

S.N.C.

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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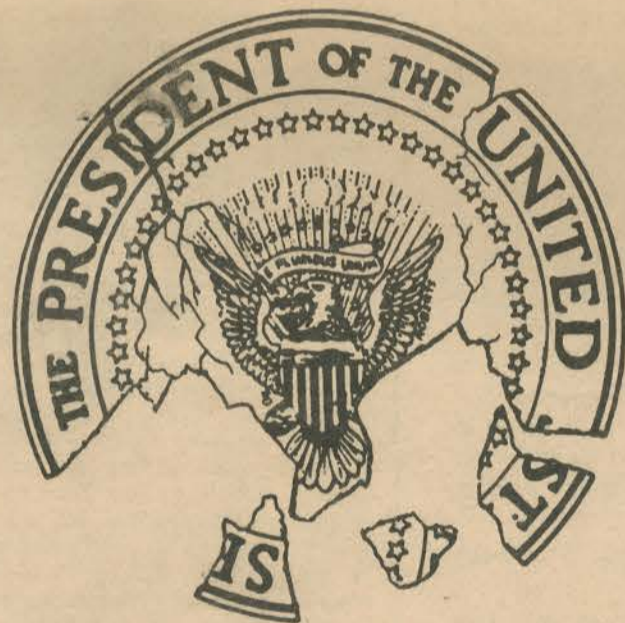
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BLACK PANTHER PARTY DEMANDS



ELIMINATE THE PRESIDENCY



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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Black Panther Party
Position Paper on
The Elimination of the Offices of
President and Vice-President

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Editorial

THE AMERICAN DREAM

The Black Panther Party campaign being launched with this issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for the elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President, of immediate and direct concern to every American citizen.

Watergate and all that has emerged and continues to emerge from it has shaken this nation to its very core. And yet, there are those, currently headed by Vice-President Gerald R. Ford, who claim that Richard Nixon's Watergate-related problems stem primarily from a plot by the Left to destroy the President.

This charge is aimed at every American who feels any measure of moral or ethical indignation at the continuing flow of evidence of unprincipled, illegal and criminal acts associated with presidential election campaigns, involving a host of individuals at the pinnacle of government, of whom one is Richard Nixon.

Suddenly, the great majority of the American people are dupes of the Left!

The truth is that the revelations out of Washington, D.C., over the past several months, have caused every American to reflect on the American Dream; a Dream that essentially has to do with democracy — government of, by and for the people.

The Dream had flaws, serious flaws. It was based on Black slavery, it permitted violations of the rights of Native Americans and it maintained some measure of class privilege. But, it contained a faith in the ability of a people to govern itself in peace and harmony without despots or a ruling elite. And the people moved to correct the flaws with the addition of the Bill of Rights to the Constitution.

We are still moving to correct the flaws.

Today we are witnessing the emergence of an executive power which undermines and, if allowed to continue, will usurp the power of the people from our elected representatives in the Congress of the United States. We are witnessing attempts to constitutionalize a police state.

The removal of individuals, reforms or other halfway measures will not save the Dream. Only radical restructuring by returning all powers to the people through our elected representatives can save the Dream. It is a Dream worth saving.

"The whole world for all time in the future will love us and remember us as the righteous people who made it possible for the world to live on", George Jackson once told us, if we act now to save and to enlarge the American Dream. □



Letters to the Editor

Greetings Comrades,

Revolutionary greetings to all of the beautiful brothers and sisters who are devoted to the struggle!

It gives me the greatest of pleasure to have the opportunity to address all of you. Hopefully this will reach its stop and find everyone in wonderful condition. Comrades, I would like to have this letter printed in your beautiful paper of righteous Through the facts contained within the space of these pages, hopefully some support will come for the people being thoroughly dehumanized in the racist Virginia State penitentiary at 500 Spring Street, "C" Cell.

There are ignorant pigs back there who are trying to exert their so-called authority by truly f---ing the brothers around. They feel that because they have the keys and badges and uniforms that they must disrespect all who wear the attire of an inmate. They seek to bring us down to their level by subjecting us to the dictates of their warped minds.

They expect Third World people to react like trained dogs. They are wrong! The people will not tolerate more subhuman treatment without resistance, as resistance is the only method we have of maintaining our identities as human beings and men!

...I speak out for the brothers in "C" Cell so loudly because their every effort at making outside contact in regard to what goes down back there is repressed. The brothers back there need attention in matters such as better food, medical attention, living conditions. Many of the brothers are held under a gigantic masterlock known as padlock. They are denied fresh air, exercise, the essentials for good health. The brothers are denied visits on holidays and weekends when it would be most convenient for their relatives and friends. Mail has been either destroyed or held, personal items have been broken or thrown away.

Many of the brothers held on padlock have no charges, institu-

tional or criminal held against them and are given no reason for this callously cruel and unusual punishment. Having only recently been released myself, I KNOW these conditions exist...

The brothers in "C" Cell have been trying to get someone to come down, write and/or call to voice some support for them in their needs. No one hears this plea...

If you could only print this, maybe someone in this state will feel a wave of the pain we experience here. Maybe someone will at last begin to act out their roles and realize that this war against us is war against every oppressed being wasting away within the bowels of this merciless, super-atrocious beast, nick-named AmeriKKKa!

HELP US!! WE ARE STILL A PART OF THE COLLECTIVE BLACK FAMILYHOOD!

Engaged in Struggle,
Qawi Sekou (Leon Toliver #98374)
Azewka Kenyetta (William J. Williams #94333)
500 Spring Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

□□□□□□

Dear Publisher,

I am a Black brother doing 40 long years at the Leavenworth prison. I have been reading your paper here and I like the paper. It helps me to keep up on what is really going on in the free world — the truth, not like all the KKK papers in the United States, telling lies.

As soon as I get out of this man's solitary confinement — the hole — I am going to be working in this man's slave camp to get myself some money so I can help the paper to carry on.

I have been locked up in maximum confinement since September, 1972, and I'm still locked up here. But, I hope to be getting out soon. I thank you for sending the paper.

Thank you,
Brother J.J. Johnson
Leavenworth, Kansas

COMMENT

WATERGATE PHASE-OUT?

(Washington, D.C.) - The Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, better known as the Watergate Committee has postponed indefinitely the hearings on contributions to the 1972 Nixon campaign that were to have been held during the next two weeks.

Since the life of the committee, headed by Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina, is scheduled to expire on February 28, this move raises the question as to whether the hearings on campaign contributions by billionaire Howard R. Hughes and the milk industry will ever take place.

Senator Ervin said that the delay had been agreed upon "in order to make sure that no prejudice be done to the Mitchell (former Attorney General John N. Mitchell) and Stans (former Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans) trial", scheduled to begin February 19, in U.S. District Court in New York City.

Mitchell and Stans are being tried for obstruction of justice and perjury, accused of trying to obstruct an investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission into the activities of Nixon's millionaire friend Robert L. Vesco, the fugitive financier, in return for a secret \$200,000 contribution by Vesco to the Nixon re-election campaign.

The Senate is reportedly willing to extend the life of the Ervin Committee beyond February 28, but probably only for a limited purpose.

The question these moves raise is whether the American people will ever be told the whole, sordid story of the 1972 presidential election campaign that resulted in the re-election of Richard M. Nixon to the office of President of the United States.

Removing the Ervin Committee hearings from TV coverage, and later from even radio coverage (except on FM bands), were the first moves to deny the American people information revealing how they had been tricked and cheated in the 1972 elections. Now the life of the hearings themselves is being threatened.

We urge our readers to call on your Senator to support moves in the Senate to extend the life of the Senate Select Committee beyond the present cut-off date. Demand that the Ervin committee hearings be continued, without any limitation on matters to be covered, until the full story is known. And, demand that those hearings again be fully covered on prime time TV. □

THE BLACK PANTHER

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JOHNNY SPAIN ON THE QUASHED INDICTMENTS

Johnny Larry Spain is a Black prison inmate presently incarcerated in the notorious Adjustment Center at San Quentin Prison. A member of the Black Panther Party and a close comrade-in-arms with George Jackson, the Party's Field Marshal who was assassinated by San Quentin guards on August 21, 1971, Johnny Spain is one of the six prison inmates known throughout the world as the San Quentin Six.

The following taped interview was taken with Brother Spain the day after a Superior Court Judge in Marin County quashed the indictments of murder and conspiracy lodged against him in the aftermath of George Jackson's murder. The interview was conducted by David Meyer, Johnny Spain's court-appointed lawyer.

SPAIN: First of all, I was under the impression that Judge Stoll would objectively consider the motion to quash the indictment but I felt that — and I expressed to everyone — that he was under a lot of political pressure and therefore he would deny the motion regardless of the legal points that were overwhelmingly stacked in our favor. The conclusion, my original conclusion, that he would deny the motion was based on everything else that we've been filing; all the legal points have been overwhelmingly in our favor. We've had those



Johnny Spain was an extremely close comrade-in-arms of Brother GEORGE JACKSON.

denied and I believe those were denied because of political reasons rather than legalities.

Now that the ruling has come down favorably for the six of us, the question was asked: How would it affect me?



BROTHER JOHNNY LARRY SPAIN, one of the San Quentin Six.

I have three points as to how it would affect me. Legally, it would not affect me very much other than the fact that it would delay criminal prosecution in Marin or wherever we are if we are given a change of venue. Physically, I think it affects me in a mild sense because it would mean more months of going through the same procedures...

Politically, I think it affects everyone because it shows gross misinterpretation and misapplication of the law in the selection of the grand jury.

This ruling will not take me out of the AC—That's just another point people seem to want to know about.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

S.Q. 6 SEEK TRANSFER FROM SOLITARY

(San Francisco, Calif.) The San Quentin Six have filed a civil rights suit which seeks their transfer from the San Quentin Adjustment Center to the general prison population. However, little progress was made at a U.S. District Court hearing on the suit last Monday.

The Six, not present at the hearing, were represented by their attorneys who charged that the conditions in the solitary confinement cells of the Adjustment Center constitute cruel and unusual punishment. Judge Alfonso J. Zipoli refused to consider the attorneys' charge that guards have tear gassed the Six's cells.

The lawyers also charged that their visits with the Six have been restricted since the recent court ruling was issued dismissing the indictments against them.

The plaintiffs in the suit include California Director of Corrections Raymond Procunier and San Quentin Warden Louis Nelson.

Also the district attorney declared his intention to file a motion to dismiss the Six's civil rights suit at the Monday hearing. Judge Zirpoli will hear this motion at 10:00a.m., February 21, when the hearings resume.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY DEMANDS ELIMINATE THE PRESIDENCY

(Oakland, Calif.) - In the wake of Watergate and subsequent revelations, the Black Panther Party is launching a nationwide campaign for the elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States of America, and the return of the powers usurped by these offices to the Congress.

In response to the call of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, headed by North Carolina Senator Sam Ervin, for proposals aimed at preventing the repetition of the wide range of criminal and unethical acts accompanying the 1972 (and previous) presidential election campaigns, the Black Panther Party has drawn up a seven-page Position Paper in support of its proposal including steps for its implementation. (See Centerfold for text of Position Paper.)

In its introduction the Position Paper states: "Radical restructuring in the Executive Branch of Government, which reasserts and makes manifest the power of the people consistent with the intent of the Preamble to the American Constitution and its Bill of Rights, is the only path to the realization of the American Dream.

REFORMS

"Reforms of the existing practices will not safeguard the American people and ideals for which we strive from the coup-makers and Watergaters of a later age. They will only induce complacency and delay the inevitable confrontation."

Prior to the conclusion of the current Senate Select Committee hearings the Black Panther Party proposal will be formally submitted to the committee for its consideration by Party leader and chief theoretician, Huey P. Newton.

The 48-word proposal reads simply: "We call for the total elimination of the offices of the President and Vice-President of the United States of America, and the return of all the powers usurped by these offices to the duly elected representatives of all the people, the Congress of the United States of America."

The Position Paper contains brief sections presenting the historical argument, the moral argument and the legal or constitutional argument in support of the proposal. The Paper concludes with a listing of short and long-range goals for implementation of the proposal.

The Black Panther Party plans a massive, country-wide campaign directed to community organizations of every variety representing every segment of

the American people, churches, trade unions, professional organizations and university and high school campuses for adoption and promotion of the proposal.

The Position Paper calls for the creation of an Executive of administrative experts to carry out the wishes of the people through instruction from the Congress.

ENDORSEMENTS

The Position Paper, containing the proposal, will be made available widely as a basis for discussion and debate. Endorsements by existing bodies, the formation of ad hoc committees and the creation of street, factory, office and campus Committees for the elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President will be encouraged throughout the country.

As the campaign grows, local, state and regional coordinating committee will be formed, leading to the formation of a National



Brother HUEY P. NEWTON, the brilliant chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party.

Coordinating Committee for the purpose of planning, organizing and carrying out national actions for the elimination of the presidency and vice-presidency.

The section on implementation of the proposal that concludes the Position Paper states that one of the long-range goals is the adoption of the proposal "as a plank in the platform of all political parties", reflecting what the Party hopes will be a non-partisan character to the campaign involving all shades of the political spectrum.

For information or copies of the Position Paper write the Black Panther Party, Central Headquarters, 8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94621.□

YOUTH INSTITUTE SUCCEEDING WHERE PUBLIC SCHOOLS FAILED

INTERVIEW WITH SCHOOL'S DIRECTOR

ERICKA HUGGINS

In the following interview, Ericka Huggins, Director of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, explains the functioning of a model community-based school. The interview was done with progressive educator Herb Kohl and was aired by KPFA radio on Thursday, January 24, 1974. Part I follows:

KOHL: Would you explain what the Intercommunal Youth Institute is?

ERICKA: The Intercommunal Youth Institute is a school for Black and poor youth in the Oakland community who need more individual attention in reading, mathematics, writing and, really, an understanding of themselves and the world. I say that they need it because the children who are here have gone to other schools which have failed to serve them as best they could, so their parents wanted them to come here. Right now we have an enrollment of about 82...

KOHL: Many of them you can hear in the background.

ERICKA: Yes, this is the free period after lunch and the children are playing games and doing various other things. Some of them might be studying here and there throughout the building. We have children ages 2½ to 11. We start at the age of 2½ because we do believe that a child doesn't have to be five in order to form concepts. So, they learn a lot of things here at an early age.



Ms. ERICKA HUGGINS, Director of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

KOHL: Let me ask you a question. You say that many of the children here have been failed by the public schools. Do you have any reason to believe that you would be any different than the public school, that you wouldn't repeat the same patterns of failures?

ERICKA: What makes us believe that we are different from the public school system is that we formed from the need — as a small group of people in 1971 — to see our children protected from the harshness and cruelty of the public school system. This is not to say that all public school teachers individually are harsh and cruel people, but the system does not allow for the individual

mind or personality. It most certainly does not allow for trying to handle the capabilities and limitations of Black and poor youth. That's why the school was created. There's a vast difference between us and the public school system, basically due to the fact that we are very concerned about children relating to their environment and to this world as it really is.

KOHL: What do you do about that? I mean, how for example, would a young person learn how to explore his environment as it really is? What kinds of things do you do?

ERICKA: We try to use practical experience as a basis of our learning experience. That is, if we want to know what makes trees grow, then we just won't go to a book about trees or have a science demonstration and just talk about trees. We might have the children go outside to see a tree or see trees of various sizes or trees in various stages of development. We would see what makes them grow and what would keep them from growing and thereby try to understand what would be the best way to help a tree grow. As a matter of fact we might plant one.

In our Language Arts classes, we don't just say that student A, CONTINUED ON PAGE 7



Comrade JUNIUS UNDERWOOD was seventeen when he was arrested.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE ORGANIZES TO FREE JUNIUS UNDERWOOD

(Richmond, Va.) The family, friends and comrades of Brother Junius "Boo Red" Underwood are organizing the people of Richmond through The Concerned Citizens for the Release of Junius Underwood. Brother Boo Red is serving a five-year sentence in the Petersburg Federal Reformatory in Virginia. Although he was only seventeen when arrested, the Black Panther Party member was given the maximum penalty and was sentenced to serve time in an adult prison.

Junius and four other young Black men (3 are Party members) were indicted in May, 1971, for conspiracy to transport stolen goods in interstate commerce and transportation of such goods. The prosecution's star witness was a paid police informant, a drug victim who would testify to anything to keep his daily allowance of heroin coming, care of the Richmond Police Department.

However, racist Virginia "hanging judge" Albert V. Bryan, Jr., incorrectly "charged" (instructed) the jury concerning their deliberation of Boo Red's innocence or guilt. So, although he was the youngest of the five, Junius was the only one who ended up being convicted on both counts.

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WEST AFRICAN DROUGHT WORSE

(Lagos, Nigeria) - The drought situation in West Africa is now worst than last year, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Director General Addeke Bierma said here recently, renewing an appeal for more international relief. Before the rains last October, FAO officials estimated that the shortage in cereal crops in the six worst affected countries would be about 50,000 tons. Now, however, governments in the area expect the shortage to be as high as 1.2 million tons. Another 55,000 to 60,000 tons of protein foods are also needed.

3 BLACKS GET DEATH SENTENCE IN N.C. RAPE CASE

(Tarboro, N.C.) - Three Black men were sentenced to death here last month for the rape of a White woman. Although there was overwhelming evidence to leave "reasonable doubt" in a juror's mind, the eleven Whites and one Black on the jury returned a guilty verdict. As a result of the case, Black communities throughout North Carolina have become aware of the fact that their state is the execution capital of America.

The three new additions to "Death Row" brings to twenty-two the number of doomed men in the state, of which 15 are Black and one is an American Indian. (There are forty-four persons on death row throughout the country at present. Twenty-nine of these are Black.) The NAACP, the Black Panther Party and other community organizations in North Carolina are looking into these cases and are calling for abolition of the death penalty.

"They weren't convicted on evidence...", said Leroy Walston, brother of Jesse Lee Walston, one of the convicted trio. "They were convicted because that girl had to protect her



JESSE LEE WALSTON

reputation, and she's willing to pay these men's lives to do it."

Although not a resident of North Carolina, Jesse Lee returned to turn himself over to police when he learned he was being sought in the state. He was sure that a fair trial would soon guarantee his release.

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"Until We're Free"

A powerful, yet tender and important new album by Elaine Brown. The songs on the album weave a beautiful tapestry of protest against the quality of life for Black Americans. Listeners will find themselves engulfed in a flow of emotion as Elaine's melodic voice works its magic. Once you have heard "Until We're Free", you will understand why Huey P. Newton says: "A consuming talent, a total dedication and a proven commitment are combined in Elaine Brown, making her the first, genuine People's Artist America has produced."

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FIGHT TO FREE THOMAS WANSLEY GOES ON

(Richmond, Va.)—Gov. Linwood Holton has left office without pardoning Thomas Wansley, but the fight to free him goes on.

"We will keep up the fight and accelerate it on all levels", said Garnell Stamps, NAACP leader in Lynchburg, Wansley's home town.

In a report to Wansley supporters all over the country, representatives of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression said, "This failure does not signify the end of this campaign. On the contrary, it will mark the beginning of a new and bigger campaign."

Wansley is a 28-year-old Black man who has served 10 years of a life sentence on a charge of raping a White woman in Lynchburg in 1962. He was freed on bond in January, 1973, when a federal judge overturned his conviction. He was returned to prison in mid-November after a U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the January ruling.

Wansley's case has attracted nationwide attention. In the weeks after his return to prison in November, the campaign to free him escalated, with mass rallies and demonstrations in Virginia, delegations to the governor, and thousands of petitions from all parts of the United States.

Governor Holton answered these appeals on January 8, just four days before leaving office, in a letter to Wansley's mother, Ms. Willie Mae Thornton of Lynchburg. He said he would not pardon Wansley because such action should be taken only under "extraordinary" circumstances, and he did not consider Wansley's situation "extraordinary"

Both Black and White Virginians, representing many organizations, urged Holton to change his mind. They were joined by 11 members of Congress and at least 60 other elected officials across the country who sent last-minute wires to Holton.

The members of Congress who called on the governor to reverse his decision were: Bella Abzug, N.Y.; Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Calif.; John Conyers, Mich.; Robert F. Drinan, Mass.; Don Edwards, Calif.; Augustus Hawkins, Calif.; Parren Mitchell, Md.; Charles B. Rangel, N.Y.; Louis Stokes, Ohio; Jerome Waldie, Calif.; Andrew Young, Ga.

When all appeals failed, Wansley supporters staged a rally in Richmond on January 11. It was the eve of the inauguration of the new governor, Mills Godwin, who was architect of Virginia's "massive resistance" to school desegregation.

At the inauguration itself spirited demonstrators, led by Wansley's mother, displayed signs and banners at the capitol grounds, marched down the main street of Richmond, and then visited Wansley at the prison camp in Chesterfield County, Va., where he is now being held.

"We are bringing the message to the new governor that the people have to be listened to, and their will obeyed," said Garnell Stamps. The Prisoners Solidarity Committee scheduled a demonstration and rally in Norfolk for January 19, on behalf of both Wansley and James Carrington, another Black Virginian serving 75 years on a false rape charge. A rally was planned in Lynchburg for January 26.

Meantime, Godwin, in his inaugural address, called for reinstatement of the death penalty in Virginia and reduction of the welfare rolls.

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POSTAL WORKERS DEMONSTRATE FOR FULL WORK SCHEDULE

(New York, N.Y.) - Three hundred post office workers demonstrated in front of New York City's largest post office station January 9 to protest the situation of part-time workers and Vietnam veterans.

During this past summer, the Post Office hired between 1,500 and 2,000 clerks as "substitutes" —or part-time help. "When subs were hired", writes *Outlaw* a rank-and-file paper by and for postal workers—"they were told it was a full-time career job. That was a lie. Management never told subs they can give them only four hours work daily anytime they want."

"They worked us a lot of overtime during Christmas", explained another demonstrator. "But the rumors are already circulating that they'll be cutting back on hours come early spring. You can't support a family on four hours a day. We don't want anymore short hours. We're fighting for all of us to be made regular."

Also at issue is the Post Office's program for Vietnam veterans. This past summer they advertised a "walk-in test for vets" and 3,000 vets applied. Only 300 were hired and once hired, the vets discovered the catch—the program was not covered by the national contract.

"The Vietnam veteran program employees don't even have the right to be represented by a shop steward and they don't get Sunday premium pay (regular employees get 25% more pay on Sundays)", writes *Outlaw*. "To top this all off, they don't begin to get seniority rights till after one year."

The demonstration was organized by a rank-and-file commit-

TYRONE GUYTON MURDER

GRAND JURY REOPENS INVESTIGATION

(Oakland, Calif.) - In an unexpected turnabout, the Alameda County Grand Jury voted last Wednesday to reopen its inquiry into the murder on November 1 of 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton by three White Emeryville policemen.

The decision, powerful in its implications, is said to be based on undisclosed "new evidence"

The vote opens the way for the possible indictment of the cops involved, who, in closed door testimony, have admitted shooting young Tyrone in the back from less than 10 feet away.

The newly-formed Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton hailed the grand jury's decision as a "tremendous victory" A spokesman for the group said the



TYRONE GUYTON

committee still plans to continue their petition drive, scheduled to begin next week. He warned that the community must not become "overconfident" since the grand jury's decision in no way means that the policemen will be successfully prosecuted or that they would be prosecuted at all.

Meanwhile, in related events, Lew Warden, attorney for the family in the joint one million dollar civil suit filed against the city of Emeryville and the three policemen, reports that the policemen are now refusing to answer all questions connected with the incident on grounds of "self-incrimination" In a press release, Warden states that the three refused to even admit that they knew each other during the taking of sworn depositions in his office.

According to informed sources the "new evidence" which has caused a re-opening of the case is a police lab report which proves conclusively that young Tyrone never handled or fired a gun prior to his death. The report, forwarded to the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., directly contradicts the police story that Tyrone fired a gun at them first. Stripped of their lie, the police are now obviously scared of the possible criminal indictments against them and refuse to talk.

The grand jury decision to re-open the case follows a literal

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New York City postal workers after recent demonstration demanding Vietnam Veterans and substitute clerks be upgraded.

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ARMY OFFERS MISSILE BASE AS SITE FOR VIOLENCE CENTER

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Congressman Ron Dellums disclosed last week at a community meeting here that consideration had been given to the idea of establishing part of the much opposed Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence at UCLA on a top secret Nike missile base in the Santa Monica hills.

The information was received by Rep. Dellums in the form of a letter written in 1973, to a state official by Dr. "Jolly" West, head of the Violence Center project at UCLA and leading proponent of its funding. The Congressman read the letter aloud to the assembled group of over 200 interested persons:

"I am in possession of confidential information to the effect that the Army is prepared to turn over Nike missile bases to state and local agencies for non-military purposes. They may look with favor on health-related applications. Such a Nike missile base is located in the Santa Monica mountains within a half mile drive to the neuro-psychiatric institute. It is accessible but relatively remote.

"The site is securely fenced and includes various buildings and improvements, making it suitable for prompt occupancy. If this site was made available to the neuro-psychological institute as a research facility, perhaps initially as an adjunct to the new Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence, we could put it to very good use. Comparative studies could be carried out there in an isolated but convenient location for experimental or model programs for the alteration of undesirable behavior. Such programs might include control of drugs, or alcohol abuse, modification of chronic anti-social or impulsive aggressiveness, etc.

"The site could also accommodate conferences or retreats for instruction of selected groups of mental health related professionals and others, i.e., law enforcement personnel, parole officers, special educators; for many of whom demonstration and participation both would be effective methods of instruction. My understanding is the direct request by the governor or another appropriate officer of the state to the Secretary of Defense or of course the President would be most likely to produce prompt results. Needless to say, I stand available to participate in any way that might be helpful."

Sincerely yours,
Lewis West, M.D.
Medical Director

Commenting further on the implications of the letter, Dellums said:



Scientists and corrupt governmental officials mistakenly believe that violence can be cut on and off.

"We have violence in this society, some of it is condoned and legitimized violence and some of it is illegitimate and uncondoned violence. We have the violence of war, the violence of pollution, the violence of our economics, the violence of racism, the violence of sexism and the violence of an insensitive and corrupt government.

And then, we, in some way, choose to decide that the way we prevent violent behavior is not to alter the values and priorities that created, legitimated and perpetuated violence in our society. And again we find an establishment-oriented, bureaucratic-oriented, maintenance man for the status quo orientated proposal rather than altering the values, the practices and priorities of a society that perpetuates violence.

"I think that these types of violence centers are dealing with symptoms and not basic causes. Those of us who live as oppressed people in the country understand the anguish and the anger and the frustration of crushed dreams and stomped on hopes, limited opportunities. We, out of our ignorance, in this nation and in this world, have established standards that ignorance has allowed us to maintain..."

"I think we've gone to an absurd conclusion with respect to allowing our ignorance to dictate our standards of humanity. I think that if we are going to begin to study the process of how we can prevent violence then we have to go to the values, we have to go to the mentality, go to the practices and go to the institutions that have been perpetuated and developed as a result of our violence.

"I am unequivocally opposed to the concept of this center, the mentality of this country that sees a need to spend millions and millions of dollars never dealing with the basic reason why we are violent to each other. We have evolved a society that has never spent any money teaching our young people how to live..."

"This center in my opinion is a sham, it is a bureaucratic, elitist, arrogant, dangerous, sinister response to a very serious problem." □

WHITE MAN CONFESSES BUT 2 BLACK MEN IMPRISONED

(Miami, Fla.) - Two Black men are incarcerated in Raiford State Prison for a crime confessed to by a White man.

Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee were sentenced to death in 1963 and charged with the murder, kidnap and robbery of two White service station attendants in Port St. Joe, Florida. Because of the Supreme Court decision abolishing the death penalty, they are now serving life sentences.

There has never been any material evidence introduced to support the state's charges. The entire case is based on the forced confessions of Pitts and Lee which were obtained as a result of severe beatings they suffered at the hands of law officials when first arrested. The prosecution's main witness is a Black woman who implicated Pitts and Lee through perjured testimony, given in fear of physical abuse from law officials.

These brothers continue to spend their lives behind bars even though a White man has confessed to the slaying and his



Brothers WILBERT LEE [above] and Freddie Pitts languish in jail while the white confessed murderer walks the street.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

INSIDE OUT

KEENE SERVES CITY BOSSES

(Winston-Salem, N.C.) In examining how Jack Keene runs the Winston-Salem Citizen's Participation Agency, you might think he's under the delusion that he's still in the Army. Keene, a twenty-year veteran of the armed forces, is head of the community involvement arm of the city's Model Cities Program.

Keene strives to make sure his staff members become involved in the community about as much as a boot-camp drill sergeant allows his troops to venture into the surrounding community. He restricts the activities of the community organizers of the agency, not allowing them the freedom to attend community meetings or play any type of active role in changing the conditions of the deeply impoverished Black community of Winston-Salem.

The Citizen Participation Agency has had the potential many times to begin achieving its purpose: helping to get the people in certain Model City target areas involved in the determination of priorities and spending for social programs, as well as getting citizens involved in local government. Keene has certainly kept this from occurring, much to the relief and pleasure of his bosses, the corrupt city officials.

He has driven away several progressive organizers who attempted to make the agency relevant to community needs. His efforts to hamstring Mrs. Lee Faye Mack, one of the city's most active political leaders, resulted in her resigning from the agency rather than submit to his backward commands.

Keene has constantly denied help to badly needed community programs. Last summer, Keene refused to allow his agency to sponsor a free lunch program for school children, forcing the community to deal with the problem themselves. He dictates his wishes to local neighborhood councils, completely ignoring their program suggestions and urgent cries for action.

WOODCUTTERS' STRIKE ENDS IN VICTORY

(Louisville, Kentucky) - The woodcutters' more than two month long strike against the giant paper companies of the Deep South has ended. The predominantly Black Gulfcoast Paperwood Association (GPA) which represents the woodcutters, considers the strike a victory, according to a letter received by THE BLACK PANTHER from the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a key GPA supporter.

The GPA has emerged from the strike bigger and stronger, it states. New local leadership has arisen and the union's organizing drive is in high gear. Support is being consolidated in older locals, and the organization is continuing its expansion into new territories, including the state of Florida for the first time.

The strike forced most of the wood dealers to grant raises, but the increases were not as great as the woodcutters demanded. The wood dealers are the paper industry's "middlemen". They hire cutters and supply wood to the paper companies.

A couple of larger wood dealers agreed to stop charging the cutters a severance tax and several agreed to pay their workers accident insurance. Some have signed written agreements. The key GPA demand of recognition from its major target, the paper companies, is still to be won.

Because the wet winter weather makes woodcutting impossible, the workers are still in great need of help. They have had little or no income for the past four months because the GPA is unable to pay strike benefits.

The GPA feels that it has only begun its fight against the paper

industry. It hopes to continue building a base of supporters who understand the conditions in the paper industry and the aims of the union's organizing efforts, and who will give long-range help.

The GPA's present goals include consolidation of its locals, expansion to gain control over a greater portion of the wood supply and the establishment of a strike fund with outside support and internal fund-raising. Although the established unions verbally supported the woodcutters during their latest strike, financial support was lacking.

The organization will also continue its court battle to win and defend the legal right of wood haulers to organize and strike. The legal case involves whether the woodcutters and haulers are employees of the wood dealers, thus having the right to unionize, or whether they are independent contractors without that right. □

THE NIXON "DOOMWATCH"



RICHARD NIXON

(New York, N.Y.) - The television networks and wire services have set in motion "The Nixon Doomwatch", in preparation for Nixon's sudden resignation or removal from office, *New York* magazine reported recently.

Newsrooms in New and Washington, D.C., feel the announcement will come in late January, or at least by early spring, the

magazine said. When it does, the media will be ready with video-tape highlights of Nixon's shameless and scandal-filled years and his political obituary, for use at a moment's notice.

The Ford Foundation is reportedly setting aside funds to finance live television coverage by the Public Broadcasting System of the impeachment proceedings.

Nixon has said that he will stay in office "as long as I'm in good health". When he was hospitalized for viral pneumonia last summer, it was reported that he had been coughing blood. Although Nixon's personal physician denied the report, *New York* says the source of the account was Nixon's own White House advisor General Alexander Haig.

The newspaper people are suggesting that Nixon's ill health is a sure sign that he won't remain in office too long.

trators and teachers here have devised from their past experiences in education and teaching and are the methods that work best. □

YOUTH INSTITUTE SUCCEEDING WHERE PUBLIC SCHOOL FAILED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

B or C has to learn out of this book, because they know this "amount of something. It depends on what they want to learn and where their level of understanding is, because children, all people learn at different levels. We try to find that level of understanding and work with the children there, instead of trying to jam them into a certain kind of category; saying this child can

read the blue book or the red book but can't read the yellow book. We might find that they can read certain things out of all three.

We are trying to use many creative systems of learning — not necessarily the ones that are on the market or that the state might give to the public school system or the ones that people have told us about. Many times the methods that our adminis-

UNITED BLACK WORKERS FIGHT TO RE-HIRE FIRED ORGANIZER

(Newark, N.J.) - The United Black Workers (UBW) organization at the Mahwah, New Jersey, Ford Motor Plant is intensifying its fight to regain employment for UBW Central Staff member Wilbur Haddock. Brother Haddock was fired on March 19, 1973, while he was home sick.

An employee at the Mahwah "Plantation" since 1958, Brother Haddock has unceasingly worked to improve the wages and working conditions of the men in the giant plant. In the 1960s, he worked with the National Negro Labor Council, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In the late



United Black Workers Central Staff member WILBUR HADDOCK.

'60s, he became an active organizer for the UBW

Because of this long history of progressive labor struggle, Brother Haddock has been under constant pressures, harassment, surveillance and has been given numerous unjust penalties. In 1969, Brother Haddock was fired for allegedly being one of the organizers of an effective ten-day shutdown at the plant. Two other brothers were also fired. Brothers Monroe Head, Joe Moran and Wilbur Haddock went before a review board, and the Ford Company was unable to prove its case against them, but on their return to work they were told their days were numbered.

Since then Brother Haddock was asked several times to resign and was given disciplinary actions that were in direct violation of Ford's contract with the United Auto Workers union. Brother Moran, unable to stand similar harassment, quit and took another job. Brother Head was again fired on another charge.

When Brother Haddock filed a grievance against the firing with his union, United Auto Workers, Local 906, it was mysteriously "lost". But when the United Black Workers filed suit with the Federal Labor Relations Board and the New Jersey State Civil Rights Commission the grievance was mysteriously "found" and the case was referred to arbitration.

The Central Staff of the UBW warns that Ford and U.A.W. officials, in collaboration, are stalling on the re-hiring of Brother Haddock until after the 1974 union elections in March, fearful of his victory. It urges friends and concerned persons to write to Robert Healy, Industrial Relations Dept., Ford Motor Company, Route 17, Mahwah, N.J. 07430 and Joseph Reilly, President, UAW local 1906, 156 Valley Road, Mahwah, New Jersey, 07430 demanding the immediate re-hiring of Brother Haddock.

MEDICAL COMPLAINT CENTER OPENS IN S.CALIF.

(Pacoima, Calif.) The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California has opened a medical complaint center in San Fernando Valley for people who feel they have not received proper medical care. Write ACLU Medical Complaint Center, P.O. Box 1901, Pacoima, 91331 or call (213) 899-6152, if you need help.

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BLACK JOURNALIST ARRESTED IN GERMANY DANGEROUS TO ALLIED POWERS

(West Berlin, Germany) - Calvin Williams, a Black journalist residing and working here, has been arrested by West Berlin police, apparently on the advice or insistence of U.S. Army intelligence in Germany. Williams, a member of the Foreign Press Union of West Berlin since 1970, is being held on a complaint that reads in part: "...responsible for the appearance of news articles which pose a danger to the allied powers."

In fact, the U.S. military command in Germany abruptly ended Brother Williams' press accreditation after he published a story stating that he had proof that murders carried out by the U.S. Army were reported as accidents and that the Ku Klux Klan plays an active part in the inner circles of the U.S. Army in West Berlin.

In a letter to a friend in the Foreign Press Union, Williams wrote that the judge at his arraignment told him that his "arrest followed the wishes of the American defense force" who are increasingly annoyed over the circulation of his news reports.

Williams said in his letter that when West German police searched his house, they confiscated a radio, personal photographs, tapes of interviews and already published articles dealing with racism in Europe, America and South Africa.

The arrest of Williams was first mentioned in the West Berlin press on Monday, January 14, with the remark that "Williams was placed in Moabit (a West German prison complex) because of suspected espionage activity for the East German secret service."

But, according to Williams' letter, his lawyer has informed him that the original charge has been dropped and the charge now reads that he is being held for being responsible for articles posing a "danger to the allied powers"

When the U.S. command earlier took away Williams' accreditation it gave as the official reason that Williams resided in East Berlin. But, in fact, Williams had moved long before from East to West Berlin with his wife and child. □

**REGISTER
TO
VOTE**



Thousands of California prisoners suffer under the CDC's lockdown.

DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST CALIFORNIA PRISON LOCK-DOWN

(Sacramento, Calif.) - About 25 people participated in a demonstration in front of the California Department of Corrections (CDC) at noon on Thursday, January 3 in a protest against the statewide lock-down of prisons in California. Participants in the demonstration included representatives of the United Prisoners Union, the Prisoners Union, the Cannery Workers Committee, Chico, Teatro del Pueblo and the Sacramento Solidarity Committee, a progressive prison reform support group.

After about a half hour of picketing, leaflet distribution and chanting, the demonstrators moved inside the CDC building where they were able to confront Raymond Procnier, Director of the CDC, and two of his aides with grievances regarding this newest form of repression in the prisons. The CDC officials, as we expected, denied every charge made by the protestors. They denied that psychosurgery was being forced on prisoners in California and that the purpose of the proposed new "maxi" prisons and expanded adjustment centers is to isolate and repress political prisoners. Instead, they aired the well-worn story that the reason for the lock-downs was the increase in inmate "violence"

JESSICA MITFORD WINS

FINGERPRINT FIGHT

(San Jose, Calif.) - Jessica Mitford Treuhaft, author of the important book on prisons, *Kind and Usual Treatment*, has won her fight against compulsory fingerprinting as a condition of her employment on the faculty of San Jose State University in California. The judge found nothing in the state laws, rules or regulations requiring the fingerprinting of state university or college employees.

The officials stated that they did not see the prisons returning to their prelock-down condition in the very near future.

It appears that as a result of the public clamor and attention that is being focused on the California Prison System in response to the lock-downs, the CDC has decided to drop, at least for the time being, its plans to build two new maxi prisons in California. While it is clear that the idea of maxi security prisons is, in all likelihood, still half-alive, the fact that they have been blocked at this junction serves as encouragement. □

JUNIUS UNDERWOOD

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

In addition, the judge refused to allow Boo Red's defense attorneys the right to examine the presentence report which lists details of the defendant's life and his criminal record. As it turned out there were mistakes on this report including parts of someone else's record and the judge based the sentence on false information.

Junius Underwood was only seventeen years old and should have been sentenced under the Youth Corrections Act which is somewhat lenient in comparison to the much stiffer penalties handed out to adults. When a youthful defendant is sentenced under the standard penal laws instead of the Act the judge is required to hold an investigation to prove the defendant will not benefit from services provided under the Act. No such investigation was held in Boo Red's case.

There are clearly grounds for the review of this case in Appellate Court. Boo Red should be set free. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

HOUSING MUST BE LIVEABLE

(Sacramento, Calif.) - The state Supreme Court ruled recently that California landlords must maintain leased apartments or houses in "habitable condition". The unanimous decision reversed the old law of "let the buyer beware", which says that when a person rents a dwelling, he does so at his own risk and the landlord has no obligation to maintain or repair it. Under the new act, if the landlord refuses to bring the property up to liveable standards, the tenant may do the repair himself and deduct up to one month's rent.

BLACK STUDENTS' DEMANDS MET

(Piscataway, N.J.) - One hundred Black students at Rutgers' Livingston College here barricaded themselves inside the dean's office with at least seven administrators recently. They demanded a 24-hour-a-day health service at the college, an end to police identification checks of persons arriving on campus and the creation of a task force to look into their problems. The building take-over was orderly. The administration agreed to the demands.

MARYLAND STATE POLICE SUED

(Washington, D.C.) - In the first suit filed by the Justice Department against a state police force, the Department sued the Maryland police force for discriminating against Blacks and women by failing and refusing to recruit and hire them on an equal basis with White men. Maryland had about 1,200 state troopers, of whom 22 were Black and none female as of last February. There was one Black among 57 state trooper cadets.

AIMS LEADER WINS ELECTIONS

(Pine Ridge, S.D.) - Russell Means, an American Indian Movement leader of the Wounded Knee occupation, has finished first among 12 candidates in last week's primary election for president of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation's Tribal Council. Means faces a run-off on February 7th with the present president Dick Wilson, who opposed last year's Wounded Knee occupation. Means said the vote proves AIM has vast support on the reservation.

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH
ERIK H. ERIKSON
AND HUEY P. NEWTON

In this week's excerpt from In Search of Common Ground, the questioning continues of the seminar's two main participants, Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party and Erik H. Erikson, Professor Emeritus of Human Development and Psychiatry at Harvard University:

QUESTION: How are you going to manipulate it? In what direction?

NEWTON: Well, the people of the world are manipulating it already by struggling against reactionary intercommunalism. There are battlefronts through Asia, Africa, Latin America, and there is turmoil in Europe now too. People are dissatisfied with the state of the world today and they are resisting.

And all of these struggles are against the American ruling circle

in one way or another. Mozambique and Angola, for example, belong to Portugal, and liberation fronts are fighting in both places. But the Portuguese belong to NATO and Americans supply them with the weapons they use to enslave the Africans.

QUESTION: I think you may be a materialist, but it seems to me that you are not dealing with material conditions. You are dealing with a grand scheme which does not relate to me at all in a practical sense. I don't think anyone denies that there are dissatisfied people in the world trying to do something about their lot, but what we are interested in is getting more specific feedback about what is going on here with the Panthers in this country.

NEWTON: You say that you are concerned about the people in this country, but I would speculate that you are concerned about a particular group of people in this country. You keep saying, "Let's not talk about the Vietnamese, let's not talk about the people in Angola and Mozambique, let's not talk about Ericka and Bobby or any of the sufferings of the people. Let's talk about things that concern students at Yale." Is that it?

QUESTION: I don't want to avoid talking about Ericka and Bobby. I want to talk about Ericka and Bobby. That's the point.

NEWTON: Well, you can't talk about Ericka and Bobby without talking about the Vietnamese.

QUESTION: But we *have* talked about the Vietnamese. We have talked about intercommunalism and the world and other countries and the future and just about everything else. But we have had practically no confrontation with things that are going on here now.

NEWTON: All right, then. There's no court today, so I invite you to come to the trial on Monday. I invite you there because I refuse to talk about Bobby and Ericka here. I'll talk about them in the courtroom and outside on the Green, where our talk might mean something. But I won't indulge in your desire to merely talk in a classroom about the possibility of Bobby and Ericka going to the chair. If I feel guilty about anything, it is speaking here when they are in



HUEY P. NEWTON and ERIK H. ERIKSON spoke with Yale students for two days in New Haven in 1971.

the docks, you see. I always feel very uncomfortable outside of the bars — when I was released from death row, I left people there — and every time I have a happy day, every time I laugh, I feel somewhat guilty.

QUESTION: Well, in a sense you have said more about this whole thing in the last five seconds than you have in the whole two days before.

QUESTION: The question in a lot of our minds is not that there are in existence oppressed peoples. We can see that. What is bothering us has to do with Mr. Erikson's notion of pseudospecies. Take cultural groupings like youth or Blacks or Vietnamese or Chinese or North Koreans: each of them is a pseudospecies in Mr. Erikson's terms. Now one bond they all have in common is the fact that they are oppressed; they have a kind of communality for that very reason. But what happens when you attain a level where that common bond no longer exists? Will people be happy? Will no one want to become the new ruling class? I guess we have a hard time imagining some future when people no longer want to control one another.

NEWTON: We believe that the primary motivating drive of people is a will to power, a drive to free themselves from both external and internal controls. But we do not believe that this drive necessarily ends in the domination of one group of people by another: it is only because people lack knowledge and technology that their natural drive for control has been distorted into a desire for power over *people* rather than a desire for power over *things*.

So we can conceive of a time when people will not find it necessary to steal power from other people. Given a high level of technological knowledge, people will control the universe instead. They will make the stars go in the direction they desire, and then they can resolve their differences peacefully.

QUESTION: In that connection, do you think we can gain control of our own environment? Do you think it is too late for any of this to ever come about?

NEWTON: Too late for what to come about?

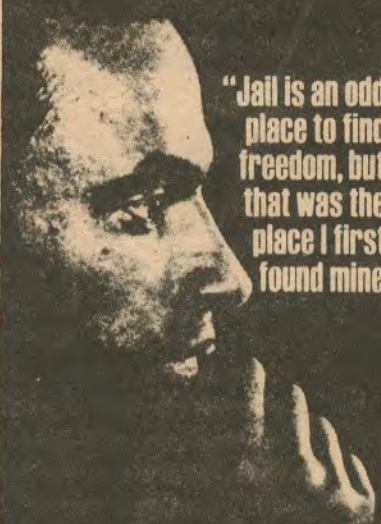
QUESTION: Well some people speak in very pessimistic terms about the whole environment of Earth. They say it will give out in a certain number of years because our resources have been so misused.

NEWTON: They may be correct. But when we talk about the capitalists' exploitation of nature — the kind of thing discussed is what is now called the ecology movement — we often forget that people themselves are a part of the natural world. The mass murder of Blacks in Africa during the slave trade, all the depredations the Europeans committed in South America and the Caribbean, the genocide committed by Nazi Europe against the Jews, the Slavs, the Gypsies, and, of course, against all people of color, are probably the greatest examples of the exploitation of nature by the capitalists. You know the greatest ecological crime being committed right now? The bombing of Vietnam. And we think that until the ecology movement starts recognizing these facts, it will remain largely irrelevant to the majority of the people in the world.

People have always struggled against nature, and it is impossible for us who are struggling for the necessities of life, who have to set up our own survival programs, to talk about the struggle ending. The difference between us and the capitalists, though, is that we want a rational relationship with nature. We know that the capitalists have put us in a situation where nature cannot support us; and because we have not yet discovered the source of life, we cannot support nature either. So our struggle is twofold: we struggle to survive and gain power over our environment, and we struggle to have a rational relationship with that environment. Like I've said, we are a part of nature ourselves, so we think the difficulties we have with the environment are all in the family, you might say, and can be solved without hostility. The capitalists are not part of that family. They are madmen and will destroy nature as well as us, so our struggle to survive and gain a rational relationship with the natural world is first directed toward getting rid of these madmen.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the place I first found mine"

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause célèbre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography "in a most moving sense is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s." —Publishers Weekly

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die For The People. \$1.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Intercommunal News



Wreckage of a helicopter shot down by FRELIMO is carried away by militants.

MOZAMBIQUE FREEDOM FIGHTERS ATTACK RAILWAYS

[In last week's issue *THE BLACK PANTHER* carried a short bit on a FRELIMO attack on a rail link in Mozambique. Since that issue we have received more information of that attack which we print below.]

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - Freedom fighters of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) have launched their first attacks on the key railways which link the Indian Ocean port of Beira to Umtali and Salisbury in Zimbabwe.

The attacks, revealed by news agency reports in Salisbury, took place on New Year's Eve and constitute a serious setback to the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique and the Smith regime in Salisbury. The railway is an important sanctions-busting route for (Ian) Smith.

Reuters news agency (London) said that Umtali residents reported they were taken back to the town by lorry after the Umtali-Beira mail and passenger train in which they were traveling was derailed by a mine. Then a breakdown train was machine-gunned by freedom fighters and a Portuguese army captain was killed.

The rail link is in Manica e Sofala Province, where FRELIMO opened up a war front in July, 1972. Reports from the front over the past year have made it clear that the guerrillas have fanned out over a large area of the province, the biggest in Mozambique.

For some months observers have anticipated attacks on the railway, but the Portuguese made

determined efforts to stem FRELIMO advances and deployed large troop concentrations in the area. If pressure on the line can be sustained, writes the *Tanzanian Daily News*, Ian Smith (settler Premier of rebel Rhodesia) may find his international trade seriously disrupted.

Reports from Lourenco Marques, colonial capital of Mozambique, said that also on New Year's Eve a train was derailed by a mine in Tete Province, near the Malawi borders. This is also a key railway line used to carry heavy equipment to the Cabora Bassa Dam project. It has been attacked many times by FRELIMO guerrillas.

THIRD DERAILMENT

A third derailment about which information is sketchy, took place also on New Year's Eve, on the Limpopo line from Malvernia on the Zimbabwe border to Lourenco Marques. *Reuter* reports said only that a goods train had been derailed and that officials in Lisbon had "no comment".

The incident must have taken place in either Gaza Province or Lourenco Marques Province, both of which are well to the south of FRELIMO's current military operations. A spokesman for FRELIMO here said the question of whether this third derailment was the result of mining by FRELIMO guerrillas would have to remain open until information was received from the south.

FRELIMO does have a political network even in the areas of Mozambique where the armed struggle has not yet begun. So it is probable that the train was derailed by freedom fighters of FRELIMO. □

10,000 BLACK S.AFRICAN WORKERS STRIKE

(Durban, South Africa) - Less than a year after 30,000 striking African workers brought this industrial center to a standstill, 10,000 African textile workers have gone on strike against eleven mills over the granting of raises to recently hired workers, but not to those with long service.

Last week police arrested 250 of the striking workers. Although there were no reports of injuries or clashes, information contained in a *Reuters* (London) report does not indicate the circumstances of the arrest of the workers.

Following the arrest, a Zulu leader headed a march of 5,000 strikers to a cotton mill and reportedly negotiated a new wage agreement providing raises for all employees at five of the eleven struck factories. Most of the strikers were Zulus from the Kwazulu African "homeland".

Reuters reports that the Zulu official, Barney Dladla, the Minister of Community Affairs in the Kwazulu "homeland", spent more than three hours with the management of the Frame textile group which owns five of the eleven mills. It was not clear, however, if the accord he negotiated would be accepted.

The long column of men and women who followed Mr. Dladla through the rainy streets of Durban's industrial area waited quietly outside, watched by a large police contingent.

Mr. Dladla was understood to have won assurances from the police that they would negotiate with the Attorney General's office for only token fines for the workers who were arrested.

South African law forbids strikes and does not recognize the existence of African trade unions or associations of workers. Mr. Dladla is reported as saying that he had asked the White government and the employers' associations to recognize Black trade unions. □

SAIGON RELEASES U.S. MURDERESS

(Saigon, S. Vietnam) - Saigon police have released an American woman after the U.S. embassy guaranteed she would stay in Vietnam "until a friendly solution is reached" in the death of a striking worker. The woman killed the worker and wounded several others when she drove her car through a group of Vietnamese demonstrators staging a sit-in.

Africa In Focus

NAMIBIA

One hundred and fifty men, women and children were arrested January 13, by South African police in Namibia (South-West Africa). Those arrested had been on their way to a meeting organized by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the liberation movement of Namibia. Although some of those arrested were released, the police are still holding 127 people according to the territory's police chief, Wally Louw. The Africans were stopped at a road blockade set up by police somewhere between the capital city of Windhoek and Rehoboth where the SWAPO meeting was to have taken place. According to police, the people were arrested for either not carrying compulsory identity cards or refusing to show them to the police.

SOUTH AFRICA

The World Council of Churches, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, recently demanded that the Common Market countries ban White emigration to South Africa. "White migration to Southern Africa is an integral part of a planned strategy to maintain and consolidate racist and colonial regimes", a council commission declared. It called for an international convention against the movement of White people to South Africa which, it said, deprives African workers of better jobs.

SOUTH AFRICA

Because of a shortage of White hospital personnel in the exclusively White private hospitals of Durban, South Africa, Black nurses have recently been hired, a measure previously unheard of in this apartheid-based, White-ruled European colony. The provincial administration of Natal (the mountainous region along the eastern coast between Swaziland and Lesotho), which announced the decision, specified that at least one half of the hospital personnel involved must in all cases be White.

ANGOLA

Oil companies operating in Trinidad and Tobago in the Caribbean have been ordered by the government there to halt all oil shipments to Portuguese-ruled Angola. The government will also present a bill to Parliament to extend the current ban on trade with Rhodesia and South Africa to Portugal, Angola and Mozambique. This action is taken in support of the liberation movements of the African peoples engaged in military confrontation with Portuguese troops in these territories.

POLYNESIAN PANTHERS SERVE MAORI YOUTH

(Auckland, New Zealand) - More than 100 Maori children attended a Christmas party arranged for them by the Polynesian Panther Party of New Zealand, at the Maori Community Center here on December 22, last. (The Maori people are the original inhabitants of New Zealand and are one of the family of Polynesian peoples of the South Pacific.)

The children enjoyed a Christmas dinner and received bags of Christmas gifts which had been donated to the Panthers by various individuals and firms here in Auckland.

The Christmas party was part of a wide scale program for Maori children launched by the Polynesian Panther Party. In Dunedin, on South Island, the PPP instigated the establishment of a homework center for all primary, intermediate and secondary school students.

The aims of the homework center, according to PPP Central Co-ordinator Ms. Mere Meanata, are to assist school students with their homework problems and, more importantly, to counter the disadvantages that face Polynesian school students in a European culture-based education system.

"There is little incentive provided for Polynesian children to stay inside the school system once they reach leaving age", said Ms. Meanata in an interview appearing in the newly published Maori newspaper, *Rongo*. "This is obviously reflected in the high percentage who leave with no qualifications", she said.

A statement appearing in the paper on the policies and activities of the Polynesian Panther Party declares: "Polynesians only have one-eighth of the chance that Europeans have of making it to higher levels of education. Eighty percent of Polynesian children drop out of school before ever reaching the 5th form, and are therefore forced into the unskilled lower income bracket jobs.



"Many Polynesians have been refused employment because of the color of their skin. Polynesian people are the worst affected by greedy, White racist landlords, who get fat and rich through their exploitation of Polynesians seeking homes.

"To every White who is arrested and appears before the Courts there are four Polynesians. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that in all the penal institutions throughout New Zealand, eighty percent of the inmates are Polynesian. The same applies to the children in Welfare Homes.

The statement continues: "The Polynesian Panther Party is dedicated to combatting all these injustices which stem from a society dominated by Whites and which therefore does not cater to
CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



Polynesian youths, like those above, now have a community service organization to help serve their needs, the Polynesian Panther Party.

U.S. TOURISM EXPLOITS PUERTO RICO

When the Cuban revolution drove American tourism from Cuba in 1959, it went to Puerto Rico, where it thrives today. In the article reprinted below from the Cuban newspaper, *Gramma*, Juana Carrasco describes the Puerto Rican government's plan to further transform this U. S. colony into a gamblers' paradise, where organized crime and the oppression of the people will flourish.

Tourism is a highly profitable industry in practically all parts of the world, but so far as the underdeveloped countries are concerned, tourism is like a band-aid used to cover up a deep wound eating away at these nations, since it gives an unreal picture of well-being, which is only real for the tourist — almost always Yankee — while, blinded by glitter and luxury, the country's industries fail to develop, and yet this development is really the only way of bridging the gap separating underdeveloped from highly developed countries.

What does tourism mean for Puerto Rico? According to the colonial government which backs it, tourism means employment, a plentiful supply of money, the building of beautiful and lavish hotels and having everyone get to know the island.

JOBS

Of course, tourism could provide jobs such as waiters, door-men, dishwashers, chauffeurs, shoe-shine boys and a manager here and there. But this kind of tourism also gives jobs to drug dealers, professional gamblers and prostitutes, since U.S. tourism and corruption always go hand in hand.

Lots of profits...but for whom? In Puerto Rico the tourist industry — as all other branches of the economy — is really controlled by the large Yankee monopolies. Let's not forget, Puerto Rico is a colony.

This profitable business is in the hands of several hotel corporation and airline companies which work in cahoots with each other. The island's most important hotels are Ponce's Intercontinental, joined to PAN AM; the Holiday Inns in Ponce and San Juan; the Caribe, Mayaguez and Dorado Hilton, which together with the San Geronimo belong to the Hilton hotel chain; and the Puerto Rico Sheraton of the International Telephone and Telegraph (IT&T) monopoly.

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*Price is per person based on double occupancy (subject to \$11.00 supplement Feb. 10-24, April 7-21) and includes GIT air fare (Monday departure) for groups of 15. We help you join the group. If group is not formed, higher fares apply. For weekend departure add \$9. Add \$3.00 for U.S. International Departure Tax. Nominal security charge.

The San Juan tourist hotels are located in the El Condado area, where, besides having taken over the best beaches for the leisure enjoyment of U.S. tourists and where Puerto Ricans can't even show their faces, the Yankees have opened up business concerns and offices, such as the First National Bank, the Grand Union, Hertz Co., F. W. Woolworth and Co., etc.

The Yankee take-over of the El Condado area has reached such large proportions that toward the end of the '60s Puerto Rican independentist armed organiza-

tions considered it a "war zone" and concentrated their revolutionary actions in this typically Yankee zone, making the multimillionaire companies lose about 25 million dollars.

The Yankee companies worried to such an extent that the colonial police forces were greatly reinforced in El Condado.

At present, Puerto Rico is considered a showcase for tourism development, just as Cuba had been in the past. All the vulgarity, vice and corruption of Yankee tourism were shipped to Puerto Rico when the Cuban Revolution drove them out of Cuba.

Organized crime, after being forced to leave Cuba in 1959, saw a new opportunity for action in Puerto Rico and the Bahamas. A report released by the Standard Research Institute said that in 1969 the increasing number of gambling houses in Puerto Rico attracted underworld characters from the United States and this in turn had increased the demand for prostitutes, who "entertained" important gamblers, many times at the instructions of hotel management or of hotel workers.

The report also linked one of the hotel owners with organized crime in the United States and called for strong measures to correct the situation before the scandal became greater.

No one paid any attention to this part of the report, and no one will. Gambling houses account for at least one-fourth the total income of the large hotels and in some cases account for as much as half the total income.

A tourism industry spending 247 million dollars had gambling profits estimated at 30 million.

The importance of the gambling houses is such that when annexationist millionaire Luis A. Ferre was governor of the island-colony, he was responsible for a profitable business swindle; he
CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

TANZANIA-ZAMBIA RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION AHEAD OF SCHEDULE

A special report to *The Christian Science Monitor* states that the Chinese-financed \$400 million Tanzania-Zambia Railway will be completed much ahead of schedule.

Construction work on the People's Republic of China's biggest-ever overseas aid project has progressed much faster than Western "experts" expected. Originally the target date for completion of the 1,150 mile railway line was the end of 1976. But the 60,000 strong labor force, which includes 35,000 Chinese technicians and laborers, has made what the report calls "remarkable progress."

Despite considerable doubt in Western circles about the feasibility of the project, the report states the work is two years ahead of target.

Six months ago President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda celebrated the crossing of their common border by the railway thus marking the halfway



Some of the 60,000 African and Chinese workers building the Tan-Zam railroad.



Zambia's President KENNETH KAUNDA [second from right] and President JULIUS NYERERE of Tanzania [approaching Kaunda, from left] during border-crossing ceremonies six months ago.

stage. The ceremony, which was witnessed by 20,000 people, took place at the border town of Tunduma.

Although the completed 590 miles of the line has taken nearly three years to reach Tunduma, the remainder is expected to be finished by the end of this year. This is because the most rugged country was in Tanzania. All twenty-two tunnels of the line are on the Tanzania side of the line.

Financing for the project is from an interest-free loan of \$400 million with repayment spread over 30 years from 1983. Such terms are unprecedented for a developing country and explain, in part, at least, why Tanzania and Zambia chose the People's China offer against offers made by Western firms whose terms were not nearly so favorable to Tanzania and Zambia.

Chinese experts and laborers have established a reputation for zeal, dedication and hard work. They work on the massive projects from the break of dawn

until sunset without any interruption. Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda make no secret of their admiration for the Chinese and their work on this project.

Replying to criticism from racist South African Prime Minister Vorster, Zambian President Kaunda has said: "Who is Vorster to tell us that because our Chinese brothers are building the railway, we are going Communist?"

Initially the railway is designed to handle 2 million tons of goods in each direction, annually, with nine trains running each way daily. Eventually, the capacity of the Tan-Zam Railway will be 3.5 million tons of goods each way annually, with 17 trains running daily in each direction.

The railway will open landlocked Zambia to the Indian Ocean port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and end dependence of Zambia on the transport of its goods through Portuguese-ruled Mozambique and on Mozambique seaports. □

F.R.E.L.I.M.O. PRESIDENT

HONORED IN SOMALIA

(Mogadishu, Somalia) - Samora Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) was accorded all the honors normally given to a visiting Head of State, by the Somalia government on a recent visit to this country.

This was the first time that Somalia accorded a liberation movement leader such an honor. A 21-gun salute was tendered in honor of Mr. Machel's arrival, and Mr. Machel was met at Mogadishu Airport by the Somali Vice-President, Major General Mohamed Ali Samanter.

Mr. Machel, who in recent months has been traveling extensively by foot in Mozambique's Tete and Cabo Delgado provinces, held talks with Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre and other Somali government leaders during his four-day stay. He was accompanied by four FRELIMO militants. □

DEATH SENTENCE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

The woman involved was drunk, according to two policemen who saw her afterwards and according to the three defendants in the case. They say she offered herself to them when they found her on a quiet road, hitchhiking, at midnight on August 4, 1973. She claims that she was sober and was forcibly raped. Around this issue rests the whole case.

A number of crimes, including burglary, carry a mandatory death sentence in North Carolina. There have been several rallies in Tarboro and Raleigh as a result of this case, protesting the reinstatement of capital punishment.

To counter the demonstrations, prosecuting attorney Roy Holdford said that civil rights groups protest only when a Black man is "sent away for a crime against Whites... These civil rights groups go from one district to another starting trouble", he said. □

JOHNNY SPAIN ON THE QUASHED INDICTMENTS

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Prior to this ruling, since August 21, 1971, up to January 17, 1974, the reason they had stated for keeping us Six on the first floor in the Adjustment Center was that we were under indictment. From August 21 to October 1 we weren't coming out of the cells. Since October 1, when we were indicted, until the dismissal of it yesterday, the main reason for keeping us in the Adjustment Center is that we are to be held in the Adjustment Center (this is what they are telling us) pending criminal proceedings in Marin County. Now there are no more criminal proceedings, I can see no reason for keeping any one of us here in the AC; if that was the only reason

they were keeping us in AC — pending the outcome of criminal indictment. I am going to put in a request to go to the mainline tomorrow and I think all five of us have that coming as it has worked out.

From October '71 to January '74 we were being systematically excluded from any program. You couldn't do anything but stay in your cell because you were under indictment. I know that they're crazy but that was a pretty far-out reason for keeping us there and I wonder what they are going to do now since there is no indictment. Right at this time I should be able to go to the mainline or I could go to the Board (California Adult Authority) in April because I'm eligible for parole in April. □



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YOU KNOW MOMS—

distress — hardship — the common experience of us, the forgotten you know moms, the pains that the original butchers (humanity's enemies) ushered our way, or to be exact, chained us to, will one day cease to be—
 you know moms, proud mothers won't have to be bent to the floor with work for the leisure of some simple thief—
 --you know moms, Black folks won't have to wait 'till welfare day to eat or to get some new shoes-- won't have to beg for medicine, our dues are 400 years in coming-- you know moms, they've been trying to teach us to be confused; disgusted with ourselves--racists laugh while we learn how not to think!
 they're going to stop laughing, stop playing games with our lives you know moms-- there's a method moms; comrade huey, comrade bobby, all my comrades are leading the way-- we'll see "eden" yet moms, or plant seeds so that our hopes, dreams — so that the beauty of the human spirit is enshrined and humankind may survive...
 we wish you well

ANONYMOUS



YOUTH BAND ROCKS AUDIENCE AT BENEFIT

(Berkeley, Calif.) - The astonishingly professional sounding Intercommunal Youth Band (pictured above), made up of children from 6 to 14 years of age, rocked about 2,000 people to their feet at Pauley Ballroom in Berkeley during a benefit show for the Educational Opportunities Corporation (EOC) recently.

Under the direction of noted musician Charles Moffett, the spectacular 30-piece band pleased the audience with excellent renditions of "Shaft", "Sunny", "Watermelon Man" and other popular tunes. The performance was to raise funds for the many community programs housed in the Community Learning Center, sponsored by EOC.

Also entertaining at the affair were the popular jazz-rock musicians Jerry Garcia and Merle Sanders. In addition, The Messiah, a rock group extremely well-known in the Bay Area, lent its superb talent to help make the benefit a tremendous success. The people enjoyed it immensely and the community benefited by the boost the show gave to the Learning Center programs. □

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U.S. TOURISM EXPLOITS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

did away with the 10-year freeze on gambling-house permits with the purpose of setting up a casino at the Borinquen Hotel (a property of the Ferre family, which also owns valuable stock in the Intercontinental Hotel) and then reinstated the 10-year freeze.

A recent article in *The New York Times*, which elaborated on Puerto Rico's "touristic" beauty spots, said, among other things, that gambling houses aren't the only places where you can lose money...you can bet at cock fights in the Cock Fighting Arena at Isla Verde Beach...you can play the weekly lottery and win up to 600,000 dollars...you can play roulette, dice and blackjack, but there are no one-arm bandits...

And these "bandits" are precisely the ones which Teodoro Moscoso, (Head of Puerto Rico's "Economic Development Association", the two-arm bandit), wants to set up in Puerto Rico's hotels to add the finishing touches to U.S. cultural penetration in Puerto Rico, brought about by a tourism which drags along prostitution, gambling and a drug - dealing business worth about 200 million dollars.

For Moscoso this is the "only" alternative: setting up slot machines. The day isn't far off when the people of Puerto Rico will show him the true alternative.

Published: 12/19/73

□□□□

POLYNESIAN PANTHERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

the welfare of the Polynesian people.

"The PPP community programs include a Community Education Center to help young Polynesian students in their school work and to give them incentive to further study. A full-time Community Worker is also employed to investigate the problems faced by Polynesians in housing, employment, education and both penal and mental institutions.

"PPP has printed a Legal Aid Booklet to help the Polynesian people with the Law, and has organized visits to inmates in prisons as well as provided sports teams, debating teams and other social aid. The PPP also helps inmates released from prison to readapt to normal life."

The statement concludes: "The Polynesian Panther Party exists because we feel and experience racism and oppression in this society, in its institutions and in its control over Polynesian people. We will exist until the Polynesian people can determine their own destiny." □

THOMAS WANSLEY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Many Black leaders in Virginia spoke bitterly of Holton, who had been considered liberal and had won a reputation for advancing the cause of racial justice, partly by his appointment of Blacks to positions in government.

"Linwood Holton has given us velvet racism in Virginia", said Garnell Stamps. "He appointed Blacks to powerless positions, but he would not act on a crucial issue."

Stamps also protested the heavy surveillance of peaceful demonstrators by Richmond police, state police and national Guardsmen at the inauguration.

IMPORTANT

SCEF and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression called the continuing struggle to free Wansley more important now than ever because of the apparent revival of the use of false rape charges against Black men in the South.

They pointed to the recent case of James Carrington in Virginia, and also to three young Black men in Tarboro, N.C., recently sentenced to death.

"Traditionally", the national organizations said, "the charge of rape against Black men has been used in the South as a way of keeping Black and White people divided. It is a weapon to terrorize the Black community—while at the same time stirring anti-Black hysteria in the White community.


"Its increasing use has always in the past marked the beginning of a new period of repression... We can stop history from repeating itself with an increasing fight-back now." □

TYRONE GUYTON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

torrent of outraged letters to both the grand jury foreman and to the local district attorney to prosecute the policemen involved. Originally, in mid-December, the grand jury refused to indict the policemen despite an abundance of eyewitness testimony of outright police murder. Just days before the vote to re-open, the grand jury had again refused to reconsider their decision. D.A. Lowell Jensen has stubbornly continued to refuse to prosecute the policemen without the indictment.

The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton also announced plans for a rally, to be held some time in February, in order to bring even more public pressure to bear on the case. A Tyrone Guyton Foundation, to financially aid the family as well as other victims of police attack, is being established, the committee reports. □



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Mrs. MATTIE SHEPHERD, mother of Tyrone Guyton.

WHITE MAN CONFESSES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

mistress has corroborated his voluntary confession.

The Pitts-Lee Defense Committee in Miami, Florida, is conducting a letter writing campaign to government officials this month, demanding that the brothers be immediately paroled in the custody of the Florida Parole and Probation Commission if necessary, and that a neutral site be granted for a new trial.

Oral hearings on the appeal for Pitts and Lee began on January 9 in Tallahassee. The committee plans to enter the many letters of support as cause for probation. □

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PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children a free nourishing hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

DAVID HILLIARD PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes made at the David Hilliard Free Shoe Factory to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

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DAVID HILLIARD PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides Legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

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Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT [S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY POSITION PAPER ON THE ELIMINATION OF THE OFFICES OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

INTRODUCTION

A conspiratorial coup d'etat intended to secure for Richard M. Nixon the divine right of kings is being revealed through the hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. This conspiracy under mines our country's republican form of government, jeopardizes our country's potential for good in the world and constitutes a serious threat to peace and progress for all humankind.

The most dangerous aspect of this conspiracy is the wide-scale application of the principle of Executive Privilege as a means toward consolidation of power in the hands of the Presidency. For the American people the result has been blatant violations of fundamental democratic rights, constant increases in the cost of living side by side with massive increases in profits for the corporations, nationwide reversals of limited gains for oppressed ethnic and minority Americans, a wholesale breakdown in services and a dehumanized and spiritless society.

The expansion and consolidation of U.S. economic, political and military force and power abroad has made the President of the United States more powerful than any king or tyrant in history. It has tricked the American people into becoming co-conspirators with the U.S. empire builders and compelled us to pay the bill through exorbitant taxation.

Using the flower of our youth as cannon fodder, the U.S. empire builders have waged undeclared and secret wars of military aggression against peoples of the world struggling for self-determination; they have waged cartel and monopoly wars of economic aggression against the demands of the peoples of the world for economic independence; they have waged diplomatic wars against the United

THE PROPOSAL

WE, THEREFORE, CALL FOR THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THE OFFICES OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE RETURN OF ALL THE POWERS USURPED BY THESE OFFICES TO THE DULY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE PEOPLE, THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Radical restructuring in the Executive Branch of Government, which reasserts and makes manifest the power of the people consistent with the intent of the Preamble to the American Constitution and its Bill of Rights is the only path to the realization of the American Dream.



WE THE PEOPLE... must, as did the American founding fathers, cast off an unrepresentative power controlling us without our consent.

Reforms of the existing practices will not safeguard the American people and ideals for which we strive from the coup-makers and Watergaters of a later age. They will only induce complacency and delay the inevitable confrontation.

THE HISTORICAL ARGUMENT

Thomas Jefferson lived in a boarding house and walked over to his inauguration; Richard Nixon has dressed a palace guard in 19th century uniforms of royalty and has "Hail to the Chief" played each night at dinner. How did this regal mutation of "elected despots" as Jefferson called them, come about?

In 1776, the founding Fathers drew on some two thousand years of recorded Western history to explain their "right of revolution" to the world. Their sources: the Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian, Anglo-Saxon traditions.

The ideas of individual dignity, governmental accountability to the governed, equal justice under law — were time honored. What was new, unique and revolutionary was the concept—the "checks and balances" of power—of how to implement the rhetoric that all people have an equal right to pursue life, liberty and happiness. The framers of the American Revolution executed a stroke of genius: the Executive, though not a figurehead, was to be checked, systematically without violence, from becoming a king.

When King George III of England and his minister Lord North claimed the tyrannical vetoes and controls, that we today call "Executive Privilege", the great conservative Edmund Burke argued forcefully that it was not what some lawyer assured the King "he could do, but what humanity, reason and justice tell him he ought to do." So the Congress was empowered to represent the ever changing needs of the electorate and the Courts to protect the individual from the ambitions of the Executive.

Within a decade of the signing of the Declaration of Independence the counter-revolution had begun. Ruling forces tried to use the Constitution to disenfranchise the poor, the working people and, of course, the slaves. Radical and conservative forces fought back, after the army had put down a series of worker-farmer rebellions, and managed to attack the "Bill of Rights" as a series of amendments to the Constitution. But from that time on the Executive Branch has swollen steadily usurping power from the courts. The king-like Executive has pre-empted the decision-making process inherent in the original checks and balances plan. The Executive, byclaiming to represent "all of the people," gets around representing any of the popular interests and instead becomes, inevitably, the captive of special interests. The last several decades have revealed the complete emergence of the Royal Executive.

THE MORAL ARGUMENT

We have called to these shores those forsaken in their native lands, saying to each and everyone alike, this is your home: "...send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me..."



Strikers protesting against the phony energy crisis, which has resulted from an unholy alliance between the Nixon administration and giant oil corporations.

Nations' attempts at peace maker and world forum.

Watergate and its revelations have provided a dire warning to the American people: Act now to halt this conspiracy and create safeguards against further such conspiracies, or face the imminent imposition of a police state at home and the wrath and condemnation of the freedom-loving peoples of the world!



BLACK PANTHER PARTY POSITION PAPER PRESIDENT A



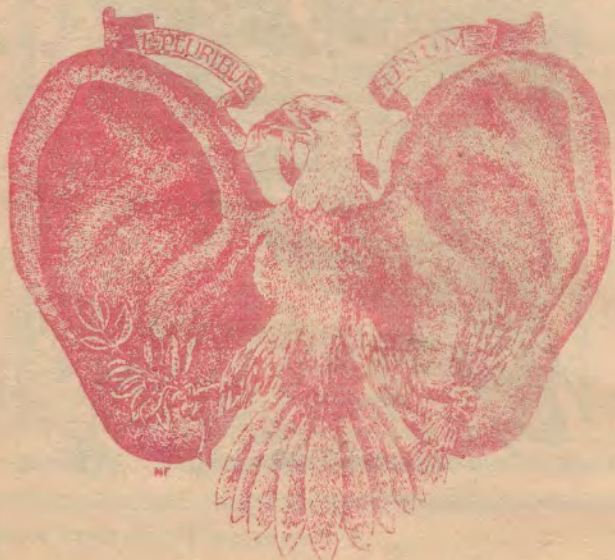
"[The founding principles] should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, safety."

Thomas Jefferson, 1807

It mattered not from what nation they came, nor of what faith, nor of what sex or physical capability, America reached out her arms and said, "Come, ye disconsolate", no one here shall disdain you or rule over your life. Yes, America held a dream.

Through the years, America insisted her experiment was workable, her dream was feasible. We, wretched of the earth collected on these shores, could iron out the rough points if we clung to the idea of democracy: government by the people, of the people, for the people — all the people! No one group could come here and dictate over another: neither Jew over Gentile, nor Irish over Italian, nor White over Black, nor man over woman. And, in our effort we not only established our laws but also created the method, the form of government by which our democratic ideals would be carried out to reflect our ethic: "...one nation, under God...with liberty and justice for all."

The Dream became twisted and distorted: with our Blacks herded into ghettos; and Native Americans onto wretched reservations; and Mexicans and Puerto Ricans shuffled into barrios; and poor whites forgotten among the "purple mountains' majesty"; and Jews forced to deny their heritage; and Irish and Italian and Japanese and Chinese and all the others suffering their bitter spot upon the



stage. Nevertheless, we still clung and tried to wrest the sweet from the bitter; and, while each one, in a separate cry proclaimed "nobody knows the trouble...", each one began to try and understand the other.

With all of it we moulded a tradition: the realization of our dream. For with all our differences we seemed and seem to agree about the character of America: from the barrios and the ghettos, from the Southern mountains to the Northern plains, from the universities to the streets, from the industrial plants and factories, from all corners, the voice of America screamed and insisted, "I have a right to live! That's what America means!"

Ours, then, has become a sacred task. It is the collective task of the American people and future generations of Americans, to shape and hone and refine this dream 'til it be real. It is not the charge of one part of us, but of the whole; not of one race, but of many; not of one party, but of all; not of one man, but of all of us. We duly elect our representatives to the Congress so the voices of America can be heard, and our will be done.

We did not/do not ask one man to preside over our affairs, to shape our dream, but select many among us to perform the task. Who, then, is this President who wields a greater power than us all? Who is this man who dares challenge the very fibre of our dream, to provide a government ruled by the governed? What privilege does this President carry that he dares to rule us, the people, as though by divine right? What monster have we created,



"The Spirit of '76"

who by turning the phrase "Divine Right" to "Executive Privilege" shall destroy a tradition which began in opposition to absolute despotism?

We could not have said that the life of every human being is important, to have allowed one man to commit murder sanctioned by "Executive Privilege". We did not mean to say that the property of every person must be

"It is much easier to restrain liberty from running into licentiousness than POWER from swelling into tyranny and oppression."

John Quincy, 1774



'But, congressman, wouldn't remove

respected, to then allow one man to burglarize because of "executive privilege" We did not mean that we would take our personal income as a tax to be centralized in the general public interest, only to have it used for the personal pleasure of one man, because of his "executive privilege".

We, here and now, in this historic spot, have the opportunity to make such a change, for these are times to which witness can be born as to the ultimate evils of the presidency. Let us be unafraid to make change, change that neither defies tradition nor violates the law, but serves to benefit posterity in its wisdom. Let us be unafraid to meet the challenge laid before us by our founders, so long ago, to have such government that derives its "just powers from the consent of the governed"

THE LEGAL ARGUMENT

It is not the intention here to interpret the Constitution of the United States of America, but to argue, in the Constitution's own words, that the intent of the Constitution regarding the President of the United States was to allow such limited power to that office as to make such a person, in effect, no more than a figure-head. The intent of the Constitution is to guarantee a republican form of government, administered by the people, for the people and through a representative Congress of the people. Further, the Constitution allows for the abolition and creation of laws as the Congress deems necessary to provide flexibility in government to constantly serve the interests of the people in the historic course of human events and the growth and development of the country.

It cannot be argued that the U.S. Constitution does not provide for a President, for that is self-evident. However, the Constitution clearly does not allow the President powers that Congress does not deem necessary and proper. With this general theory in mind, the argument can be extended to our present historic place, which has revealed, most recently, in the Watergate affair, the evils and potentially greater evils of the presidency. The events of these times strongly suggest the necessity of a Congressional act, supportive of Constitutional intent, that could transform the executive authority and incumbent duties

ON THE ELIMINATION OF THE OFFICES OF AND VICE-PRESIDENT



of the skipper be somewhat demoralizing?"

out of the hands of one man, without violating but rather enforcing the supreme law of the land:

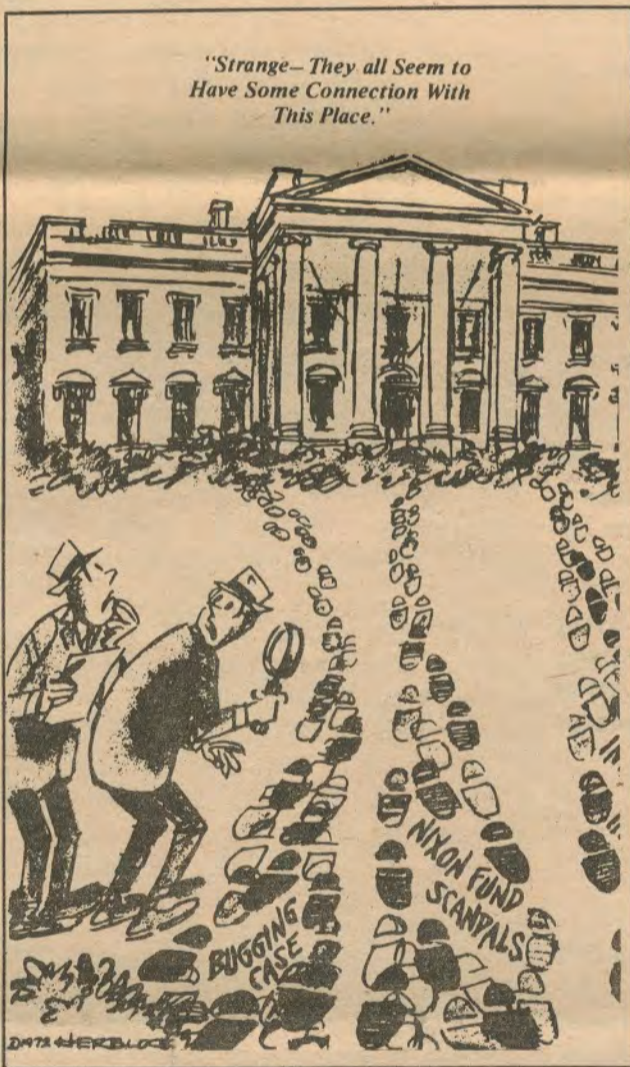
1. The Constitution of the United States of America states, in Article 1, Section 8, that Congress shall have power to: "...make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

2. The Constitution designates few powers to the President, and none without some form of Congressional consent. The first power of the President as outlined in the Constitution, under Article II, Section 2, provides that the President "...shall be commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States...". However, Article 1, Section 8 grants the power to Congress only "To raise and support armies... To provide and maintain a navy", and "To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States..."

3. The Constitution does not allow the President the power to administer any action carrying the weight of a policy decision under any such aegis as "executive privilege". The very offices of the executive department are created by Congress, the heads of which are only nominated by the President: Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution says that the President "...shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and

all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law..."

4. Besides outlining the limited powers of the President, the Constitution further provides safeguards against abuse of presidential authority. For example, not only is the President subject to impeachment from office, but is also subject to punishment under the law while in office for violation of the law of the land and is not immune to such, as is applicable to any other citizen of the United States. Not only does Congress have the power to impeach a President, but, also the power to diminish or increase its own powers or the powers of the executive department or of any other department or branch of the government, which changes in law shall become the Supreme Law of the Land: (Article VI) "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution on laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."



IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL

SHORT RANGE GOALS:

1. Whereas the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities has been given the task of formulating legislation for the Congress that will prevent or discourage the repetition of those or similar acts as revealed to have been committed during the 1972 presidential election campaign, it is therefore fitting and proper that the Senate Select Committee consider among others the above proposal.

Consequently, the campaign will be launched with the calling of a dramatic press conference on the steps of the Senate Office Building in Washington, D.C., during the course of the hearings, by a small group of distinguished Americans led by Huey P. Newton, to submit our proposal to the Senate Select Committee.

2. The widest possible distribution and promotion of the Position Paper to all segments and groupings of the American people and the encouragement of the widest possible discussion and debate of the proposal from community to national level.

3. The early creation of non-partisan, community bodies and ad hoc committees of organizations, trade unions and associations as advocates of the proposal. The encouragement of co-sponsorship of the proposal by community organizations, trade unions, churches and political parties locally, regionally and nationally.

LONG RANGE GOALS:

1. The creation of regional coordinating committees to provide guidance and help to local and community activities around the proposal.

2. The calling of a non-partisan, National Organizing Convention for the purpose of organizing national action on the proposal, with the aim of its adoption as a plank in the platforms of all political parties.

3. A massive, national action in Washington, D.C., for implementation of the proposal and the creation of an Executive of administrative experts answerable to the people through its elected representatives in the Congress of the United States of America.



"Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration provoke them to cry out and complain; and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions."

Andrew Hamilton, 1735

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT THE POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and 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 AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

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 were 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 American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the 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 you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illness, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry its program of oppression against Black people,

other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces, and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

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 a way 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.





WE ARE SOLDIERS IN THE ARMY.
WE HAVE TO FIGHT ALTHOUGH WE HAVE TO DIE.
WE HAVE TO HOLD UP THE BLOOD STAINED BANNER
WE HAVE TO HOLD IT UP UNTIL WE DIE.

MY MOTHER WAS A SOLDIER.
SHE HAD IN HER HANDS THE FREEDOM PLOW
AND WHEN SHE GOT OLD AND COULDN'T FIGHT
ANYMORE SHE SAID I'M GONNA FIGHT ANYHOW.

MY FATHER WAS A SOLDIER.
HE HAD IN HIS HANDS THE FREEDOM PLOW
AND WHEN HE GOT OLD AND COULDN'T FIGHT
ANYMORE HE SAID I'M GONNA FIGHT ANYHOW.

EMORY