marxist-Leninists are guilty of that class egotism and hypocrisy often displayed by superior classes to those beneath them on the social scale. On the one hand, they freely admit that their organizations are specifically designed to represent the interests of the Working Class. But then they go beyond that to say that by representing the interests of the Working Class, they represent the interest of the Proletariat as a whole. This is clearly not true. This is a fallacious assumption based upon the egotism of these organizations and is partly responsible for their miserable failure to make a revolution in Babylon.

And since there clearly is a contradiction between the right wing and the left wing of the Proletariat, just as the right wing has created its own organizations, it is necessary for the left wing to have its form of organization to represent its interests against all hostile classes -- including the Working Class.

The contradiction between the Lumpen and the Working

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Class is very serious because it even dictates a different strategy and set of tactics. The students focus their rebellions on the campuses, and the Working Class focuses its rebellions on the factories and picket lines. But the Lumpen finds itself in the peculiar position of being unable to find a job and therefore is unable to attend the Universities. The Lumpen has no choice but to manifest its rebellion in the University of the Streets.

It's very important to recognize that the streets belong to the Lumpen, and that it is in the streets that the Lumpen will make their rebellion.

One outstanding characteristic of the liberation struggle of Black people in the United States has been that most of the activity has taken place in the streets. This is because, by and large, the rebellions have been spearheaded by Black Lumpen.

It is because of Black people's lumpen relationship to the means of production and the institutions of the society that they are unable to manifest their rebellion around those means of production and institutions. But this does not mean that the rebellions that take place in the streets are not legitimate expressions of an oppressed people. These are the means of rebellion left open to the Lumpen.

The Lumpen have been locked outside of the economy. And when the Lumpen does engage in direct action against the system of oppression, it is often greeted by hoots and howls from the spokesmen of the Working Class in chorus with the mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie. These talkers like to put down the struggles of the Lumpen as being "spontaneous" (perhaps because they themselves did not order the actions!), "unorganized", and "chaotic and undirected". But these are only prejudiced analyses made from the narrow perspective of the Working Class. But the Lumpen moves anyway, refusing to be straight-jacketed or controlled by the tactics dictated by the conditions of life and the relationship to the means of production of the Working Class.

The Lumpen finds itself in the position where it is very difficult for it to manifest its complaints against the system. The Working Class has the possibility of calling a strike against the factory and the employer and through the mechanism of Labor Unions they can have some arbitra-

tion or some process through which its grievances are manifested. Collective bargaining is the way out of the pit of oppression and exploitation discovered by the Working Class, but the Lumpen has no opportunity to do any collective bargaining. The Lumpen has no institutionalized focus in Capitalist society. It has no immediate oppressor except perhaps the Pig Police with which it is confronted daily.

So that the very conditions of life of the Lumpen dictates the so-called spontaneous reactions against the system, and because the Lumpen is in this extremely oppressed condition, it therefore has an extreme reaction against the system as a whole. It sees itself as being bypassed by all of the organizations, even by the Labor Unions, and even by the Communist Parties that despise it and look down upon it and consider it to be, in the words of Karl Marx, the father of Communist Parties, "The Scum Layer of the Society". The Lumpen is forced to create its own forms of rebellion that are consistent with its condition in life and with its relationship to the means of production and the institutions of society. That is, to strike out at all the structures around it, including at the reactionary Right Wing of the Proletariat when it gets in the way of revolution.

The faulty analyses which the ideologies of the Working Class have made, of the true nature of the Lumpen, are greatly responsible for the retardation of the development of the revolution in urban situations. It can be said that the true revolutionaries in the urban centers of the world have been analyzed out of the revolution by some Marxist-Leninists.

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October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe

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

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

2. We want full employment for our people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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*Huey would say, "a newspaper is
the voice of a party, the voice of
the Panther must be heard
throughout the land."*



July 1967--Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton (right) and Chairman, Bobby Seale (left), reading an early edition of B.P.P. Newspaper at the home of Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information B.P.P.

We found we as citizens of this country were being kept duped by the government and kept misinformed by the mass media.

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ON THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

By Eldridge Cleaver



PART I

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, 2

Barrio Museum: Hope Si, Home No



The New York Times (by Don Hogan Charles)

Ralph Ortiz, director of El Museo del Barrio, packing cardboard boxes in preparation for move to new headquarters

By GRACE GLUECK

El Museo del Barrio, the city's first museum of Puerto Rican culture, has no building, no collection, no guards. And right now, all its belongings are stashed in cardboard boxes, awaiting a move to another site from its present headquarters in P.S. 125 at 425 West 123d Street.

But the museum, whose name is intended not only to reflect El Barrio, the Puerto Rican ghetto in East Harlem but all mainland Puerto Rican communities, is very much in business. It has a staff of 10, and has already mounted two exhibitions. And it is bravely girding itself to meet, in the words of its director, Ralph Ortiz, "the needs of Puerto Ricans for a cultural identity."

"As a people, Puerto Ricans have been disenfranchised economically, politically and culturally," he says. "As a group like the Young Lords was born to deal with the political and economic disenfranchisement, so Museo is an attempt to begin to come to terms with our cultural disenfranchisement."

"But I want it to be more than a stuffy museum—I want it to be a working thing that will give folk culture as much value as fine culture."

So far, because of budgetary limitations, Museo has worked mostly through the public schools. Its two ex-

hibitions—one of needlework by Puerto Rican women, the other of paintings and graphics by contemporary Puerto Rican artists—have been held at P.S. 206 on East 120th Street.

It also has a research program, whose purpose is to provide educational materials for the schools on Puerto Rican history, culture and folklore (one result will be a collection of island folk tales for distribution to children). Another project makes films on Puerto Rican life and culture available to schools and other organizations.

But the museum has more far-ranging plans. For one, it hopes to find a permanent building where, like any museum, it can mount exhibitions and re-create "historic environments and situations." It would also like to establish workshops in Puerto Rican culture, teaching theater, music, painting, dance, poetry, needlework and the making of musical instruments. And it wants to find money—at least \$100,000 to start—to buy examples of Puerto Rican arts, past and present.

"We also plan to go into the community as anthropologists, with cameras and tape recorders," says Mr. Ortiz, a 36-year-old artist who grew up in a Puerto Rican community on the Lower East Side.

"What we want are the folk tales of the elders, the

music played and the poetry read at festive occasions, the games, the food. Our aim is not to deal with high Puerto Rican culture, in its European derivations, but with the culture of the folk. There's a tendency to overlook our powerful African and Indian roots."

Museo was born in June, 1969, the brainchild of Martin W. Frey, superintendent of School District 4—then covering Central and part of East Harlem, now changed to cover only the latter.

"There were a number of black cultural facilities but nothing for Puerto Ricans," says Mr. Frey. When funds for such a project came through from the Community Education Center, a locally operated, state-financed program that provides supplementary services for children and adults, Mr. Frey went into action.

He approached Mr. Ortiz, then teaching nearby at the High School of Music and Art, and working toward his doctorate in education at Columbia. "He filled the bill perfectly," says Mr. Frey. "He was an artist, had a background in education, and was Puerto Rican himself." To soak up ideas for the project, the two made a tour of museums in Puerto Rico last summer.

Mr. Ortiz sees Museo, administered by a community advisory board, as one of

many viable alternatives to big central institutions.

"The trouble with central cultural institutions is that they give more dollar than spiritual value to culture," he says. "But culture originally was the symbolic realization of ethnic emotional needs. The only way to get back to that is to give each community its own museum allowing these indigenous expressions."

"Take needlework, for instance," he continued. "I remember my mother and aunt crocheting beautiful things to decorate the house because they couldn't afford to buy them. They, and other women like them, began by meeting the needs of a life style and developed an art form."

Right now, El Museo is having budget troubles. Though it is scheduled to get \$93,554 from the Community Education Center to cover salaries and programs for fiscal 1971, changes in school district lines and a cutback in funds by the Board of Education may reduce the promised sum or eliminate it altogether. Meanwhile, the museum has applied to the New York State Council on the Arts for additional money—over \$300,000—to help realize some of its goals.

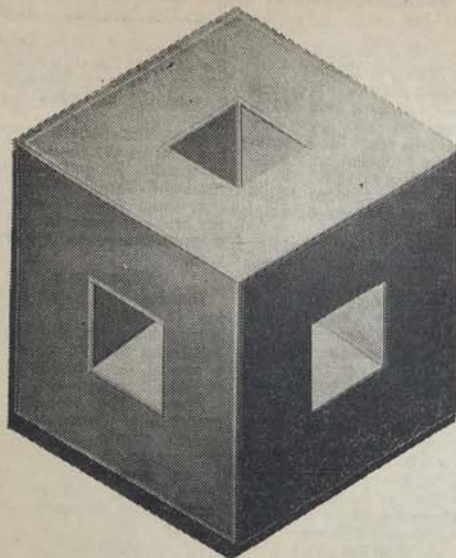
"We need El Museo," says Mr. Ortiz, "to help Puerto Ricans in New York develop a sense of pride in their community."

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THE NEW YORK TI



Doug Harris

Untitled oil on canvas by Alvin Loving is in exhibition of Afro-American artists in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts.

Black Artists' Show On View in Boston

By HILTON KRAMER

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, May 21—The exhibition entitled "Afro-American Artists: New York and Boston," currently on view at the Museum of Fine Arts, is the largest survey of American black artists ever mounted. Consisting of 158 works—painting, sculpture, drawing, graphics, and other visual media—by 70 artists, the show occupies the museum's main exhibition galleries, and is being promoted by the museum as one of the major events of its current centennial celebrations. It is co-sponsored by the museum, the museum school and Boston's National Center of Afro-American Artists, and has been organized by Edmund B. Gaither, the black curator of the National Center's own museum who also serves on the Museum of Fine Arts staff, and Barnett Rubenstein, a white member of the museum school faculty.

The show is unusual in more than one respect. It first of all marks the inauguration of a new program of

collaboration between the Museum of Fine Arts and the National Center of Afro-American Artists. It is also the first time the Museum of Fine Arts has mounted a comprehensive exhibition of black artists. And most ironically perhaps, the show is one of the very rare occasions when the Museum of Fine Arts has initiated a survey of contemporary American art of any persuasion, white or black.

The exhibition itself brings together a wide variety of visual styles, from the most elegantly executed color abstraction to the most crudely conceived social realism. Behind this stylistic variety, however, there is one basic line of division in the exhibition—the division separating works of art that are conceived as an esthetic end in themselves and those that are conceived as a medium of social criticism and political action. There are works of compelling interest of each side of this basic division in



"White Fence #2," by Ernest Crichlow, is in comprehensive survey, big event in museum's centennial celebration.

artistic outlook, but for the most part—in my view, at least—the real quality of the exhibition is to be found in a handful of paintings and sculpture that belong to the so-called "mainstream" of modern art.

Among these I would include the shaped canvas of Alvin D. Loving Jr., the heavily impastoed abstractions of Bill Rivers, the abstract expressionist canvases of Norman Lewis, the sculpture of Jack White, the color abstractions of Alma Thomas, and the lyric abstraction of Felrath Hines. Also in this category are works by Marvin Brown, Thomas Sills, Frank Bowling, Ellen Banks, and the late Bob Thompson.

Among the paintings and graphic work that undertake to impart a more explicit social or political message, most are of a vehement illustrational character. They are either expressions of community solidarity or outright protest art. Often these works are very affecting, but not in esthetic terms.

To approve or disapprove of such work in esthetic terms seems somehow inappropriate, however. Whether an art museum is the most appropriate place to display such work is also a question, at least for me. One cannot help noting, in any case, that black artists seem to be no more successful than their white contemporaries in finding a fresh stylistic expression for their social and political grievances. The crisis through which our society is now passing has caught the artist, black and white, without a vocabulary adequate to the occasion, and the results are all too evident in the current exhibition.

I hope to be able to discuss this exhibition in more detail on a later occasion, however. Its principle value, in my view, lies precisely in the important questions it raises—questions about art, but also questions about the relation of art to social values and of the museum to the community at large.

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SERVE THE PEOPLE!

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

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

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

2. We want full employment for our people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE PANTHER 21
is in urgent need of
volunteer workers and funds

Call or write now to say that you will help

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The people will free the Panther 21!

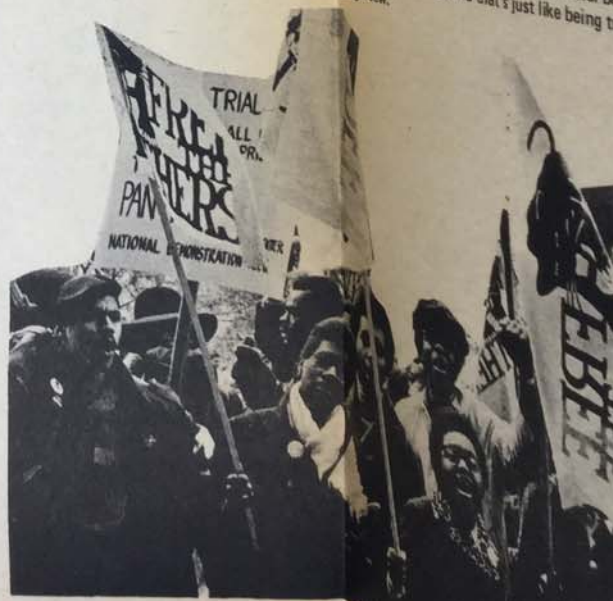


Who Are The Panther 21?

1. **AFENI SHAKUR** (Alice Williams), 22, was in the Manpower Training Program until August '68. During 1968 she worked as a teaching assistant in the public schools. As a youth she received an award from Mayor Robert Wagner in a citywide journalism contest for her outstanding research in a paper on juvenile delinquency. She is a poet, and has a poem printed in the "Anthology of High School Poetry." No previous record. Bail: \$100,000.
2. **JOAN BIRD**, 20, was a nursing student at Bronx Community College at the time of her arrest. She was also working as a teaching assistant at P.S. 175. She is a graduate of Cathedral High School where she had an outstanding record for four years. No criminal convictions. Bail: \$100,000.
3. **CURTIS POWELL**, 33, was employed as a research biochemist at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, engaged in cancer research at the time of his arrest. Dr. Powell holds a Ph.D. in biochemistry, and was earning a salary of \$14,000 a year. Dr. Powell's wife Lena, 24, was six months pregnant when he was arrested and subsequently gave birth to a premature infant, who died shortly after birth. Dr. Powell was denied the opportunity to speak to or visit his wife in the hospital despite her great need for comfort and help at that time. At every hearing the prosecutor has refused to address Dr. Powell as "Doctor", challenging the existence of his degree, although counsel has presented documents from Dr. Powell's employer and from his professor in Sweden where he earned his degree. No previous record. Bail: \$100,000.
4. **ROBERT COLLIER**, 32, was employed as a staff director of the Tompkins Square Community Center until funds were halted in January '69. A respected leader of the Lower East Side community, he was recommended by Percy Sutton to be on the Lower East Side Planning Board No. 3. At the time of his arrest the Urban Coalition was in the process of refunding the community center with Mr. Collier as director. Bail: \$100,000.
5. **LEE BERRY**, 25, is not even mentioned in the indictment. It is neither alleged that he agreed with anyone to do anything nor that he committed any overt acts. He is 70% permanently disabled due to Service-connected epilepsy and receives a veteran's disability pension of \$400 a month. At the time of his arrest he was in the VA hospital after suffering a severe seizure and was arraigned without any opportunity to obtain counsel. In jail he suffered several severe epileptic seizures, losing consciousness each time. He received only part of the medication he must take daily. Mr. Berry was recently transferred to Bellevue Prison Hospital where he still is, in critical condition. Bail: \$100,000.
6. **RICHARD MOORE**, 24, is a self-employed painter. In an effort to justify the bail the prosecutor insisted Mr. Moore was unmarried, although counsel produced a valid marriage certificate. Bail: \$100,000.
7. **ALEX MCKIEVER**, 19, is a student at Benjamin Franklin High School where he was president of the Afro-American History Club, and was due to be graduated last year. No previous criminal record. Bail: \$100,000.
8. **EDDIE JOSEPHS**, 17, was a junior at Evander Childs High School where he maintained good grades. No previous criminal record. Bail: \$25,000.
9. **LUMUMBA ABDUL SHAKUR**, 26, was employed by the Harlem Community Housing Council until the time of his arrest. His wife and three children have been left totally without resources. Bail: \$100,000.
10. **JOHN J. CASSON** (Ali Bey Hassan), 31, worked for the Black Panther Party while attempting to educate the community and organize around community control issues. No previous criminal record. Bail: \$100,000.
11. **WALTER JOHNSON**, 24, has no previous criminal record. Bail: \$100,000.
12. **LONNIE EPPS**, 17, is a student at Long Island City High School and has no prior criminal record. Mr. Epps, who voluntarily surrendered himself after seeing his name in the newspaper, is free on \$10,000 bail.
13. **MICHAEL TABOR**, 22, is an artist for the Black Panther Party. Bail: \$50,000.
14. **CLARK SQUIRES**, 32, was employed as a computer operator for Data Processing International. Bail: \$50,000.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

"We want all black men held in city, county, state or federal prisons to be released because they have not had a fair trial but have been tried by all-white juries, and that's just like being tried by a Jew."



What Kind Of Treatment Are They Getting?

To call the treatment of the Panthers in jail a statement. For ten months they were maintained in solitary confinement, making it nearly impossible for their attorneys to prepare a defense. They were kept in solitary confinement for a day, without mattresses. The two women were kept in solitary for a day. All of them were denied visitation for a day. Their relatives were denied full visiting privileges. Their relatives in the jails. It was only a little harassment by officials in the jails. It was only a little harassment, that the men were placed in one prison unit.

What Has Happened To The Panthers?

Among the chief incidents involving police and Panthers:
1967
October 28—Police officer John Frey killed in a shot car. Huey Newton, B.P.P. leader subsequently convicted case being appealed.

1968
January 16—San Francisco: Police raid home of Elwood Muhammad.
February 25—Berkeley: Bobbie and Artie Seale are arrested. Charge of "conspiracy to commit murder." Arrests for conspiracy to riot ruled illegal. Four of Seale's home, after police claim neighbor heard a plot against two, other two now dead.

April 6—Oakland: Cleaver, Hilliard, six others charged with two Oakland police. Charges dropped by D.A. Bo same incident. Charles Bursey sentenced to 1 to 10 years for murder and assault, Warren Wells found guilty of assault.

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What Kind Of Treatment Are They Receiving?

To call the treatment of the Panthers in jail cruel and inhuman is an understatement. For ten months they were maintained in different jails throughout the city, making it nearly impossible for their attorneys to meet with them to properly prepare a defense. They were kept in solitary confinement with the lights on for 24 hours a day, without mattresses. The two women were allowed four small sheets of toilet tissue a day. All of them were denied reading matter and recreational facilities. Their relatives were denied full visiting privileges, and their lawyers were harassed by officials in the jails. It was only a little over a week ago, after much pressure, that the men were placed in one prison under more normal conditions.

What Has Happened To The Panthers Nationally?

Among the chief incidents involving police and Panthers are:

1967

October 28—Police officer John Frey killed in a shoot-out after halting Panthers in car. Huey Newton, B.P.P. leader subsequently convicted of voluntary manslaughter; case being appealed.

1968

January 16—San Francisco: Police raid home of Eldridge Cleaver, without warrant.

February 25—Berkeley: Bobbie and Artie Seale arrested in home, entered without warrant. Charge of "conspiracy to commit murder" against Seale later dropped. Arrests for conspiracy to riot ruled illegal. Four others also arrested in auto near Seale home, after police claim neighbor heard a plot to murder; charges dismissed against two, other two now dead.

April 6—Oakland: Cleaver, Hilliard, six others charged with attempted murder of two Oakland police. Charges dropped by D.A. Bobby Hutton killed by police in same incident. Charles Bursey sentenced to 1 to 15 years for alleged attempted murder and assault, Warren Wells found guilty of assault.

August 5—Los Angeles: Three Panthers killed when stopped by cruising squad car; "shoot-out" leaves no police injured.

September 12, 13—Denver: 40 persons, including seven Panthers, arrested in wake of shoot-out. One dead. Police arrest seven juveniles, three adults on contributing charges; adults freed.

November 19—San Francisco: Eight Panthers arrested, charged with shooting three policemen; charges dismissed against seven.

November 28—Jersey City: Panthers arrested, charged with carrying concealed weapons; bail set at \$10,000.

December 1—Jersey City: Panther headquarters firebombed; Panthers report seeing "two white men in police-style uniforms."

1969

March 25—San Francisco: Police visit deserted "Black Panther Party pad" after Party moves out, claim to have found instructions for molotov cocktails.

April 2—New York: 21 persons charged with conspiracy to blow up stores and public buildings; held on \$100,000 bail each.

April 11—Chicago: Nathaniel Junior, field secretary and one other Panther arrested by federal officers on federal firearms statute.

April 28—San Francisco: Using tear gas, police raid B.P.P. headquarters, arrest 16, book 4 for "illegal use of sound equipment."

May 1—Los Angeles: Police raid Panther headquarters, seize weapons, arrest 11; all released without charges being brought.

May 22—New Haven: Eight Panthers arrested, charged with murder of Alex Rackley, subsequently indicted with four other Panthers for kidnapping, attempted murder. Panthers charge victim was not a police informer but a B.P.P. member in good standing, who was murdered by the police.

June 3—Chicago: FBI arrest eight for harboring New Haven fugitive who was not present; charges dropped. Agents confiscate money, membership lists and literature.

June 4—Detroit: Police raid B.P.P. headquarters, warrant denied on office worker for possession of stolen goods, two others jailed, then freed.

June 5—Denver: Using tear gas, police raid B.P.P. headquarters, arrest 10; two held on federal warrants charging flight to avoid prosecution in New Haven case, others released.

June 6—Salt Lake City: Panther headquarters raided; another New Haven "fugitive" arrested.

June 7—Indianapolis: During course of a race riot police raid B.P.P. headquarters, arrest thirty.

June 9—Chicago: Eleven Panthers arrested on marijuana charge during raid.

June 10—Chicago: Grand jury indicts 16 Panthers on charges ranging from conspiracy to kidnap to illegal use of weapons.

June 15—San Diego: During racial disturbance police shoot way into B.P.P. headquarters looking for sniper; no sniper found. Mayor on June 18 condemns wanton destruction of food and property by police.

July 3—Santa Ana: D.A. drops murder charge against Daniel Lyman, B.P.P. lieutenant, held since June 5 on charge of shooting police officer.

July 31—Chicago: Police raid B.P.P. headquarters; three members arrested for attempted murder, aggravated assault and resisting arrest after gun battle. Headquarters destroyed, three Panthers, four policemen wounded.

August 21—New York: Seven B.P.P. members charged with rioting, assault, held on bails up to \$50,000.

August 27—New Haven: Bobby Seale indicted for conspiracy to murder Alex Rackley (see May 22).

August 29—Berkeley: Police plans (acknowledged by police) to raid B.P.P. headquarters revealed by David Hilliard.

September 20—Los Angeles: B.P.P. member Walter Toure Pope, 21, killed by police officer.

November 13—Chicago: One Panther, two policemen killed in "shoot-out".

December 3—Oakland: David Hilliard, national chief of staff of B.P.P. arrested for allegedly threatening the life of President Nixon on November 15 at Vietnam Moratorium meeting. Hilliard is only ranking Panther leader still out of jail.

December 4—Chicago: Two Panthers, Illinois chairman Fred Hampton, and Peoria leader Mark Clark, killed in police raid on Hampton's apartment. Four Panthers wounded, two policemen slightly injured in what police and newspapers called a "shoot-out". However, *New York Times* reporter and others found no evidence of bullet holes to support police version of events.

December 5—Kansas City: Four Panthers arrested charged with "attempting to force" way into chief of police's press conference.

December 5—Chicago: Bobby Rush's apartment raided by police.

December 6—Chicago: Bobby Rush arrested for failure to register firearms.

December 8—Los Angeles: Police raid B.P.P. headquarters; three Panthers, three policemen wounded; 21 arrested at three locations in coordinated raid, \$20,000 bail on two arrestees; other arraignments in progress.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

"We want all black men held in city, county, state and Federal jails to be released because they have not had a fair trial because they've been tried by all-white juries, and that's just like being tried in Nazi Germany, being a Jew."

Huey P. Newton



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

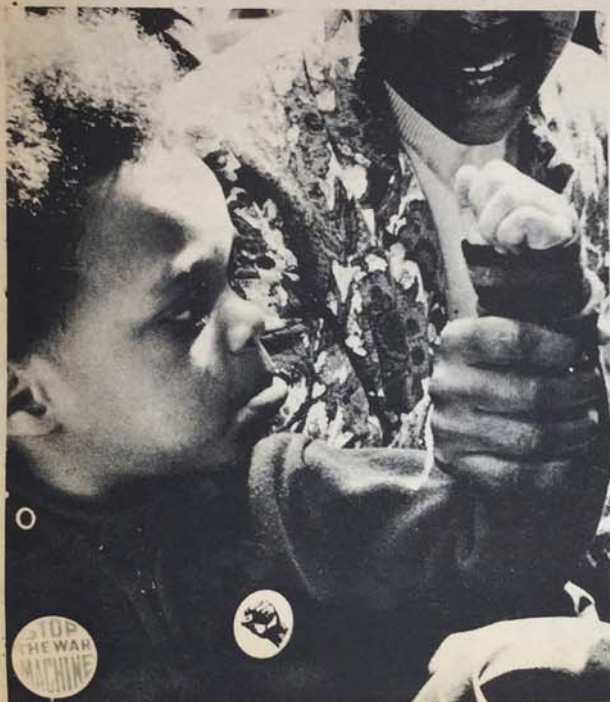
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Feeding, clothing, protecting the community ...



The murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago began to make clear to hundreds of thousands of Americans what had previously been clear only to the Black Panthers and a limited group of defenders: that their party is the target of a systematic attempt at annihilation. They are the Vietnamese people of American society, and, like the Vietnamese, they refuse to be destroyed. As fellow Americans we must stand with them or their destruction will eventually be our destruction.

We cannot let the facts about the Black Panther Party be obscured. They have been accused of racism, neo-fascism (*New York Times* editorial, 12/17/69) and of advocating wanton terrorism. It is therefore essential for every American to know the program of the Black Panther Party.

What Do The Panthers Stand For?

The primary Panther goal is "institutions which serve the needs of the people." To this aim they have established basic programs nationwide which address themselves to this problem.

1. **Education**—The B.P.P. has formed classes which teach black youth what they do not learn in school about the history of their country and its institutions. They have remedial programs which try to make up for the inferior, racist schools in the black community. Point No. 5 of the B.P.P. platform.
2. **Health**—Free clinics have been started by the Party to supplement the poor health facilities of the black communities. These clinics also attempt to combat such problems as rats and lead poisoning.
3. **Free Breakfasts**—The Black Panther Party developed its nationwide breakfast program for children so that they don't have to go to school too hungry to learn. As Eldridge Cleaver stated: "Breakfast for children pulls people out of the system and organizes them into an alternative. Black children who go to school hungry each morning have been organized into their poverty, and the Panther program liberates them, frees them from that aspect of their poverty. This is liberation in practice."
4. **Full employment for every man**—Point No. 2 of the B.P.P. platform states that "the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income."
5. **Decent housing for all people**—Point No. 4 of the Party platform: We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
6. **Armed Self defense**—Point No. 7 of the platform declares: "We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality."
7. **Organizing within the community**—In 1967 the Black Panther Party ran candidates for state and national offices on the principle that in order to serve the people you must know them. This is the basic organizing tenet of the Party which has, after three years, chapters in cities from coast to coast.
8. **Rapport with other organizations fighting the same battle**—The B.P.P. has established ties with the Mexican-Americans, Chinese-American, Puerto Rican, white working class and white student movements wherever possible all over the country. They have declared their understanding of the need for a united front against the real enemy—a racist, oppressive system. "As a first step we want a truce signed between black, white and brown working people, in the community and on the job, as we recognize that fighting among ourselves only serves the rich." (*Black Panther Party newspaper*)

The Black Panther Party regards itself as a socialist organization and believes that the means of production should be in the hands of the people. They declare that man can only live creatively when free from the oppression of capitalism.

What Has Happened To The Panthers

On the following pages is a partial account of what steps the local, state and federal governments have taken to eliminate the Black Panther Party. This attempted destruction is *not* a response to the "violent tactics" of the Black Panther Party, who have resorted to violence only when attacked. Police casualties have come in the course of a police raid on Panther headquarters or apartments, or police halting of Panthers in cars. The Panthers have never attacked a police headquarters or initiated attacks against policemen.

The Panthers have charged that in fact the all-out attack by the police has been primarily a result of their success in educating the black communities to understand that institutions should serve the people.

What About Our City?

In New York City the Panther 21, rotting in jail under the most inhuman conditions for the past eight months, have personally experienced fascism in action. The Panther 21 are accused of conspiring to blow up five department stores, two police stations, a railroad right-of-way and the Bronx Botanical Gardens. These charges completely contradict the Panthers' consistent rejection of "terrorism" in favor of mass organization of black people. As they have stated, to blow up department stores, etc., would destroy hundreds of people whom the party represents.

The bails set for ten of the Panther 21 remain at \$100,000 each, even though most of them have no previous criminal record. To fully comprehend the absurdity both of the charges and the bails, one should become familiar with the backgrounds of the Panther 21.



"PROWL CAR 39 THINKS HE JUST SEEN A SUSPECTED BLACK PANTHER CARRYIN' WHAT HE IMAGINES COULD BE A CONCEALED LETHAL WEAPON!"