

# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

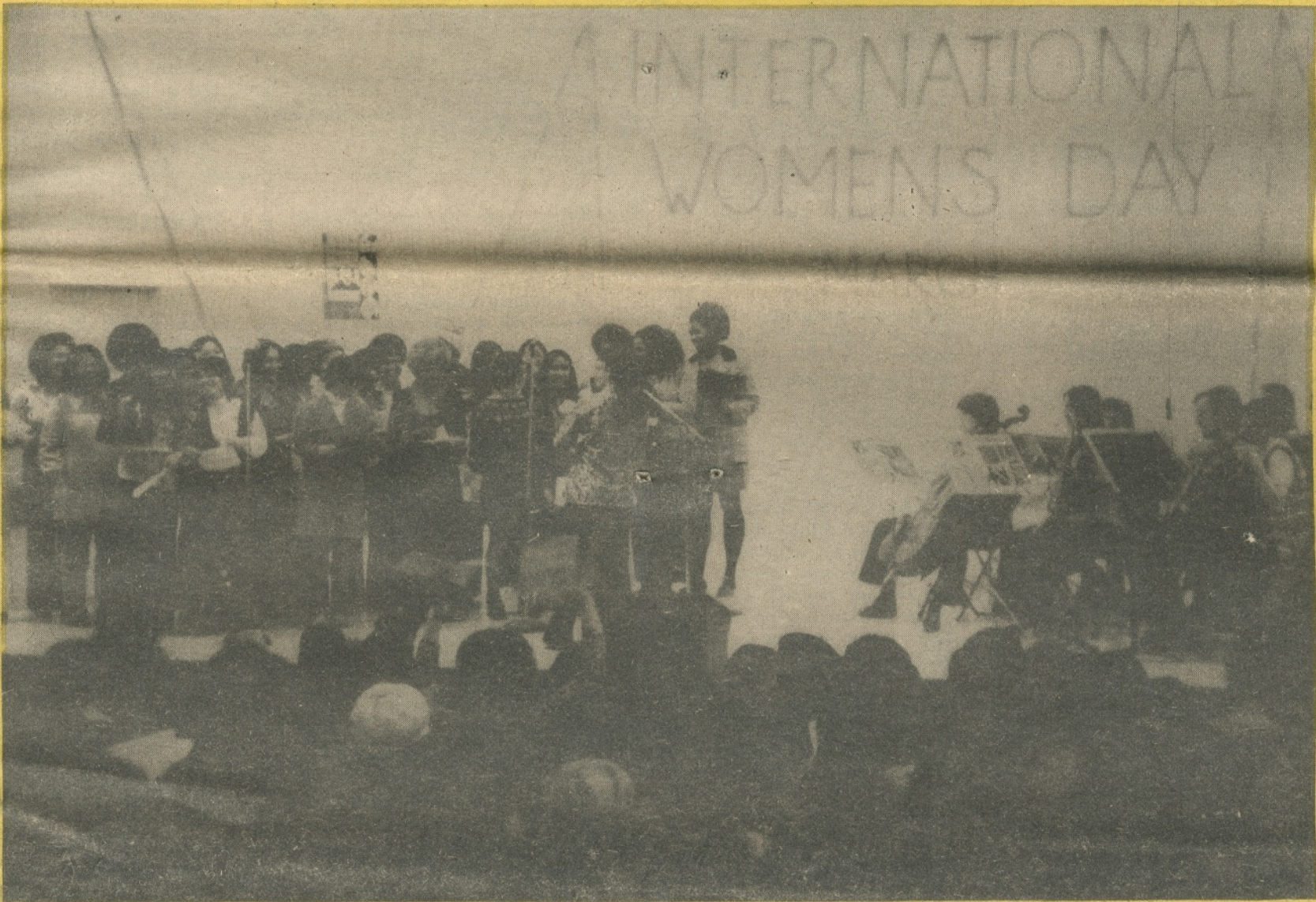
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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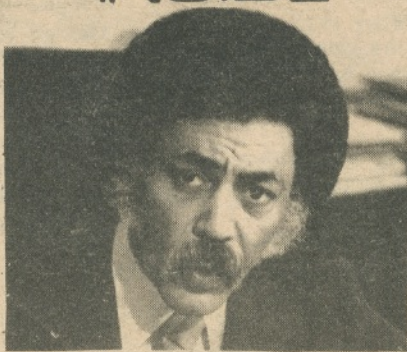
## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATED



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JANUARY 1974



# Editorial

## DROUGHT IN AFRICA

United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, just back from an inspection of the drought-stricken areas of West Africa, said last week that thousands were dying and "the worst is definitely not over." Mr. Waldheim gave what *The New York Times* called a "grim account" of conditions in the affected countries—Niger, Chad, Senegal, Upper Volta, Mali and Mauritania—and called for a "bold international effort of enormous scope" to rehabilitate the area.

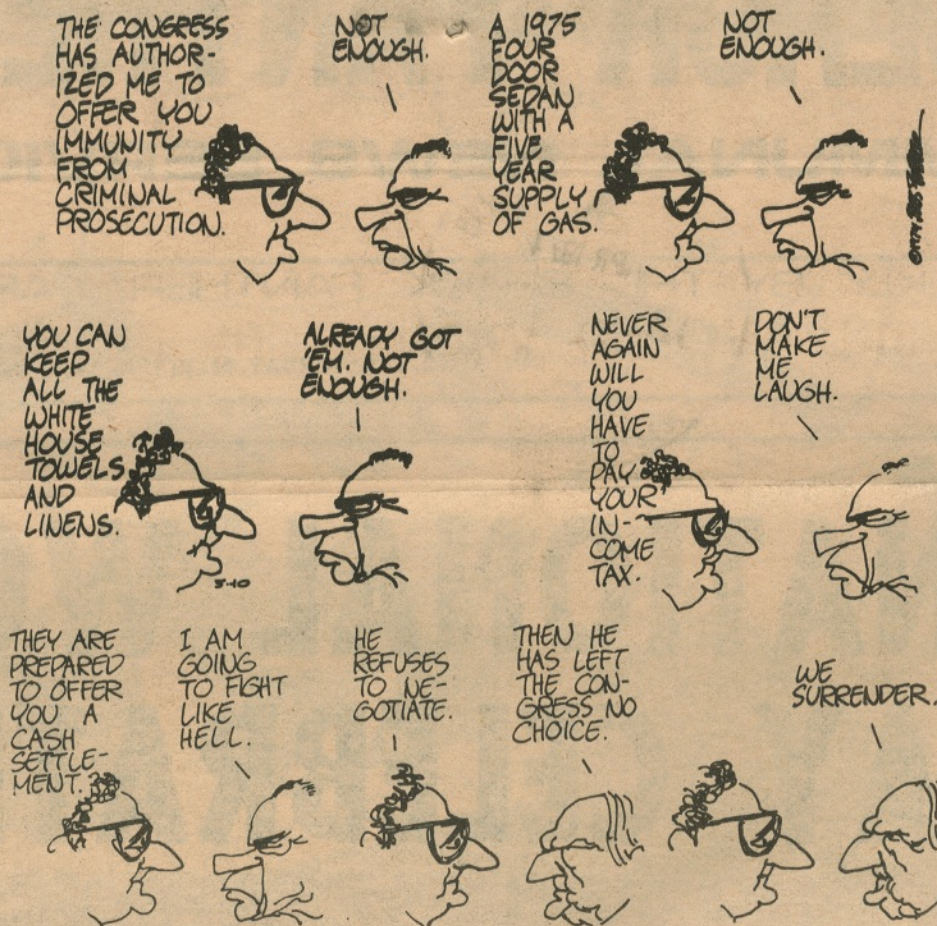
To carry out this effort, Secretary General Waldheim presented a catalogue of 123 suggested projects for dams, irrigation and agricultural improvements to the six governments that had requested help. United Nations authorities gave an estimate of \$875 million for the projects, which they hoped could be financed by contributions from countries and international agencies.

It is clear that such a sum speedily produced can only be realized through direct grants and contributions by governments. Although demonstrations of concern on the part of individual citizens with contributions of one, five or ten dollars are possible, the cost of administering such a campaign and the time required to realize a meaningful total (plus the inevitable rip-offs of administrators and others) makes the value of the effort to people that are dying everyday questionable.

The U.S. government spent \$3.2 billion during 1972, on its prestige motivated exploration of space program. \$875 million is a mere fraction of \$3.2 billion. To us this suggests that even without other countries making any contribution whatsoever, the U.S. government could, if its concern for human life were uppermost, foot the whole bill and hardly feel it.

The fact is U.S. expenditures for the military in this year's budget approach \$90 billion dollars, a figure impossible to imagine.

Why doesn't the disaster inflicted upon and still facing the peoples of the African Sahel produce a response worthy of the extent of the disaster? This country can easily afford ten times the amount already given. It is toward this end that the efforts and demands of the American people should be directed. □



### COMMENT

# WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

The following article is reprinted from the Omega Press, a progressive military newsletter published by a group of GIs in Okinawa.

Why do we fight wars? Is it that we are protecting our lives and homes? Have you ever had a person come up to your home and try to burn it down with a flame thrower? I can tell you the answer to that right here and now—Hell, no! But you have had officials of our government come and threaten that if you don't shell out so much cash, UNCLE SAM will come and throw your ass in jail.

Over in Southeast Asia, UNCLE SAM is coming down on these people, saying they must not overthrow their dictatorship because he has put money into their country and he will protect his fat cats' money at their expense. He will take their sons' lives and our sons' lives will be given up. All because these cats say they need to rip off Vietnam's economy, so they can sit in multi-story air-conditioned offices and figure out who to rip off next.

Can you see any reason to give up your life just because some big industrialist wants to make more money? That is what Vietnam was all about, communist oppression was the lie our government worked out so they could explain it to the people of our country. Would you support your sons dying because Shell Oil wanted to make some more money? Or better yet, could you see giving your own life so this company cat could buy a new Cadillac?

Nixon is the first President to lose a war. Do you think he will be the first President to lose a country? Just take a look at the administration now. Spiro got

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## Letters to the Editor

Greetings Editor,

I am presenting this letter to you in the hope of obtaining your outstanding, progressive Third World paper that is really raising the level of awareness of our Third World oppressed Black people in this capitalist, racist country.

I am a Black, political prisoner incarcerated here in this slave dungeon at Mt. Meigs Medical & Diagnostic Center in this slay city and state of Montgomery, Alabama. Here, we, the people, are struggling for a dramatic change in this racist, sadistic, corrupt Alabama penal plantation system. Conditions are wretched and inhumane and we are constantly suffering brutality, harassment from these racist, sadistic wardens and guards who are ex-chiefs of police and prisoners of war.

While confined here at this particular slave dungeon I have constantly been coming into contact with your progressive, Third World paper, THE BLACK PANTHER, that you issue to all political prisoners of all oppressed nationalities throughout these dungeons in Mother America.

THE BLACK PANTHER is really elevating the awareness of the people to this evil, corrupt, racist, capitalist system and its allies and is helping to intensify our struggle behind these walls...

All power to the vanguard Black Panther Party that is meeting the desires, needs and wants of the People!

Yours in struggle,  
Bro. Oscar Moton  
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Editor,

I'm a new subscriber to our paper, THE BLACK PANTHER. I'm writing this letter to our brothers and

sisters in other concentration camps in America.

I'm presently doing a three year bid. Like many of us I've been incarcerated unjustly. There are a few of us that are aware of the changes you brothers and sisters go through in a lot of the penal institutions here in America and we feel all your victories and defeats. We deeply deplore the fact that we are unable to contribute to your struggle for justice, the reason being that this prison we're in is a military camp and it has the most propagandist and pacification program in all the camps in America.

We know that the United States Army is the government's, and the government isn't ours (the peoples'). So therefore the army isn't the peoples and is most reactionary. This hinders us greatly in achieving unity. The majority of the people here are for themselves.

We have many Brothers here receiving no pay what-so-ever and they have families to support. Many of us are punished twice, with time and bad discharges, making our struggle for survival harder to endure. Those of us that are conscious of the Black man, woman and child's position here in America, feel it's mandatory to let our people—who are struggling for a change within the walls, and out—know that we sincerely hope you will continue your efforts for change, although it's painful.

As soon as we're able to, we will assist you and relieve you. The struggle for freedom, can only be achieved through blood, sweat and tears.

For A Better Life  
Comrades from  
The U.S.D.B.  
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas

### THE BLACK PANTHER

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# INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATED

## 3RD WORLD WOMEN TIE RIGHTS TO LIBERATION



Brother TYRONE GUYTON

### 2ND REFUSAL TO INDICT IN GUYTON MURDER

(Oakland, Calif.) In a blatantly outrageous decision, the Alameda County Grand Jury has again refused to indict the three White Emeryville policemen responsible for the murder of 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton last November 1.

Voting for the second time not to indict Emeryville officers—Dale Phillips, Thomas Mierky and William Matthews—the grand jury ignored both eyewitness testimony of outright murder as well as an irrefutable state crime lab report that proved that the young Black youth never fired a gun.

Contrary to local D.A. Lowell Jensen's cruel and callous remark that "the case is closed", however, the broad-based Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton has vowed to continue the fight.

Angry condemnations of both the grand jury's decision and of D.A. Jensen, as well as charges of a cover-up, were forcefully raised at the group's regular Thursday evening meetings at the Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th St. in Oakland. The committee noted that close to 15,000 signatures had been gathered on petitions demanding the indictment of the three policemen and that the petition drive, along with other community actions, would continue.

Totally unrepresentative of the greater Oakland community, the Alameda County Grand Jury has only three minority persons seated. Their first decision not to indict—issued last December—was the first non-indictment handed down by an Alameda County Grand Jury in 20 years. □



TONI VINCENT, Mistress of Ceremonies, and 600 celebrating International Women's Day at the Community Learning Center.



(Oakland, Calif.) - An overflow crowd of close to 600 persons packed the Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street, here last Sunday for the Bay Area's celebration of the 64th Annual International Women's Day. Organized by the Third World Women's Committee, the highly successful four-hour program paid homage to the years of struggle of Third World women in the U.S. and working women of the world. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.) Keynote speaker was Sister Johnnie Tillman, a well-known leader of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO).

As the program got underway, the enthusiastic audience of men, women and children joined a group of international sisters, headed by Sister Joanne Miyamoto, in singing "Songs of Struggle". The auditorium of the Center echoed with the chorus of one song, "When in doubt, try to keep a trying", reflecting Third World women's historical struggle to keep their families together and survive the harsh conditions imposed on them by racism. In another song, Sister Miyamoto received prolonged applause when she sang, "We don't want a piece of your pie, we want to bake our own".

Among the most exploited women workers in America are domestic workers. Sister Viola Mitchell, a leader and founder of the California Homemakers Association, described the five-month-old association's (the membership has grown from five to 2,000 in five months) efforts to win collective bargaining rights for domestic workers in California. Sister Mitchell emphasized, "We want wages, not welfare".

The role of women in Vietnam was described by Sister Doan Thi Nam Huu of the Union of Vietnamese in the U.S. She explained the interrelatedness of the liberation struggle in Vietnam and the struggle to liberate women. Declaring that, "the South Vietnamese government has violated all articles of the Paris Agreement", she said, "We will continue to struggle until there is true peace".

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Intercommunal Youth Institute  
BENEFIT

The  
African People's  
Performing Arts  
Company

presents

OSCAR BROWN, JR.

MUSIC BY NINETEEN  
SEVENTY SIX



DANCE BY HALIFU



THE  
University of California  
BLACK ENSEMBLE THEATRE  
COMPANY

in  
WILLIE LOBO/MANCHILD

written and directed  
by  
WALTER DALLAS

SATURDAY 7PM  
March 16, 1974  
&  
SUNDAY 5PM  
March 17, 1974

THE  
COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER  
6118 East 14th Street, Oakland  
DONATION.....\$2.00





# PRESS IGNORES DELLUMS ANNOUNCEMENT OF CANDIDACY

(Oakland, Calif.) - Hardly a ripple was made in the California or national establishment media with the announcement March 1, by fighting, independent, Black California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums that he would run for a third term in the House of Representatives from the eighth California district he now represents.

This was no accident. The establishment media in his own state as well as nationally pretends this hard working, highly principled congressman does not exist. As spokesmen for various segments of the U.S. power elite, media representatives would rather that Congressman Dellums did not exist.

In many respects Congressman Dellums acts in the House of Representatives and on the House Armed Services Committee, and on the Subcommittee on Education, of which he is chairman, as the conscience of many of his colleagues.

He told the members of the press on March 1—who incident-

ly turned out in numbers to cover his announcement—that frequently his colleagues in the Congress laud him privately for his principled vote on politically delicate issues before the Congress, claiming that they wished they could have voted as he did, but, if they had “it would have been political suicide”.

In his statement to the press (reprinted in full in last week’s issue of THE BLACK PANTHER), Congressman Dellums emphasized that his constituents in the former Seventh, now Eighth Congressional District, elected him to Congress “as a person who said that the struggle for peace...would be at the very top of my priorities.”

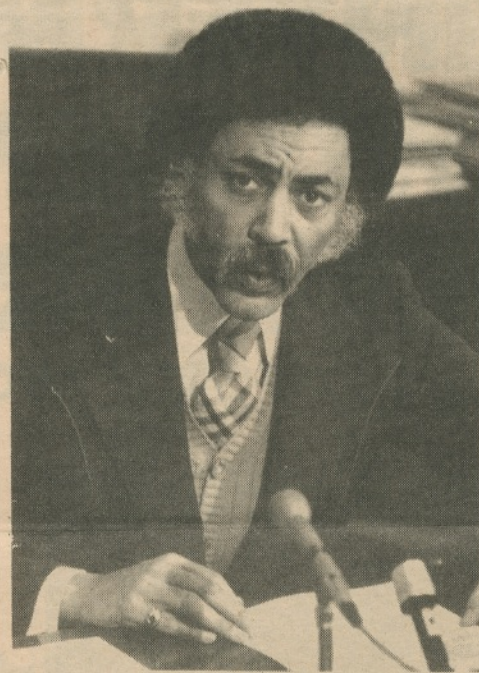
“The struggle for peace and the other virtues and ideals that this district sent me to fight for—equality, humanity, integrity in government, economic and social opportunity for every man, woman and child of every race, creed and religion” are not easy to fight for in the United States Congress, he said.

## SAVE OEO PROGRAMS

“I like to think” Congressman Dellums continued, “that my ability to hold out for these ideals in the face of attempted embarrassments and humiliations—in the face of weakened and lost friendships, in the face of personal and professional pressures that you could not imagine—I like to think that this ability, while obviously having to do with something inside myself, has something to do with those of you in this room, and those thousands of constituents who make up the congressional district I represent.”

Among his most recent legislative moves ignored by this country’s information media are Congressman Dellums’ unqualified support, among the first in the House, for the instituting of impeachment proceedings against President Richard M. Nixon.

Congressman Dellums has fought to make Congress an effective branch of government through support of the Congressional Reform Act of January, 1973, and pledges to continue this fight. He has authored a Federal Election Campaign Finance Act



U.S. Congressman RONALD V. DELLUMS.

that establishes full public funding of elections.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, Congressman Dellums has consistently and relentlessly fought to reduce the “over-bloated” defense budget “in the hopes that some part of this ninety billion dollars will find its way into programs that will provide jobs, food and housing for the marginal people in this society.”

## “IDEALS”

Congressman Dellums is co-sponsor of a tax reform measure that will work to the same end and has fought to save the programs that were funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). In his statement he assured the press that this fight is continuing “to see that the essential services provided by OEO, and those provided under Model Cities, will survive whatever reorganization may occur”

The list is endless. It includes emergency energy crisis unemployment legislation, Vietnam peace legislation, cuts in personal income tax withholding rates, legislation to reduce the rate of

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## GROUP BOMBS GAS STATION TO PROTEST PRICE INCREASES

(Los Altos, Calif.) - A group whose aim is to halt gasoline price increases, set off a bomb at a Shell service station in Los Altos—the second bombing of a Shell Oil facility in two days. A male telephone caller said it was the work of “Americans for Justice”. □-

## BLACK HISTORY

### MARCH 16, 1827

The first Black newspaper in U.S. history, *Freedom's Journal*, began publication in New York City on March 16, 1827.

### MARCH 13, 1862

Congress forbade Union officers and soldiers from aiding in the capture and return of “fugitive” slaves on March 13, 1862.

### MARCH 17, 1886

White vigilante terrorism against Southern Black people reached a new low in Carrollton, Mississippi, on March 17, 1886, when 20 Black men, women and children were ruthlessly slaughtered.

### MARCH 15, 1933

Opening up a new arena for organized Black political protest in this century, the NAACP filed its first suit attacking segregation and discrimination in education on March 15, 1933, against the University of North Carolina. The case was lost on a “technicality”

### MARCH 12, 1955

The great Charlie “Bird” Parker, whose creative innovations and technical genius layed the foundations for the modern jazz movement, died on March 12, 1955.

### MARCH 11, 1955

Baring their racist fangs in an open snarl, on March 11, 1956, 100 Southern senators and representatives issued a manifesto denouncing Supreme Court decisions calling for the nationwide desegregation of public schools.

### MARCH 10-11, 1972

The first National Black Political Convention, attended by 3,300 delegates and 5,000 observers, was held in Gary, Indiana. Hosted by the Black mayor of Gary, Richard Hatcher, one result of the convention was a proposed National Black Assembly to set the direction for Black political and social actions.



## “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.”

To Purchase This Album, Send \$3.75 Cash Or Moneyorder To: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also Available At Major Record Stores Near You.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY ELAINE BROWN

Album produced and distributed by MOTTOWN RECORD CORP.



# HOUSTON 12 WIN TRIAL POSTPONE- MENT

(Houston, Texas) - A packed courtroom of supporters at the pretrial hearing of five of the Houston 12, aided the young men in winning a postponement of their trial until April. Miguel Trujillo, Alex Rodriguez, Jose Barriga, Bartee Haile William Christiansen are charged with attempted murder of policemen in connection with a police attack on a legal, orderly picket line staged here by the Youth Against War and Fascism in October to protest the Mid-East War. The Houston 12, eight Chicanos and four Whites, were arrested and held on bonds totaling over \$250,000.

## PRETRIAL HEARING

Before the pretrial hearing, 35 people picketed outside the courthouse at the Family Law Center in a show of solidarity for the Houston 12. Over 80 supporters, primarily people of all ages from the Mexican-American community, jammed into the courtroom of Judge Wallace Moore. The pressured judge granted the defense's motion that the trial be postponed, but he denied over twenty other motions presented by attorneys for the five brothers.

In a move designed to split the five brothers, the district attorney asked for separate trials. Faced with the overwhelming support from the packed courtroom and the evident determination of the five defendants to stay together, the judge denied the prosecution's move.

Because of the broad support and generous financial aid from individuals and organizations here in Houston and throughout the country, the Houston 12 Defense Committee was able to get the bail money, and to win the much needed postponement.

The defense committee is eager to send information to anyone upon request. The need to get the truth out is of utmost importance because the same news media that gave the public a sensationalist, pro-police view of the October 9 incident is now blacking out all coverage of the trials of the Houston 12. □

# BOBBY SEALE: "WE ARE WORKING TO SET AN EXAMPLE"

## PART 2 OF CHAPEL HILL SPEECH

*Continuing the discussion of his recent mayoralty campaign in Oakland, Brother Bobby Seale minces no words when he shows the tremendous importance of the Black Panther Party's survival programs in the creation of a broad-based people's liberation framework.*

*In the following recent speech at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill campus, Bobby breaks down the complex events of our time in manner that we all can understand, with enthusiasm and commitment, explaining how poor and oppressed people can harness these forces in their interests.*

*Part II follows:*

"Huey Newton and I started an organization in October, 1966, called the Black Panther Party. We listened to what Malcolm X said: that we had a right to defend ourselves. Under the Second Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, Black people and other people have the right to have shotguns in their homes and, if they are going to be attacked by any racist unjustly, then they have the right to defend themselves. We apply that to any human being.

"Malcolm X also talked about the fact that we needed a political organization and a political vehicle that dealt with housing needs and other necessities in our community; a political organiza-



*Scene from the First Anniversary Celebration of the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinic in Boston, June, 1971.*

tion to deal in terms of the basic desires and needs of the community and organize the people around those programs into a broader liberation framework.

"Now, the press didn't tell you about the Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party. (Editor's note: See page 14.) No, they didn't want you to even know that.

"I remember when I was in jail in Connecticut and they moved me to an isolation cell, one of the guards there, who fought in WWII, would sit and watch me like I was supposed to be some animal or something. He didn't know I could cook. He didn't know that I grew gardens in my back yard; he didn't know I grew corn and black-eyed peas and yams. He didn't know that and I understand why—because he is brainwashed. He's brainwashed to believe that because I'm Black;

because I said things about the power structure; because I talked about Nixon and Ronald Reagan like they should have been talked about, I'm no good. I was sitting down reading something one day and finally after a month, he decided to speak. (I was in an isolation cell where a guard had to sit in front of my cell 24 hours a day.) 'Bob, what you reading there?'

"I didn't get this reading material until I had fought in the federal courts that I had a right to have reading materials, radio, TV, drafting materials. I told them that the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States says you can't commit cruel and unusual punishment against me. And because I had a beard, they wanted to put me in isolation.)

"But the thing that I am getting at is that this fellow said, 'Looks like you're reading some Red material there.' (I was reading some writings by Ho Chi Minh.) I said, 'Red material?' He looked at me and I said, 'Would you like to know what I am reading? Come over here.' I looked at him and said, 'It says right here, *When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to separate themselves from the political bonds that connect them with another and to assume among the powers... He said, 'Hey, haven't I heard that somewhere before?'* I said, 'Yeah, man, it's the beginning of the Declaration of Independence of this country.' 'Oh, I don't know anything about that', he said.

"So he and I struck up a sort of back and forth exchange. I gave him the book I was reading and had my lawyers to give him a copy of my book, *Seize The Time*, to let him read it. He said it was very interesting.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

## DYING KLANSMAN "CONFESSES" TO BOMBING

(Ann Arbor, Mich.) - A dying member of the Ku Klux Klan has announced that he was responsible for the bombing of ten school buses in Pontiac, Michigan, in August, 1971.

From his deathbed in the University of Michigan Hospital, 54-year-old Elmer Tackett confessed to lighting the dynamite that destroyed the parked buses on the day before a court-ordered school desegregation plan was to go into effect. He admitted that he was a member of the Klan and said that five other Klansmen who were convicted of the crime last year are innocent. Tackett makes these revelations, at the request of his attorney, only after the five convicted men have begun serving time in

prison and Tackett himself is dying of terminal leukemia. The "nightrider" said his doctors give him two weeks to live.

"There was only one man who had anything to do with the bombing," said Tackett, "that was me". He added, "I would do it a dozen times".

Although there is not enough time to jail or even try this terrorist, his fellow "knights" in the secret order have plenty of time and are sure to appeal their convictions for which they were recently incarcerated. This opens the possibility that Tackett may simply be using his advance notice of impending death to clear his guilty friends while not taking any punishment himself. □



# NEW COUNTS OF BRUTALITY AT LEAVENWORTH PRISON

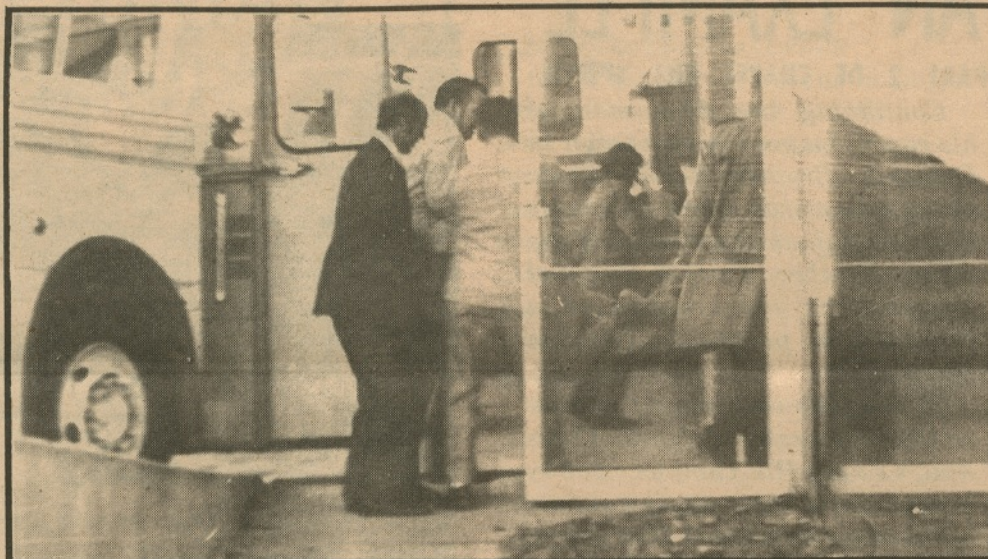
(Kansas City, Mo.) - New accounts of brutality by prison officials against seven Leavenworth (Kansas) prison inmates have been revealed by the Kansas City-based Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee.

Last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER detailed the inmates' arraignment February 22 in U.S. District Court in Leavenworth. An omnibus hearing was held the same day before Judge Robert Miller. The seven—Odell Bennett, Jesse Lee Evans, Alf Hill, Jr., Alfred Jasper, William Hurst, Jesse Lopez, and Armando Miramon—were indicted on February 13 on numerous charges growing out of the July 31, 1973, prison rebellion in which large portions of Leavenworth Penitentiary were destroyed by fire.

After undergoing the dehumanizing rectal search (which the prisoners are vigorously protesting) before their arraignment, the seven were chained and shackled in preparation for the hearing. Maintaining tight security, federal marshals led Lopez into the courtroom handcuffed with waist chains and ankle shackles.

Before the hearing began, defense attorney Gary Eldredge asked Judge Miller to remove the unnecessary restraints. Miller referred the question to federal marshal Richardson who removed all but the ankle shackles.

Lopez said that neither he nor his lawyers had received a copy of the indictment—he has been charged with assault and kidnap-



Brother ODELL BENNETT as he was being carried to a court appearance on February 13 in Leavenworth.

ping—and that he was being denied his right of access to other legal documents that were necessary to his defense.

Prison authorities are illegally holding twenty-six men in solitary confinement in connection with the July 31 rebellion, and all of them are being denied access to their legal papers and the law library which could speed up their release from solitary.

Alf Hill, one of the Black prison inmates, appeared in court for the fourth time without shoes. Speaking for the Leavenworth Brothers, who continue to strug-

gle against violation of their human and constitutional rights, Hill said that conditions of solitary confinement and harassment by government and prison officials has severely hampered the prisoners' mental clarity.

Prison officials have refused to allow the prison inmates correspondence or visitation with members of the committee. The committee has sent photos of the men who were beaten prior to a February 13 hearing to several government officials in Washington and have been told that an investigation will be made. □

## WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

caught ripping off tax money, Dickie got caught in Watergate, and the GIs are opening their eyes and the government is losing the support of its military.

So, you ask, what is this country coming to? I think it may

be coming to a better nation. The system is going to collapse very soon. It can't last at the way it is going now. Too many people are taking a look at it and they are saying it sure is fucked up, ain't it? But they are even doing more about it, like talking about the whole show and are carrying it on from there to demonstrations and out-and-out riots.

So, if you read this, take a look at the whole show and try to visualize what will happen if this shit keeps going on the way it is. Do you like freedom? Or do you like to be dominated? □

## BART BREAKDOWN

### RATE RISES

(Oakland, Calif.) - The breakdown rate of trains of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system increased to 8.5 trains a day in December. BART's patronage is steadily increasing, however, largely because of the increase in the number of motorists grounded by the energy crisis.

## ELMER DAVIS PROTESTS CONVICTION FOR ELLSBERG BREAK-IN

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - In an exclusive article appearing in the March issue of *Players* magazine, Elmer Davis protests the stiff prison term given him for his alleged role in the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office.

In light of the six months sentence given the Watergate thief Krogh for a similar role, Brother Davis contends that his incarceration at Folsom, California's toughest maximum security prison, for perhaps the rest of his life, and for the same break-in, is unjust.

The forty-five year old Davis, a Black man who has done time in prison previous to this incarceration, was the first person charged with the Ellsberg burglary. He was described by Anthony Russo, Ellsberg's former co-defendant, as being considered "a throw-away human being" by the Los Angeles police and government officials.

### JAILHOUSE LAWYER

Brother Davis is a self-taught jailhouse lawyer. He has attempted to vindicate himself, and as revealed in the current *Players* article, he has filed a million dollar civil suit charging President Richard M. Nixon, John Ehrlichman, the "Plumbers Unit" and the Beverly Hills police with conspiring to victimize him as a cover-up and scapegoat.

Brother Davis insists that he was singled out for persecution, technically on a "parole violation", because it was generally felt that he was a worthless person no one would care about. This may be convenient, Davis writes in the *Players* article, but is unjust.

*Players* is the new, slick, Black magazine published in Los Angeles, California, with a mixture of sexist, Black pride and politically relevant materials. Wanda Coleman is editor. The March issue, which is the third, features nude photos of Pam Grier, star of the film *Coffy*, *Black Mama*, *White Mama* and currently to be seen in the new film *Foxy Brown*.

□□□

# REGISTER TO VOTE

## THE SEATTLE LEGAL AID PROGRAM

### Busing Schedule

Provides Free Transportation to:

MC NEIL ISLAND FEDERAL  
PENITENTIARY

Leaves each Sunday at 9:30 a.m.

PURDY PRISON FOR WOMEN

Leaves each 1st and 3rd Sunday  
at 11:30 a.m.

Leaving the Sidney Miller Free  
Health Clinic 169 19th Ave.

WASHINGTON CORRECTIONAL  
CENTER AT SHELTON T.C.

Leaves each 2nd and 4th Sunday  
at 8:00 a.m.

MONROE REFORMATORY

Leaves each Monday at 5:00 p.m.

## Law and Rights Classes on the Criminal Justice System

Some of the topics discussed are:

Arrest Rights, Court Rules, Landlord/Tenant Relations.

Every Monday at the Sidney Miller  
Free Health Clinic at 7:30 p.m.

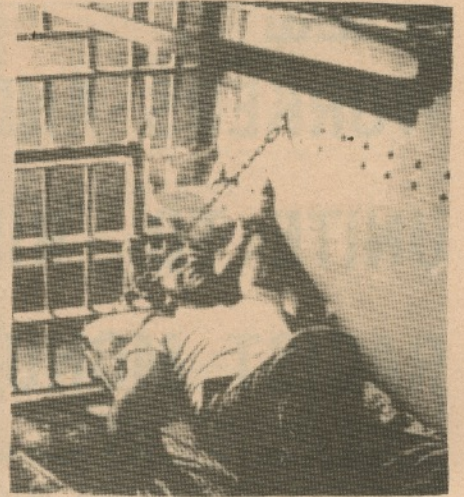


**COURT ORDER**

# S.F. SHERIFF MUST SHOW CAUSE FOR ILLEGAL LOCK-UP

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A suit filed on behalf of six prisoners of the San Francisco County Jail has brought Sheriff Richard Hongisto to court. Superior Court Judge Morton Colvin ruled on March 1 that Hongisto must show cause why the six prison inmates should not be released immediately from segregated lock-up cells.

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) brought the suit for the six men against what the LDF calls "an arbitrary and illegal course of harsh treatment" inflicted for a three-month period beginning in November, 1973. Since that time the men have been subjected to 24-hour-a-day lock-ups, loss of correspondence



*Solitary lock-up is cruel but common punishment.*

and visiting privileges, denial of clean clothes and bathing facilities for substantial periods and segregation from the general prison population.

The prison inmates have been prevented from attending job interviews, work assignments, classes and church services. They are also being denied work-time credit toward their sentences, significantly increasing the length of their imprisonment.

At no time have any of these men been advised of any charges against them, been afforded a hearing, or received any formal indication that Sheriff Hongisto finds them guilty of any infraction. Hongisto is thus violating the prisoners' constitutionally guaranteed right to due process of law as well as his own rules.

Hongisto, in order to build a liberal, humanitarian image of himself, established a list of disciplinary procedures that insured the prisoners their basic rights. These include such elementary Constitutional rights as notice of charge at a hearing at which the prison inmates can call and confront witnesses and an impartial hearing panel or jury. These regulations also guarantee work-time credit for prison inmates unless they refuse to work or are denied work-time credit as a result of a disciplinary hearing. These procedures were instituted at the San Francisco County Jail early last year and are already empty words on valueless paper.

# \$175,000 FOR JOB BIAS VICTIMS

(Dallas, Texas) - An east Texas trucking company has been ordered by the U.S. Department of Justice to increase hiring of Black and Spanish-speaking persons and to pay \$175,000 to victims of alleged job discrimination.

The decree was signed by East Texas Motor Freight System, of Dallas, and filed here in U.S. District Court. It was the second major monetary job bias victory for Blacks in Texas in recent weeks. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

The decree partially settles an employment discrimination suit filed by the Justice Department against the trucking company and the Teamsters and Machinists Unions on June 29, 1972. The suit charged that East Texas, which operates from terminals in nineteen states, discriminated against Blacks and Spanish-surnamed persons in job opportunities.

The company has been enjoined (prevented) from participating in any discriminatory employment practice and is required to adopt hiring goals for members of the two minority groups. East Texas agreed to hire qualified Blacks and Spanish-speaking applicants at a fifty percent rate for road driver jobs at each terminal and city driver jobs at certain terminals until the minority percentage equals that of the work force of the area.

For garage and clerical jobs, the hiring rate is twenty-five percent and twenty percent for administrative positions. Also, the payment of \$175,000 to an estimated one hundred or more rejected job applicants and present and former employees is provided for in the decree.

According to U.S. Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, the back pay award is the largest obtained by the department in a trucking company case.

The major unresolved issue remaining before the court concerns the legality of seniority rights of employees under the company's collective bargaining agreement with the Teamsters Union. □



*Cop brutalizing demonstrator in Cairo—a common practice.*

# SUPREME COURT FINDS NO RACISM IN CAIRO, ILL.

(Cairo, Ill.) - The United States Supreme Court has decided to bypass a class action suit brought on behalf of the Black residents of Cairo. The town's Black people make up 38% of the overall population of 6,200. The suit was brought by nineteen Black and White citizens of Cairo in an effort to halt the blatant racial discrimination that exists throughout Cairo's institutions.

The Supreme Court ruled in a 6-3 decision that it had no jurisdiction in the case because, "no actual controversy", existed. The complaint, "alleges injury in only the most general terms", the majority held.

The action sought relief primarily in the areas of law enforcement and the court system.

Justice William O. Douglas dissented from the majority opinion. In a separate report Douglas wrote, "We know from the record

and oral argument that Cairo, Illinois, is boiling with racial conflicts. This class action...is to remedy vast invasion of civil rights" Douglas described the situation as, "a more pervasive scheme for suppression of Blacks and their civil rights than I have ever seen".

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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## NEW ORLEANS

# WORKERS AND STUDENTS UNITE TO RID CITY OF RACIST MONUMENT

(New Orleans, Louisiana) - Workers and students participated in a demonstration here recently demanding the removal of a monument in the heart of the city which glorifies White supremacy and commemorates a racist mob attack against the city government.

The demonstration around the "Liberty Monument" was sponsored by the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in New Orleans. Those manning the picket line around the monument included members of the NAACP from several states, New Orleans longshore-

men, members of the Young Workers Liberation League and other concerned citizens.

For over two hours several dozen protestors marched around the monument carrying signs bearing slogans like: "This monument supports MOB VIOLENCE, RACISM, and WHITE SUPREMACY"; "Take it down!" Protest leaders vow that demonstrations will continue every other day in an effort to force the New Orleans City Council to remove the obelisk.

The monument commemorates an 1874 battle between the White Citizen's League and the police. Former slaveholders in that battle



Workers and students in recent New Orleans protest.

attempted to overthrow the Reconstruction government—referred to on the monument as the "carpetbag government" and the "usurpers"—and replace it with leaders elected by "the White people".

Although the Reconstruction government was temporarily restored with the aid of Federal troops, the monument's inscription goes on to state, "The election of 1876 recognized White Supremacy in the South and gave us our State".

The monument stands in the center of Canal Street, a block from the Mississippi River. Although originally erected privately by the White Citizen's League, city funds have been used to maintain it and provide flood-lighting every night.

According to Paul Stewart, president of the Youth Council of the NAACP, attempts have been made for over a year to get the Mayor and the City Council to remove the monument. The Mayor told them that all he could do was to have a plaque placed on the monument saying that it doesn't represent the attitudes of the city at present or those of the City Council.

The Youth Council believes that the monument is representative of present-day racist attitudes and problems that are manifested by the inequalities in jobs, housing and education.

Ernest Pickett, a rank-and-file longshore leader who participated in the demonstration, was emphatic in his objections to the obelisk. "The reason I'm here today", he said, "is that this monument is a slap in the face to all Black people...The monument is on the waterfront, and we who work there everyday feel it's an injustice to us all. Take it down!" □

## SUPREME COURT FINDS NO RACISM

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

Race relations always have been a problem in Cairo but these problems came to a head when an effective Black economic boycott against White racist merchants was launched by the United Front of Cairo on April 7, 1969. (The United Front of Cairo is a Black civil rights organization.) Within a few days, acts of arson, shooting and other violence against the Black community began to occur regularly. It wasn't until Illinois State Police were called in to restore order in June that a temporary peace was established, closing the "reign of terror"

Since then sporadic and sometimes intense violence has continued to keep the Black community under siege. During 1971, for example, there were shooting incidents on over 25% of the summer nights. Three Black people were killed and at least 43 homes, 25 cars and 25 businesses that were Black-owned were attacked in bullet, bomb or brick assaults during that summer.

The boycott started with 14 demands upon the city. These included equal hiring practices in city services and stores, an end to the use of offensive names for Black people by White merchants, representation on city governmental agencies and the creation of a new city department to bring jobs and industry to Cairo.

The main force of the White racist backlash against the boy-

cott was concentrated upon the St. Columba Catholic Church (headquarters of the United Front) and the all-Black Pyramid Courts housing projects.

The police department response to this violence is further proof that it is an anti-Black, lawless force, instituted to protect only the interests of White businessmen. According to a U.S. government study, during the 11-month period beginning in March of 1969, there were "at least 80 separate shooting incidents; most centered around the all-Black Pyramid Courts where some residents took to sleeping in bathtubs at night to escape fusillades that pierced walls and windows. There was not a single arrest made...in these shootings."

In fact, a few days before the boycott started, a vigilante group, known as the "White Hats", offered its 600-man force as city and county deputies. One of the White Hats' leaders had described his group as, "ordinary Joes with shotguns", who, "won't read 'em a card about their rights". At least 450 of these men were deputized at the time.

A former Black policeman has said that it was common practice for White cops to refer to Blacks as, "nigger", "coon" and "bastard". The International Association of Chiefs of Police has called the Cairo police department "totally undisciplined". □

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### CONGRESSIONAL REPORT

(Washington, D.C.) - A congressional subcommittee that has been studying the penal system has said in a recent report that the American people would insist on improving prisons if they knew more about them.

### POLICE CHARGE POLICE

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The Officers for Justice, an organization of San Francisco minority policemen, have charged fellow officers with beating up three Latinos here on February 24. "Once again the citizens of the Latino community have been victimized by police crimes and official terrorism", charged the minority officers at a press conference.

### JUDICIAL FAVORS FOR SEX

(Huntsville, Ala.) - Madison County Court Judge Thomas McDonald has been convicted of trading judicial favors for sex. Five women testified they had sexual intercourse with McDonald at his insistence in return for favorable court rulings. The judge faces four more trials on similar charges.

### NEW EXECUTION FACILITIES?

(Sacramento, Calif.) - Bills to equip all 12 of California's correctional institutions with execution facilities and change the name of these institutions to "prisons" have been introduced into the state Senate by law and order Republican H.L. Richardson. San Quentin is the only California prison equipped for capital punishment. "If San Quentin closed down, there would be no death penalty", said Richardson. He added that when we call them "institutions" it sounds like the ex-prisoner has been to college.

### NIXON'S CENSORSHIP

(Washington, D.C.) - Attacking the constitutional right of freedom of speech, Nixon said he will seek a new law which in effect would curb press criticism of politicians and government officials. It would require newspapers to prominently print replies of public figures to charges lodged against them by the press.



## S.F. SHERIFF

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

However, whether or not Hongisto chooses to make a liar of himself by failing to follow his own promised procedures, he is still bound to follow the United State Constitution, "the supreme law of the land".

William E. Hickman, LDF attorney for the six prisoners, said, "Petitioners in the case have never refused to work and no Disciplinary Review Board has ever ordered that they be denied work-time credits. Nevertheless, Sheriff Hongisto is denying them work-time credits and subjecting them to lock-up... In short, Sheriff Hongisto is violating the plain command of his own rules and the U.S. Constitution". □

## PRESS IGNORES DELLUMS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

social security payroll tax, legislation to eliminate employment discrimination on the basis of military discharge status, legislation for the prevention and control of rape—and on and on.

It is for these reasons that the establishment media ignored his announcement. He has consistently and courageously represented those who sent him to Congress with their votes. In doing so he has at the same time represented those throughout the country most in need of representation, most in need of a voice in the hallowed halls of Congress. By so doing, he has gained the undying enmity of the present centers of power in this country.

"The issue has come down to me in very simple terms, Congressman Dellums concluded his statement on March 1. "Can one continue to operate within the framework of the body politic from a position of principle, or must we always compromise ourselves in order to survive politically. That, I think, will be one of the cornerstones of this campaign." □

## ARAB HIJACKERS ESCAPE DEATH

(Amsterdam, Netherlands) - Dutch sharpshooters had planned to cut down two Arab hijackers after they set fire to a British airliner they recently commandeered after releasing 102 passengers and crew members. They did not fire because the hijackers openly surrendered to a police officer walking toward them. □

# V.V.A.W. ACTIVIST FACES LIFE SENTENCE

## VICTIM OF HEARST KIDNAPPING AFTERMATH

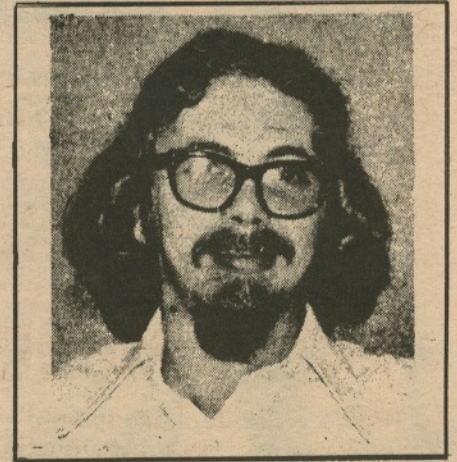
(Oakland, Calif.) - Bob Hood, one of five California coordinators of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO), faces a possible life sentence as a result of the growing police campaign of harassment, intimidation and brutality against the VVAW/WSO and the Black and oppressed community arising out of the Marcus Foster murder and the Patricia Hearst kidnapping.

Mr. Hood, who is White, was one of the organizers of the VVAW/WSO chapter in Oakland to which Joseph Remiro once belonged. Remiro, a purported member of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), is one of two men charged with the murder of

Dr. Foster, former Supt. of Schools in Oakland. The SLA claims responsibility for the Foster murder and the kidnap of Patricia Hearst.

On the night of February 6, Mr. Hood received a call that a friend and associate, John Dolly, was being harassed by several police units at 42nd and High streets, a location not far from his own home. As is the practice of militant Oakland organizations, Mr. Hood immediately went to observe the action, hoping to guarantee that his friend was treated in accordance with his constitutional rights.

Upon arriving on the scene, police immediately stuck a shotgun in his face, assaulted him and



BOB HOOD was beaten by police.

threw him onto the hood of his car. To Bob Hood's verbal protest at this treatment, the policemen viciously beat him to the ground, placed handcuffs on him and then searched him.

A pocket knife found on Mr. Hood during the search is the "deadly weapon" with which Mr. Hood is supposed to have "assaulted the police officer", according to the police charge lodged against Mr. Hood.

Mr. Hood told THE BLACK PANTHER that he was given no opportunity to explain his presence on the scene, no questions were asked of him by the assaulting police officers, he offered no physical resistance whatsoever and he limited his protests to verbal objections to the brutal and illegal treatment he was receiving.

Mr. Hood further revealed that since the arrest of Joseph Remiro and Russell Little, Foster murder suspects, homes of members of the VVAW/WSO Oakland chapter have been searched, he and his associates have been followed and their homes kept under constant surveillance. One associate had been fired from his job as a direct consequence of police intimidation and many have been detained unnecessarily by police, given phony traffic violation citations and otherwise harassed and intimidated by Oakland police.

In fact, John Dolly, whom Bob Hood went to secure from police harassment, had been stopped on a phony routine traffic violation. No citation was issued.

Friends, associates and neighbors of Bob Hood, have formed a defense committee. Its purpose will be to defend the rights of those who suffer at the hands of the police intimidation and harassment and to organize community pressure toward the dropping of the false charges against Bob Hood.

Bob is a highly respected and hard working member of the technical staff of the North Peralta Community College in Oakland and is assured of support and assistance from both its faculty and student body. □

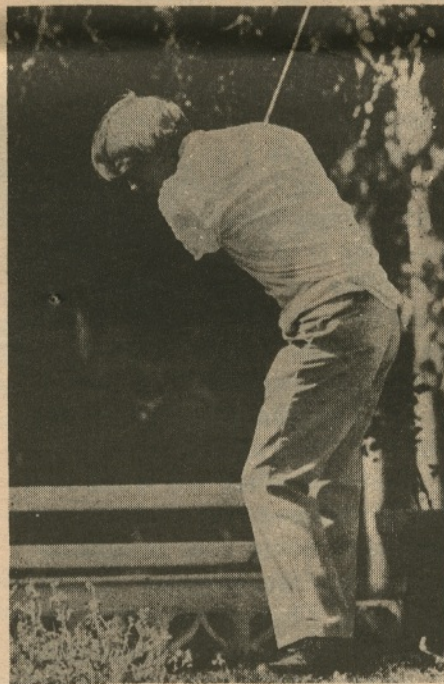
## PARADISE PRISON FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PATSIES

(Washington, D.C.) - As the Watergate investigations continue and the various members of the scandal-ridden Nixon administration are tried and convicted, certain prisons have begun to accommodate the new, special prisoners.

These institutions are no ordinary prisons. The facilities that the penal system has chosen to hold Donald Segretti, Egil Krogh and other ex-White House aides are plush, minimum security pleasure compounds especially made for wayward lawyers, accountants, stockbrokers and government officials.

Lock-ups such as the federal prison at Lompoc, California, or the so-called, "Federal Hilton" at the Eglin Air Force Base in the "Sunshine State", Florida, feature such luxuries as golf, gardening, bocci balls and comfortable, furnished living quarters. The rich criminals at Lompoc can even take their wives and girl friends for a picnic on the well-kept grounds, under singing birds in gently swaying trees. Additional luxuries, including an afternoon pass to a nearby motel for a visit with the lady of his choice, may be purchased by the Lompoc prisoner.

Guards at these paradise penitentiaries are courteous, well-dressed and are at the prisoners' service. There are no walls or bars and escape is no problem. Very few men really want to



Playing golf in "prison".

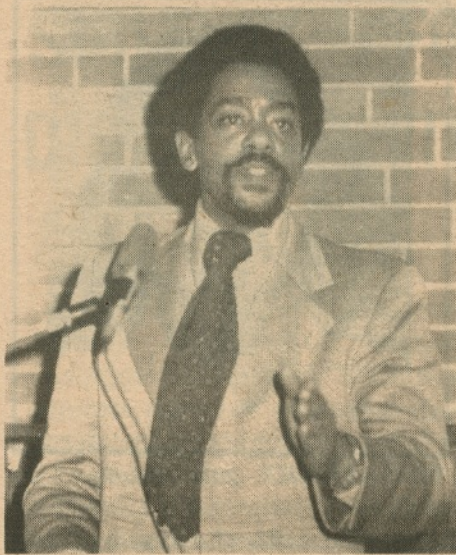
escape only to have to spend their lives in hiding. They can easily serve their little time in comfort. This is particularly true for the wealthy and the Watergaters who can pay the fringe costs, have contacts in the government, or both.

The jail terms haven't been long for convicted Watergaters either. Bernard Barker, Frank Sturgis, Eugenio Martinez and Virgilio Gonzalez, four of those convicted of the Watergate Hotel break-in, were released after serving only two months at the "Hilton".

The first notable difference between the paradise prisons and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18





Brother BOBBY SEALE

**BOBBY SEALE:****'WE ARE WORKING****TO SET AN EXAMPLE"**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

"He couldn't understand his boys because he had fought in WWII and now they didn't want to fight in Vietnam. One of them had just come back after two years and tried to tell him that the war was all wrong and he was wondering what was wrong with these kids. 'My kid wants to go out and get naked and jump into lakes and everything. What's wrong with them Bob? Can you tell me what's wrong?' I said, 'You're the one who sent them to school to read *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*,' I said, 'Don't you understand that?'"

"What I'm getting to is that this fellow finally said one day, 'You know Bob, I have a bumper sticker on my car that says: If you don't like America get out.' I said, 'I noticed you don't like the Vietnamese. Don't you think we ought to get out?' 'Well,' he said, 'I never thought of it that way.'"

"In other words, there are a lot of people that, if they take time to be just a little objective, they can be more humane with a lot of people and can begin to think about things just a little bit clearer. I just brought that out to show you how the press distorts things for the masses of people in this country. The people don't know the truth. The only thing people know is that Bobby Seale cussed a judge out, picked up some guns and shot at somebody. They believe everything they read in the paper. They believe things which are not true."

"I want to say more about the Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party and how it was related to the People's Campaign in Oakland. What happened was that over the years—which stretch back to January of 1969—we implemented some programs, survival programs, real community programs, because this is what Malcolm was trying to tell us to

do: implement concrete programs that really serve the people. One of the first basic service-type programs we implemented that was tangible to serve the community was the Free Breakfast for Children Program. The children were hungry. It didn't take a long analysis to put this together.

"('You know, you go to college sometimes—and I'm not saying you shouldn't be analytical and systematically analyze and store information—but sometimes you get into some of these classes and somebody is talking about giving some *critique* on what politics is... Politics to me is organizing and unifying the people around their basic desires and needs and getting out there and working. Let's identify the thing for what it is. What I'm saying is to implement a basic program like the Free Breakfast for Children Program comes from a real concrete analysis.)"

**YOUNG BROTHER**

"One day, in late 1968, in front of the Black Panther Party National/Central Headquarters on Grove Street in Oakland, California, a young brother came by and said, 'Hey, you know they're having an argument down there as to whether or not we can have free lunch.' And another brother said, 'I ain't never had no free breakfast in my stomach. I need some food in my stomach before I go to school in the morning.' So, I said to another Party member that all we have to do is to start a program to feed some of these children; it would be a beautiful demonstration program. I said, 'This is the kind of thing we will have to do.'"

"We had the Ten Point Platform and Program as an outlined document of what we want and what we believe and we began to implement some real programs."

"So, we went down to St. Augustine Church to see if we could use it as a location and then we went over to a couple of supermarkets and asked them if they would support a breakfast program for the community since they had their businesses in the Black community. We went over to one particular store, Lewis Stores, and he said, 'Do what?' I said, 'We want to feed the hungry kids in the morning. If you could donate 40 or 50 dollars worth of food every week that will feed a lot of kids. Other proprietors have donated a little bit and that helps us organize the people so we can get a bill passed in the legislature to feed all children who are poor, oppressed and hungry. Other people go up there and they have lobby groups to get money for their programs. We can do the same thing. That helps to trans-

form and build our struggle. I said, 'Tell you what, you just come down and check our program out.' He was a White businessman but all I wanted for him to do was to check it out."

"He came down and next thing you know that man was donating 5 crates of eggs a week. The next thing you know we were feeding almost 3,000 children in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area. It started spreading across the country; in different Chapters and Branches of the Party. We were feeding over 30,000 children every morning—hungry children."

"There are just too many children going to school hungry. We talk about wanting education. We talk about wanting to teach children and the fact that they are not teaching Black children correctly in terms of our history, our culture and themselves. They don't have enough education of that kind in the schools. But even if they had that, if they go to school hungry they couldn't learn anything, anyway."

"It's very simple. Here is some teacher who is trying to teach a child one apple plus two apples equals three apples—'Johnny, what is the sum of one apple plus five pieces of fruit.' If this child is hungry he is trying to figure out some method to sum up some fruit in his stomach."

"What I am getting at is when we started dealing with some concrete programs, we organized a lot of mothers and a lot of people. We jammed some politicians about that program. Mrs. March Fong, who was the Chinese woman who happened to be a state legislator in the 15th Assembly District at the time, was brought down there and she loved it. We jammed a couple other politicians and asked them what they thought of free breakfast for hungry children in the morning. You know what they said, 'Well, I don't know about these types of Panther Programs.' I said, 'Man I don't want to hear that nonsense about a

*Panther Program*. This is a *Community Program*. What do you think about it?' 'I'm going to tell you something', I told them, 'I have 780 Black Panthers sitting right out there in Oakland, in your district, and if you don't support this program we are going to saturate the community with leaflets saying you don't support free breakfast for children in the morning.'"

"Those were the beginning days, back in 1969. We were trying to show the people that we were going to add new character and justice into the movement. It also, as we found out later, helps register people to vote."

**SICKLE CELL ANEMIA**

"Take Sickle Cell Anemia testing for example. In this country right now I do not know of one federal, state, county or local government organization or even one so-called Sickle Cell research group in this country that has tested 10,000 Black people for Sickle Cell Anemia. I don't know one that has done that. However, the Black Panther Party's People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics that are established in our Chapters and Branches throughout the country, have tested nearly 1/2 million people in the last 2 1/2 years. This has caused us to organize people in a concrete manner on a basis they can understand. No one else went to their doors. This is what preventative health care and attention means, when you start talking about concrete organizing and organizing people around basic programs."

"We talk about preventative health care and attention but I look around and I see some politicians demanding \$500,000 more for more hospital beds. I say, 'Wait a minute. Look at all the people in the community who are sick. Why don't we have preventative health care and attention?'"

"We designed a program and moved to pressure the city of Berkeley to implement it there."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



The Black Panther Party has distributed free food in massive amounts such as this distribution in Houston, Texas, in 1972.



# IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON

AND HUEY P. NEWTON

After the February, 1971, meetings between Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, and Erik H. Erikson, Harvard professor and psychiatrist, came to a close in New Haven, a month passed before they met again in Oakland. One of their first topics at the Oakland meeting's start was the different characteristics of the meetings themselves. The Oakland discussion was more relaxed and friendly and enjoyed fuller results.

## ERIKSON:

One other question should be discussed in this context, too: What is going to happen to those masses—and they are not only to be found in middle America—whose identity is vitally related to the running of industries? It's interesting, isn't it, how little those of us who work on the border between humanist and revolutionary imageries think of the vast mass of people who have become the human tools of industrialization as well as the consumers of what is produced by it. How would a general denouement of the American technological know-how affect them, and what alternative identifications are available in this stage of technology? Will they indulge, by necessity, in new forms of reactionary intercommunalism? And doesn't Huey speak primarily for another part of the population of the world—those who are moving from a tradition of ex-colonial agrarianism into a kind of anarchic urbanization? I would, in fact, claim that many radical intellectuals, because of their preoccupation with traditional literary models, are nostalgically hung up on such identity conflicts and prefer to ignore the real conflicts of the modern working man.

It's getting late, and I would like to come back to at least one of the many questions which I could not answer earlier. Yes, pseudospeciation, no matter how it started, has become a powerful need for the human race, having absorbed not only specifically human habits of imagination but also instinctive forces working for orientation and adaptation. This combination has, in fact, led to a paradox which can only be called man's *pseudologia realis*, that is, his tendency to wrap solid facts and effective techniques into

visionary world images to make-believe and usurpation. I can only suggest that we study this carefully, for it seems that neither moral outrage nor fresh utopian commitments can change this trend to ever new illusions, leading eventually to the same old power struggles. Without new insights, we must really fear new outbreaks of that reactionary pseudospeciation which found (we hope) its climax in Hitler, and we may well wonder what will become of some of our era's liberations when the liberated will face each other as brothers, each a god on earth.

*The conversation continued for a few moments in an effort to pick up old threads, but the New Haven meetings were clearly over.*

In the month that followed the meetings in New Haven, it happened that four persons who had been heavily involved in the earlier gathering met in various

then, we gathered in Newton's Oakland apartment and the second round of talks began.

As the following transcript makes clear, the tone of the second meeting was distinctly different from the first. In the first place, the participants were by now better acquainted and more comfortable in one another's company. In the second place, the formality which had been imposed upon us in New Haven by the need for security and the sheer weight of numbers was no longer a factor. And in the third place, we had a natural subject with which to begin—a review of what had happened at Yale.

A good deal has been written in the press about Newton's apartment: that it is elegant and expensive, that it sits high above the streets of Oakland and thus commands a sweeping view of the bay, that it has wall-to-wall carpeting, sliding glass partitions, and a number of other luxuries. All of that is true. What



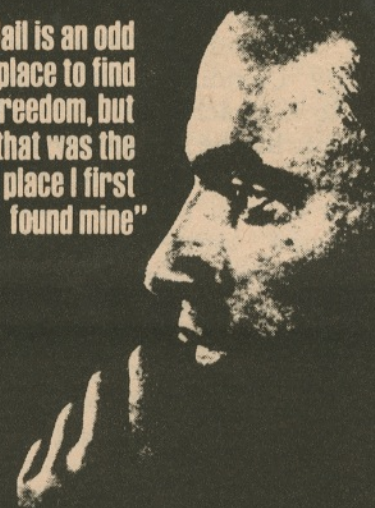
Brother HUEY P. NEWTON at home looking through telescope at Alameda County Court House.

groupings to talk about it. Erik Erikson spent the month of March in the San Francisco Bay area and met several times with Huey Newton. Herman Blake and Kai Erikson, the one a black sociologist from the University of California at Santa Cruz and the other a White sociologist from Yale, met twice in New Haven to compare notes. And, to complete the cycle, Blake and the older Erikson also spent some time together in Oakland. So it seemed logical and perhaps even inevitable that the four of us would pick up the hanging threads and continue. At the end of March,

is not said in the press, however, is that the apartment is almost as spare as a cell. The walls are bare of decorations, the furniture impersonal, and the apartment itself sits twenty-five floors above the streets where Huey Newton grew up and lived most of his years—twenty-five floors above the smell of honest cooking and the sound of everyday life and the flow of real human activity. Both literally and figuratively, this is a high price to pay for security, and most of the people who have felt disappointed or irritated because a revolutionary leader lives in such expensive circumstances

## 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

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

have not really given very much thought to what they mean.

The living room of the suite is dominated by a large television set: during the time I was there it was tuned to a closed-circuit channel and focused on the front door so that a viewer could monitor the traffic coming in or going out. In the bedroom there is a superb telescope, a present to Huey on the occasion of his thirtieth birthday. When I saw it, it was attached to a tripod and trained at a small window across Lake Merritt. In the glare of the California sun, one cannot see anything in that window; but in the evening, apparently, one can make out the faint silhouettes of people as they pass back and forth behind the opening. Newton spends hours observing that scene. It is the little death row of the county jail.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

REGISTER  
TO VOTE



# NIXON ADMITS HE COMMITTED CRIME

(Washington, D.C.) - Time is fast running out for Richard Nixon's days in the White House. He seems bent on giving the House Judiciary Committee the final evidence it needs to impeach him.

Not only has he arrogantly attempted to limit the scope of the committee's investigation by refusing to give the committee "non-Watergate-related" tape recordings and documents, but he gave himself away and showed himself to be the criminal that he is when he admitted in his nationwide televised press conference that he learned last March 21 from former White House Counsel John W. Dean III that hush money had been paid to the Watergate burglars.

Legal experts say that federal law requires that knowledge of the commission of a felony be reported to the appropriate authorities. The President deliberately concealed Dean's statement from federal prosecutors who, at that time were investigating the case. Instead, Nixon instructed his own aids, now charged in the cover-up, to find out "the facts"

Title 18, Section 4 of the Federal Criminal Code, entitled "Misprison of Felony", says: "Whoever, having knowledge of the actual commission of a felony recognizable by a court of the United States, conceals and does not as soon as possible make known the same to some judge or other person in civil or military

authority under the United States, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than three years or both."

By failure to report Dean's statement, Nixon violated federal law.

Members of the Judiciary Committee reacted angrily to the President's attempts to limit the scope of its investigation. The committee voted unanimously to urge Judge John Sirica to give them two reports and a briefcase said to contain information on Nixon's role in the cover-up. Along with Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, the committee has informed the White House that it may well issue formal subpoenas for the evidence it wants which Nixon is withholding.

Claiming that it's going "the last mile" in an effort to get the President's cooperation, the committee, at this writing, has postponed its confrontation with the White House. Members say that if it becomes necessary to issue subpoenas, it wants the American people to demand it. The committee need not worry, for the number of people wanting Richard Nixon out of the White House grows larger daily.

Meanwhile, the indictment of six men in connection with the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist adds another chapter to the chronicle of the high crimes and misdemeanors of the Nixon administration. Those indicted were John D. Ehrlichman,

Charles W. Colson, G. Gordon Liddy, Bernard L. Barker, Eugenio R. Martinez and Felipe de Diego. E. Howard Hunt, Jr., Egil Krogh, Jr., and David R. Young were named as unindicted co-conspirators.

If the committee does issue subpoenas, it is almost certain that disclosures on Nixon's income tax payments, his administration's relations with the International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) Corporation and his decision to authorize secret bombing of Cambodia in 1969, among other things, will further reveal his illegal behavior.

A cry is spreading throughout the land for Nixon's impeachment. The people are proclaiming their intention to return control of government to themselves and make this a government of, by and for the people. □

## WHITE HOUSE

(Washington, D.C.) - President Nixon has seized his opportunity to further set the stage for a trumped-up power play by equipping White House guards with anti-aircraft missiles to "ward off attack on the White House by air" The two recent "near misses" by men supposedly attempting to fly aircraft into the White House has provided a convenient political climate for Nixon to beef up his security, claiming that his life and the sacred office of the presidency are in grave danger.

# OPERATION GEMSTONE: THE GREAT WATERGATE CONSPIRACY BY C.R.I.C. and DONALD FREED

"Operation Gemstone: The Great Watergate Conspiracy" by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee is a detailed expose of the Nixon administration; how its actions and plans all comprised a conspiracy by Nixon to assume complete power over the country. Last week's excerpt from the book examined Charles Colson, former aide to the President and a chief Watergate conspirator. This week Colson's and Nixon's links to the corrupt Teamsters Union are exposed.

### ATTACKING ENEMIES

The friendship of the Nixon Administration for the Teamsters is also indicated in another case. Frank Fitzsimmons, the Teamster president, hosted a conference for several hundred Teamster lawyers at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, in August of 1972. Former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, Labor Secretary James Hodgson, National Labor Relations Board chairman Edward Miller, and many other administration officials were present as guests of the Teamsters to help them understand the functioning of the Justice Department and to explain the new Federal Elections Campaign Act. Charles Colson was instrumental in making arrangements for this conference. This was part of his job as liaison with special interest groups.

If a Teamster official was not a Nixon supporter, however, he could expect trouble. As part of the "Enemies List" project Colson wrote John Dean a memo dated June 12, 1972. He had learned from "very, very good authority" that Harrold J. Gibbons, a Teamster vice president in St. Louis, had discrepancies in his income tax returns. "Gibbons, you should know, is an all out enemy, a McGovernite, ardently anti-Nixon," Colson wrote. The strong implication of the memo was that Gibbons' income tax returns should be investigated because he was an "enemy." When Colson admitted to Senator Lowell Weicker that he had written this memo, the Senator, full of justifiable indignation, threw him out of his office.

Colson was a prime force in preparing the much publicized Enemies List. Both the master list of about 250 names and a smaller list of 20 names were prepared in his office. He claimed that the list was innocent in purpose, that it was only used to make "the social office, the personnel office, the press office" aware of "persons who had been particularly critical of the President", but various phrases in the list of 20 individuals contradict this benign claim. In the introductory paragraph he describes the list as worthwhile for 'go' status: It is in



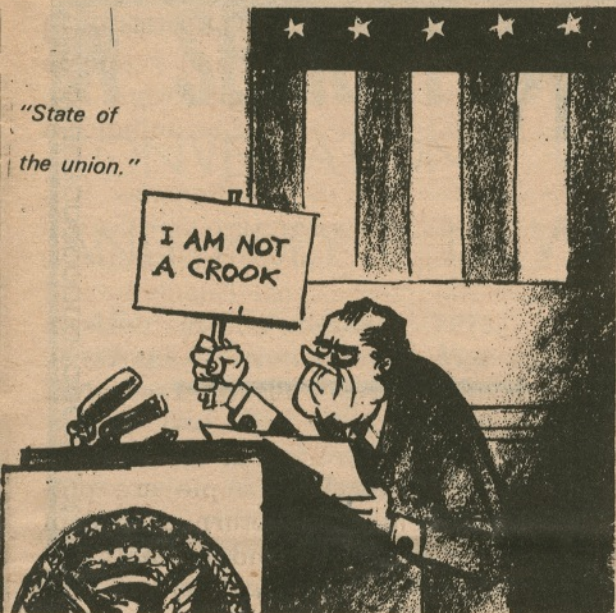
priority order." In remarks about various individuals he made the following comments: "Success here could be both debilitating and very embarrassing to the Muskie machine." "It is time to give him the message." "They should be hit hard..." "...a scandal would be most helpful here." "...a

## "THESE ARE THAT TRY ME

The following, by the American Revolutionary War patriot Thomas Paine, is taken from his pamphlet, The Crisis, No. 1. Paine was one of the most progressive of all Revolutionary War leaders, and his series of pamphlets all published under the name The Crisis were widely distributed and read by soldiers as well as patriotic citizens during the war.

"These are the times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot





# "THE PRESIDENCY SHALL NOT BE WEAKENED"

(Washington, D.C.) - The American people have learned the hard way that when Nixon says "I will do nothing to weaken the office of the Presidency", he means that he will do everything to increase the power of the presidency.

Nixon made the statement again at his latest press conference on March 6. It was his response to a question about whether he would "submit to cross-examination if it would serve to clear up this Watergate affair".

"Well first, Mr. Lisagor (the questioner)" answered Nixon, "I will do nothing to weaken the office of the presidency and to submit to cross-examination under circumstances that would in effect put the President in the box..." The questioner had made the point that "some legal scholars, including Senator Sam Ervin, a constitutional expert, have said that the truth about Watergate would never be fully established unless all witnesses subject themselves to or submit to cross-examination".

Nixon, we see, is not only trying to prevent the truth from reaching the public, but he is attempting to assume privileges and powers the Constitution gives no citizen. As a witness and participant in events for which former leading members of his administration have

been indicted by U.S. courts of law, Nixon is liable to testify in courts of law and subject to prosecution in these same courts as is any other U.S. citizen.

Clearly, Nixon feels no obligation to adhere to the Constitution and the law. His incessant statements on "the office of the Presidency" reflect his yearning for absolute power. As his power grows, so does our oppression.

It is for this reason that the Black Panther Party demands the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President. The disclosure of the present Watergate crimes indicated that uncovered Watergates of the past were responsible for much oppression. And what Watergates could lie ahead if the corrupt Executive branch of government is maintained? A monarch more adroit than Nixon may come along whose Watergate crimes will not be uncovered — and our oppression would increase.

The Black Panther Party Proposal to Eliminate the Presidency proposes to do away with all Watergates and return the power usurped by the Executive to the duly elected representatives of the people — the Congress of the United States of America.

In another important Watergate matter discussed at the press conference, Nixon was asked, "Have you figured out why the payment of \$75,000 in alleged hush money occurred the same day you said you disapproved of the practice?" Nixon lied that he had no information on this. The "hush money" was paid to the Watergate burglars to keep them quiet about the role of Nixon and his top aides in the Watergate burglary. □

## GETS MISSILES

We may witness more "attacks" and "threats" upon Nixon and some of his co-conspirators, for this presidential demon would like nothing more than an excuse to call out the military to protect the White House" and end up using the Army to insure against his removal from office, physically or politically. It is important that the American people guard against such moves, for the Nixon administration has been known to use provocateurs to produce the desired political climate.

first class S.O.B." "A real media enemy." These are phrases of a person intent on actively attacking his opposition in any underhanded way possible. Colson did exactly that.

Colson and others attempted to use various parts of the federal government in attacks against their enemies. Secret Service agent James C. Bolton, Jr., provided information on activities of Senator George McGovern that eventually reached Colson according to an August 16, 1972, memo to Colson from one of his assistants. The information alleging that McGovern had met with a subversive in Massachusetts proved to be completely erroneous.

In a June 12, 1972, memo to John Mitchell, Colson urged him to suggest to Attorney General Richard Kleindienst that the Justice Department should investigate allegedly improper financial dealings of Henry L. Kimelman. Kimelman was the chief fund raiser for

Senator McGovern. His name appears on the Enemies List. This memo to Mitchell came several months after John Dean had informed Colson's office that the Justice Department had determined "That there was not sufficient basis to verify such changes" The FBI made two unsuccessful investigations of Kimelman, but Colson was persistent. In other memos from his assistant, W Richard Howard, to John Dean and Dean's assistant, Fred Fielding, Howard suggested checking for information on Kimelman with the IRS, Justice, and Interior Departments. "As Colson says, there must be something that we can use someplace in this government..." wrote Howard.

Nearly every morning at 9:15 during the 1972 campaign six men met in Charles Colson's office to discuss political campaign strategy. The group became known as "the 9:15 group" and later more appropriately "the Attack Group". Colson was the leader. Their job was to analyze what the Democrats were saying and doing, determine what responses were required, and choose the methods of attack that could best place the Democrats on the defensive. Their game was political propaganda. "Our biggest failing", one of them has said, "was that we all wanted to cut throats." "...We were all aggressive, and we were all action-oriented." Their efforts won for them gold cufflinks inscribed "9:15" in memory of the 1972 campaign.

Colson's "Attack Group" slowly took sway over Haldeman's more "legitimate" "November Group" Colson controlled the CRP through Liddy, the "November Group" through Segretti, and the "Plumbers" through Hunt.

In an earlier election in 1970, Colson provided leads and information for a *Life*

magazine article that helped cause the defeat of Senator Joseph Tydings, Democrat from Maryland. During this same election campaign Colson was involved with advertisements which attacked seven Democratic senators as radicals who favored domestic violence, legalized heroin, abandonment of war prisoners, and immediate surrender in Vietnam. Such tactics amount to nothing less than psychological warfare, or as they say in Vietnam — "psy-war"

Dirty tricks, political favors for money, corruption, psychological warfare to beat a political opponent, utilization of federal agencies for political purposes — these are the things Charles W. Colson was into as Special Counsel to the President and "liaison to special interest groups". And yet the items described here were relatively mild. He was capable of more. □

## THE TIMES N'S SOULS" .... THOMAS PAINE

will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem to lightly: 'Tis dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it should be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated."

**ELIMINATE PRESIDENCY PAPER AVAILABLE**

THE BLACK PANTHER has available upon request copies of the Black Panther Party's Position Paper on the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President. This important document may be obtained free of charge by writing: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94621.



# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PROGRAM

### 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 out 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 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 person 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 bonds 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.





## REBELLION SPREADS IN ETHIOPIA - 100,000 WORKERS STRIKE

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) - A general strike that paralyzed this city, rapidly spread throughout the country and at this writing involves close to 100,000 workers. The rebellious momentum increased despite Emperor Haile Selassie's appointment of the new Premier, Endalkatchew Makonnen, and a promise to hold a constitutional convention leading toward more democratic government.

The strike is under the leadership of the government created Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions which is presenting sixteen demands. They include a threefold increase in the minimum wage — from 50 cents a day to \$1.50 — the right to strike, pension plans, a social security system and protection from the rapidly rising cost of living.

In response to demands by the confederation for immediate implementation of all the demands, the new Prime Minister last week promised only that he would give decisions on the individual demands in three to six months.

Militants within the confederation who are reportedly leading the strike action, insist the strike will continue until all the demands are met. Workers and militant students demonstrated throughout Addis and in other major centers in support of immediate implementation of all the demands. Reports indicate that the police and the army, in support of the workers' demands, have done little to thwart the demonstrations.

The call by the Emperor on last Tuesday for the Premier to



*Ethiopian monarch HAILE SELASSIE.*

convene a constitutional convention that would make the Premier responsible to Parliament, severely undermining the Emperor's own absolute authority, has reportedly been received coolly throughout the country.

Many workers did not attempt to demonstrate but merely quit their jobs or stayed home. Bus

transportation and unionized industry were shut down. Hotels, banks and other enterprises were severely affected, but some operated with management doing the work. Many non-unionized enterprises were forced to close down as well.

The general rebellion was ignited early last week by demands of lower ranks in the army, joined by the police, for pay increases. The Emperor's unprecedented concession to the army rebellion set off the chain of demands for pay raises to meet the great increase in the cost of living and demands for greater democracy for this feudal monarchy.

Continuous negotiations between leaders of the labor confederation and the new government appear to be leading to some further concessions from the government. However, in the nearly two week period of the disturbances, each government concession has resulted in new demands from various segments of the population.

Latest reports indicate that negotiations with the confederation of trade unions have produced agreement from the new Premier to make the enactment of labor legislation a parliamentary priority.

Reports on developments are largely confined to events in the cities of Addis Ababa and Asmara, the two major cities in Ethiopia. However, militants, including workers, students and some units of the military, are demanding "land to the tillers".

The most oppressed members of the population of Ethiopia are the many millions of peasants and tillers of the land, who live the life of serfs under feudal customs of land ownership by members of the Ethiopian elite. Genuine democracy in Ethiopia must emerge from the break up of the great landed estates and distribution of the land to the landless.

□□□

### RACIST AMBASSADOR

(New Delhi, India) - The same Daniel P. Moynihan that several years ago said in a "private memo" that civil rights demands of Black people should be treated with "benign neglect" is now the U.S. Ambassador to India. In that capacity he recently remarked "in private" that U.S. interests in establishing a permanent naval and air base on the British-owned island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean were "more important" than India's and that there was nothing of "fundamental concern" for India there. □

## P.A.I.G.C. LEAFLETS APPEAR IN LISBON FOR FIRST TIME

(Lisbon, Portugal) - The recent first-time distribution in Lisbon of leaflets published by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) has caused the Portuguese government to publicly reaffirm its determination to remain a colonial power in Africa.

The PAIGC leaflets, smuggled into the country, urge Portuguese soldiers to refuse to participate in the colonial army's "barbaric crimes" against the people of Guinea-Bissau. The PAIGC, which declared the West African country a republic last September, also described in the leaflet Portuguese bombings of liberation schools in Iador and Tambico where fifteen children were killed.

The PAIGC's success in distributing the leaflets inside Portugal is an important victory in the current war of national liberation being waged inside Guinea-Bissau. Undoubtedly setback by this achievement, the Portuguese government felt compelled last week to let the world know it means to stay in Africa. In a special appearance before the

National Assembly, Premier Marcello Caetano declared that Portugal's goal continues to be multiracial societies for its "overseas provinces", which also include Angola and Mozambique.

Caetano dismissed the possibility of any separate settlement for Guinea-Bissau, which is recognized as being independent by over eighty countries.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



*The P.A.I.G.C. is the people's government of Guinea-Bissau.*

### AUSTRALIA

## ABORIGINES DEMONSTRATE AT ROYAL VISIT

(Canberra, Australia) - Queen Elizabeth II of England was met by 200 Aborigine demonstrators when she arrived for the opening ceremonies of the Australian Parliament. The slogan "Land Rights Now" from the throng clearly drowned out the singing of the national anthem.

The demonstrators also called for support for Mr. Charles Perkins, an Aborigine who was suspended from his government job after he was reported to have said that two of Australia's major political parties are racist. The demonstrators

said they agreed with Mr. Perkins' position.

The Queen stood silently at the top of the Parliament House steps during the demonstration. There was no violence.

A short while after the demonstration, an unidentified Aborigine gunman temporarily held two White officials in the Department of Aboriginal Affairs at gunpoint as a protest. He then surrendered peacefully to the police.

The Queen interrupted her tour and returned to Britain but was planning to return to other Australian cities at a later date.

Australian Aborigines are discriminated against and have few rights in any sphere of life under the White racist ruling regime.



# SUDANESE FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES THE SUDAN AND AFRICA

Dr. Mansour Khalid, Foreign Minister of the Sudan, recently completed a tour of European capitals together with other Arab ministers to explain present Arab oil policies. Dr. Khalid gave the following interview to Africa magazine in London. Continued from last week's THE BLACK PANTHER, this final segment discusses Sudanese unity and the Sudan's role as an Arab/African country.

AFRICA: The restoration of peace and harmony between the Brown and the Black of your country rightly ranks as one of the greatest achievements of President Gaafar Nemeiry's government. What influence has this new harmony between races and religions in your country had on your foreign policy?

KHALID: The reconciliation between the North and the South has undoubtedly contributed to the political stability of the country as a whole and has also helped to remove the tension which existed before between the Sudan and the neighboring African countries where many thousands of southerners had taken refuge.

## P.A.I.G.C. LEAFLETS IN LISBON

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

The increasing success of the liberation wars in Portuguese colonies has been acknowledged by none other than the former Portuguese commanding officer in Guinea-Bissau, who is now acting Chief of Staff for the Portuguese armed forces. In a book published last month, General Antonio de Spínola said that a Portuguese military solution to the liberation wars in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique is impossible. He explained, "Portugal must recognize the principle that its colonies must become self-governing within the framework of a united and reformed Portugal"

Recent PAIGC military actions underscore Spínola's statement but clearly indicate that Guinea-Bissau has no intention of remaining "within" the Portuguese framework. A revolutionary armed forces attack on Portuguese military installations left twenty-two dead and several

It had been rather hypocritical in the past on the part of the Sudan government to preach to others what to do while civil strife and injustices prevailed in our own country. But now internal peace has strengthened the hand of the Sudan government and given more authority to its views and policies in regard to political, economic and social developments in our region as well as in Africa as a whole.

AFRICA: Do you see the Sudan as a bridge between the northern and southern parts of the African continent?

KHALID: I think the word bridge is misplaced. It signifies something passive, an object over which people walk. We rather regard ourselves as a microcosm of Africa and our success in bringing about harmony between our different peoples and cultures should encourage the movement for the unification of the entire continent, because what we are trying to create in the Sudan is a kind of model for African unity.

AFRICA: Yet there are still forces inside your country which oppose your vision. Recently we have



DR. MANSOUR KHALID.

heard of student troubles at the Khartoum University. How do you assess the significance of these events for the future of your country and its political stability?

KHALID: Yes, we had student unrest at the university and schools, but this has now died down and the University of Khartoum has reopened. Whatever opposition there is at the university against our policies we shall try to fight it by political means, through our Sudanese Socialist Union rather than by administrative decrees.

But don't forget one thing. While student unrest elsewhere, notably in Europe, in most cases shows a progressive character, of young people rebelling against old and ossified structures, in our case the opposite is true. We are ourselves a progressive and revolutionary government whilst the ringleaders of the unrest, the Moslem Brotherhood, are bent on turning the clock of history back.

AFRICA: Finally, Sudan's relationship with the world power blocs, notably with the communist world. Relations with the Soviet Union dramatically deteriorated after the abortive communist-led coup in July 1971. What further developments have taken place between Khartoum and Moscow?

KHALID: I am glad to say that relations with the USSR have lately been improving and that we are re-establishing normal contacts and dealings between the two governments. But these will be strictly inter-State relations, based on respect for our sovereignty and non-alignment. I don't think relations with the Soviet Union will ever be the same again as they had been before July 1971. □

## Africa In Focus

### SOUTH AFRICA

A recently published African National Congress (ANC) report states that South Africa's military budget has increased tenfold over the past ten years. The reports name France as the principle supplier of arms to the White, minority regime of the Republic of South Africa, at the current rate of \$200 million a year. The arms include jet planes, helicopters, submarines, launches, tanks, missiles and radar equipment. These arms are being accumulated to wage war against the rapidly developing African freedom movements within South Africa and throughout southern Africa.

### MOZAMBIQUE

The Lisbon, Portugal, correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* reports that African guerrillas in Mozambique last month machine-gunned a Portuguese train on the vital railway line from the port of Beira to Malawi, killing five persons and wounding another six. FRELIMO guerrillas opened up on the train from both sides "creating panic among the passengers", according to the report. The action is aimed at disrupting and ultimately cutting this important Portuguese rail link with which the Portuguese supply and replenish Portuguese military establishments in central Mozambique.

### GUINEA-BISSAU

Freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau have brought down another Portuguese "reconnaissance" plane by ground-to-air, SA-7 "Estrella" missiles in the northeast of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, close to the Senegal border, according to the Lusitania news agency of Portugal. The agency claimed the pilot ejected safely by parachute. More than 20 aircraft, including Fiat G-91 strike and reconnaissance planes have been shot down by missiles over the last ten months by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

## GAS LINES GROW LONGER

(Oakland, Calif.) - Lines to gasoline stations in the Oakland-San Francisco Bay Area continued to grow longer last week despite new buying restrictions designed to shorten them. Three Bay Area counties have implemented an odd-even license plate restriction, but the plan has not helped because only a small percentage of local stations have received their March gas allotment. □



# POLICE ATTACK WORKERS IN MARTINIQUE - ONE DEAD, SEVERAL WOUNDED

(Fort-de-France, Martinique) - One worker was killed and several were wounded when police attacked a group of about 100 demonstrators on the French-controlled territory of Martinique, a tiny island in the Caribbean, recently. The demonstrators were enroute to a farm to assist the employees there who were conducting a work stoppage.

The incident occurred on February 14 and was described by the press in Martinique as "brief" and "bloody". Three police officers were "forced" to use their weapons in order to get away. The police were dispatched from Guadeloupe, a French-controlled territory in the Caribbean, and Guiana, a French-controlled territory on the northern coast of South America.

## GENERAL STRIKE

The demonstration was connected with a general strike which Martinique's major unions called on February 12. The strike was called to support employees of the newspaper, *France-Antilles*, whose workers had been on strike since November of 1973, in protest against the rise in the cost of living.

The economic crisis in Martinique is closely interrelated with the one crop economy (sugar cane) on which France has forced the country to rely, as well as the island's dependence on France for supplies.

The French Minister of Overseas Departments and Territories

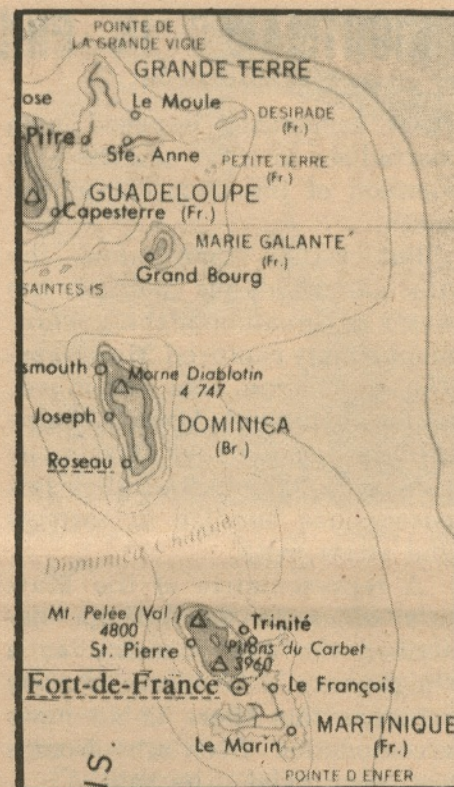
blamed the demonstration on "leaders of far left movements who, for several weeks, have been urging the workers in the country to stop their work. The union apparatus was overrun by these uncontrolled groups...". Twelve political and union organizations however, disputed the government's version and blamed the demonstrations on employees.

"The workers who were attacked testify that they were pursued by large groups of police in cars, motorcycles and helicopters, who fired bullets and tear gas cannisters at them. Many Renor, father of seven, was killed

in cold blood; several people were seriously wounded and sent to various hospitals", said the political and union organizations.

Following the demonstration, the twelve organizations sent the French government a telegram demanding "cessation of the repression, and the prosecution of those responsible for it".

A larger percentage of electrical workers, dockers and garbage collectors participated in the February 12 general strike. In Fort-de-France and other towns, various union and political organizations held meetings, marches and demonstrations. Most high schools were deserted.



# "NIGHTMARE" IN THE PHILIPPINES

## GOVERNMENT TERRORIZES MUSLIM POPULATION

*The Philippine government of dictator President Ferdinand Marcos recently defeated Muslim liberation forces on the island of Jolo. In the following article published by the Pacific News Service, Australian journalist Robin Osborne vividly describes government horrors against the Muslims who seek independence from the repressive rule of Marcos.*

(Philippines) - Reports now coming into Zamboanga discount earlier versions of the fighting and destruction in Jolo, the island southwest of here where govern-

ment and Muslim forces have been battling for weeks.

"The government soldiers have burned our homes", wept an old woman from Jolo. "The whole city is on fire." The bitter refugees say that this was done to destroy possible rebel hideouts. Some also feel Jolo was razed because it is the oldest seat of Muslim culture in the Philippines.

Since the Spanish conquest of the islands in the 16th century, Sulu's Muslims have resisted



Dictator FERDINAND MARCOS

control by the central government. The fuse was lit in November, when some of the older Muslim leaders made an agreement with President Marcos, criticized as a "surrender" by the younger Muslim population. The time-bomb finally exploded several weeks ago when Muslim forces made a three-pronged attack on Jolo City, the capital of Jolo island. They struck at the bus station north of the business area, the airport, and the main army outpost, Camp Asturias.

By dawn the Muslims claimed possession of the city, with its predominantly Islamic population of over 20,000. Up to this time,

most reports agree, there were no civilian casualties.

Later in the afternoon government forces replied bluntly, as Jolo was bombarded by naval artillery and subjected to heavy aerial strafing. The Muslims claimed to have shot down one helicopter gunship, and to have forced another to withdraw by wounding its pilot. A government DC-3 was still operating in the area, and reinforcements from the Southwest Command here in Zamboanga swelled the government's troops on Jolo to over 5,000.


## FIERCE ATTACK

Under fierce government attack the Muslims held the city for three days. On the third day they pulled back, and the army retook Jolo. Government reprisals left thousands dead, wounded, and homeless. Many fled in small boats to the nearby uninhabited island of Marungas, where, though no water or food was available, they were safe.

Private launches, operating at owners' expense, worked a shuttle service, carrying refugees from Marungas to Zamboanga, a 10-hour ride. Boat crews complained of harassment from navy ships, saying that coastal patrol vessels "threatened to blow us from the water if we continued the evacuation service." The reason many feel such threats were made was to prevent the evacuees' stories from reaching the more peaceful population of Zamboanga.

Also cited is the total news blackout that exists in the Philippines. Newspapers are still under

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## "NIGHTMARE" IN PHILIPPINES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

strict censorship imposed with martial law in 1972, and carry no mention of the situation in the south.

But rather than blow the evacuation vessels out of the water as threatened, the government simply captured Marungas. The evacuation was continued, under government control. Ships arrived in Zamboanga carrying as many as 3,000 refugees, their few possessions bundled in sarongs and straw mats.

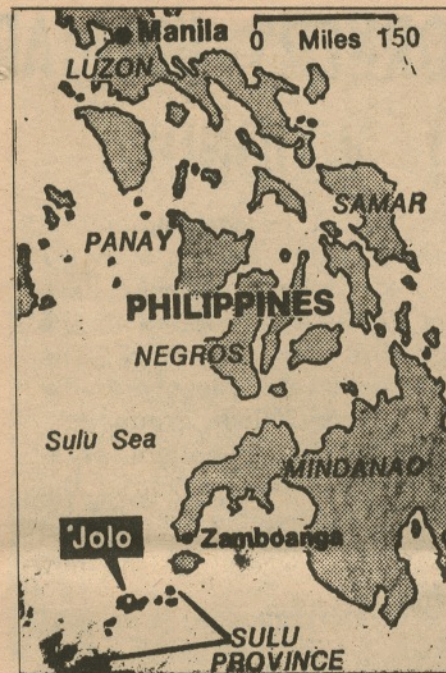
A representative of the Mayor's office in Zamboanga described the Jolo situation as a "nightmare" "We have so many refugees that there is no more accomodation. Even schoolrooms are being used", he said.

The refugees' stories are varied and tragic. One young man told of government firing squads

roaming the streets, executing "suspects". "Any male with long hair is shot", he said. "Even one of my friends, Sakkam, a policeman, was executed." His story is more plausible than it might appear at first, as the Mayor of Jolo, Aminkadra Abubakar, and a large percentage of his police force, have gone over to fight with the rebels.

It is said that any remaining civilians who venture outside of their homes are fired upon by occupying troops. A middle-aged Jolo executive, a *hajji* or one who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, warned that "now it's kill or be killed. Men are coming in from the countryside to battle the army. Perhaps it is Allah's will that the city will be destroyed."

If it is Allah's will, Manila is doing it in its own way. On the dock recently, 6 thousand bags of



rice were loaded on transports bound for Jolo. Also loaded were crates of ammunition, 2.75 inch rockets, and launchers. □

## PARADISE PRISON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

ordinary American correctional facilities is the absence of a "prison atmosphere", as one inmate put it. No strip-searches, beatings or harassment of the special prisoners is ever heard of. Work is available for those who might be bored with the other offered dalliances, but some of the inmates still complain of boredom. Crowded impersonal cells, airtight isolation boxes and experimental programs for the control of "chronic sociopaths" are not deemed necessary here. Those anti-social millionaires who would like a little isolation are free to hang "Knock Before Entering" signs on the doors of their rooms.

The incarceration of several government aides for their crimes against the people is apparently an act, performed to close the curtains over the American people's eyes. □

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

A series of entertaining skits followed which humorously but truthfully portrayed aspects of Third World women's lives on the job and at home.

Following the skits, a delicious array of international food was served. Also, during this intermission, the celebration participants viewed the beautiful displays put together by the Third World Women's Committee.

Last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER described the recent victory of the striking workers against the Farah Company. A Farah striker gave a history of that struggle when the celebration reconvened following intermission. Sister Janice Cobb then gave a poetry reading followed by the keynote address by Sister Tillman. She has been in the welfare rights struggle for several years and her remarks on the history of that struggle were especially enjoyed by the audience.

The philosophy and beliefs of the Third World Women's Committee were expressed in detail by Sister Miriam Ching. The celebration concluded with "The Rising of the World's People in Song" by the Third World Women's Committee of Bay Area Progressive Musicians with the audience joining in.

The spirit and organizing ability of Third World women in the Bay Area was beautifully demonstrated in this celebration that was tremendously enjoyed by all who attended. □



DOAN THI NAM HUU.

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## WORLD SCOPE

### FRANCE

(Paris, France) - Strongly protesting new U.S. criticism of the European Common Market's economic policy toward the Arab world, French diplomatic sources disputed the State Department's claim that the Common Market neglected to consult the U.S. before the decision last week to increase economic and other cooperation with twenty Arab countries.

### SPAIN

(Madrid, Spain) - Roman Catholic Bishop Antonio Anoveros remained under house arrest by the government for preaching a sermon advocating civil liberties for the Basque people while unrest spread throughout Spain with the closing of major universities and strikes by disgruntled taxi drivers and fishermen over marked increases in gasoline prices.

### JAPAN

(Tokyo, Japan) - An estimated 149,000 workers and housewives held anti-inflation rallies throughout Japan last week. Tokyo protestors adopted resolutions urging joint struggles against inflation, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka's government, and "corrupt business practices by big enterprises".

### WEST GERMANY

(Hamburg, West Germany) - West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party lost its majority in the city-state parliament here for the first time since 1957 in voting last week. Brandt has been a staunch "friend" of the U.S. power elite.

### BURMA

(Rangoon, Burma) - Prime Minister U Ne Win, who took over the government in a bloodless coup twelve years ago, has established constitutional rule in the country and said he is returning power to the People's Assembly.



## SPORTS

## "THE BATTLE OVER RACISM IN SPORTS"

## PART 2

Combining solid evidence with shrewd insight, Brother Paul Hoch, a professor in sociology of sports at Dawson College in Canada, lays bare the hardcore racist and reactionary attitudes which exist at the heart of the contemporary sports world. The following excerpt is taken from the chapter entitled "The Battle Over Racism in Sports", in Brother Hoch's book, Rip Off the Big Game. It is Part II of an ongoing series of excerpts THE BLACK PANTHER is proud to bring to our readers.

In one generation the situation has gone from one of virtual

exclusion of Blacks from American sports to what is today sometimes called the "plantation system." The contemporary situation resembles a plantation in that almost all of the overseers are White (except for the now-standard Black assistant coach in basketball) and almost all of the top players are Black. Moreover, when the professional basketball playoff games roll into town, we are faced with the odd situation of predominantly Black teams playing before predominantly White suburbanite audiences. (It is again highly reminiscent of the Roman amphitheater gladiator



Brothers TOMMIE SMITH [left] and JOHN CARLOS at 1968 Olympics.

contests in which African and Greek slaves performed for the predominantly Roman audiences.)

Even today you can pretty well keep Blacks out of the elite

sports—like tennis or golf or polo or even ice hockey. And if you have to have them, you have them room separately from the Whites. You discourage interracial dating. (It's bad for the image.) And perhaps most of all you have to crush quickly the "uppity" Blacks—otherwise they will all be getting out of hand.

Jack Johnson was an "uppity nigger." Worse still, he was heavyweight champ, could beat the pants off of any White around, and laugh in their face to boot. He fucked White women. So they caught him taking a White girl across state lines, and hit him with a criminal conviction for supposedly transporting her for purposes of prostitution. He was forced into exile, stripped of his title, and eventually, he claims in his autobiography, he had to make a deal to take a dive in exchange for a reduction on his jail sentence. His story is told in the play and movie *The Great White Hope*. (The title speaks for itself.)

Muhammed Ali is another "uppity" one. First he offended the White racist sportswriters by having too much to say, by not showing proper respect. He kept saying, "I am the greatest," he announced he was a Black nationalist, and to top it off he changed his name (to this day the most racist sportswriters refuse to call him by his Muslim name). But his supreme heresies were to call America a racist country and to refuse to be drafted to kill other men of color in Vietnam. Obviously, he did not know his place. So just as soon as he refused to be drafted and long before his case was decided in the courts—he was eventually acquitted—the self-appointed crusaders for Truth, Justice and the American Way on the boxing commissions decided that "Clay" was guilty until proven innocent, stripped him of his heavyweight title and refused to allow him to fight for three and half years.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

NEW OAKLAND A'S MANAGER  
A PROVEN RACIST

(Oakland, Calif.) When Charles O. Finley rehired Alvin Dark to replace Dick Williams as manager of the Oakland A's baseball team, the real issue was skirted altogether. Alvin Dark's bigotry had been the source of racial conflict when he left the team in 1967, so why does Finley rehire this negative catalyst to manage a team of men already fed up with being treated as Charlie O.'s playthings?

Dark's racist attitudes have been manifest throughout his managerial career. As manager of the San Francisco Giants in 1964, he publicly stated that "Negro and Spanish-speaking players...are just not able to perform up to White players when it comes to mental alertness. You can't make most Negro and Spanish players have the pride in their team that you get from White players."

The same mouth that voiced that clearly racist analysis will be mouthing orders to the A's all-star line-up of Black and Brown which includes Vida Blue, Bert Campaneris, Bill North and Reggie Jackson. Possibly foretelling a troubled season ahead, Jackson has said that the situation between Dark and the Black players was "in turmoil when he left"

If Finley wanted to pick a manager to try to "control his niggers and just make them play ball" both on field and at the

bargaining table, Dark was a good choice to have another crack at it. He is described as a bright, college-educated Southerner, reared in Southern traditions. He has apparently found difficulty in relinquishing the habits and beliefs internalized during his upbringing.

Dark was fired as manager of the Giants after an airline stewardess almost died after taking an overdose of sleeping pills in his hotel suite. When he managed the A's in Kansas City, he gradually reduced the number of Latin players on the roster. At his next stop as manager of the Cleveland Indians, he was suc-

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cessful in driving away over eight Black and Brown players.

Dark is quick to claim that he has changed however. He claims to be the model of clean living and will preach to anyone on the subject from the Bible he carries as a constant companion. However, no amount of fronting, claiming or preaching will prove him a different manager. Dark must prove himself not to Charlie O., but to the Black and Latino players of the Oakland A's who deserve a manager that can lead a championship team to more victories. Alvin's future had better be bright in order for us to forget his Dark past. □

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# MUHAMMAD ALI VISITS PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMPS



Associated Press

On a visit to two Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon, MUHAMMAD ALI, the former heavyweight boxing champion was greeted by refugees who fired their rifles in the air in jubilation. A guerrilla news agency quoted Ali as saying: "In my name and the name of all Muslims in America, I declare support for the Palestinian struggle to liberate their homeland and oust the Zionist invaders."

# "THE BATTLE OVER RACISM IN SPORTS"

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

(By comparison, recent boxing champions adjudged as "fit" to hold their titles included professional union-buster and assaulter Sonny Liston, convicted mugger Joey Giardello, panderer Jake LaMotta, army deserter Rocky Graziano, and as a "fit" top challenger—felony murderer Ruben Carter!)

The sportswriters jumped in gleefully, landing cheap shots left and right (mostly Right). The New York *Daily New's* patriotic columnist Gene Ward contrasted Ali with Joe Louis, the latter a credit to his race and one who dearly loved his country. Ali was not the first uppity Black to get the can. But the thing they never have, and never can forgive him for is that he fought back.

## OLYMPIC BOYCOTT

Just before the 1968 Olympics, Professor Harry Edwards tried to organize an Afro-American boycott of the Olympic Games on the grounds that their participation would be used to bolster America's image abroad while they continued to be treated like second-class citizens at home. One of those to join the boycott was basketball's most outstand-

ing player, Lew Alcindor. He was interviewed on television by that patriotic sportscaster Joe Garagiola. With his usual bluntness Joe told this uppity Black man that, if he didn't like things in this country, he could just get out.

Meanwhile, the Olympic establishment was having a fit over the boycott. After all, they were fighting hard to keep White racist Rhodesia and South Africa in the competition. And they had been threatened with a boycott of Black African and east European countries if they did that. So eventually they had to drop their South Africa cronies just to keep the show on the road. Luckily for them, the Black American boycott waned.

But then when sprint champions Tommy Smith and John Carlos gave their famous Black Power salute during the playing at the United States National Anthem, the Olympics establishment screamed bloody murder that the Blacks were "injecting politics into sport" (i.e., opposing the white supremacist politics of their bosses) and ejected them from the Games. After some stiff questioning from a *Ramparts* reporter at a subsequent press

conference, the U.S. Olympic Committee's press officer demanded to see the reporter's credentials. "You're on the nigger side, aren't you?" he said.

Most American and British sportswriters wrote that Smith and Carlos had been soundly booed. In fact, according to (former) *Ramparts* sports editor Jack Scott who was there, virtually the only boos to be heard came from these same writers.

Also, although the Western media did their damndest to minimize the fact, a good many White Olympians stood solidly with the Blacks. American hammer-throwers Hal Connolly and Ed Burke joined with various Blacks on the U.S. team in threatening to withdraw from the Games after the Smith-Carlos suspensions. Martin Jellinghaus, wearing the button of Harry Edwards' Olympic Project for Human Rights, noted after his team's bronze finish in the 1,600-meter relay, "I am wearing this medal because I feel solidarity not only for them as persons but for the movement, the human rights movement."

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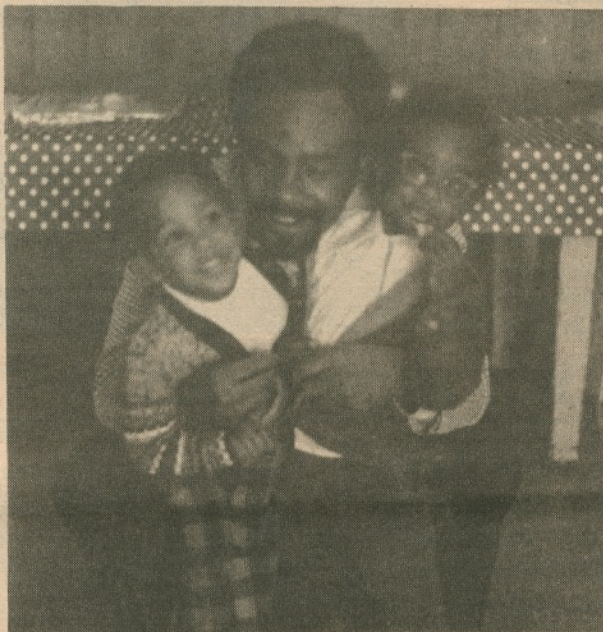
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Fumbling through my mind, grasping for Reality  
But afraid of what I might find.  
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Feeling so secure here.  
The price too high my Sanity.

Vicky  
Los Angeles, Calif.

UNTITLED

I see rhythms and singing in your words  
I see celebration and joy  
Together we are each ourselves  
together dancing

speaking of life

together we are ourselves  
apart  
we were  
not ourselves  
in community lies  
individual identity  
in bureaucracy  
loneliness.  
Let us help our friends  
to dance

Tim Moffatt  
Tempe, Arizona

THEATER REVIEW

"THE BALLAD OF DANGEROUS GEORGE" HIP, THOUGHT-PROVOKING, ENGROSSING

(San Francisco, Calif.) *The Ballad of Dangerous George* is a hip, thought-provoking and engrossing play. You'll want to see it. It is currently running Thursday through Sunday at San Francisco's Artist Enterprise Theatre.

Much of the success of *Dangerous George* lies in the play's ability to achieve a balance between the grossly exaggerated—sometimes hilariously funny, sometimes deadly serious—and the subtle yet sharp details of prison life in America. It is this balance, alternating back and forth, that moves the play forward; unfolding the dynamics of one brother's confrontation with himself...and then with his enemy.

Credit in particular should go to the play's author, Ken Wheelan, who obviously learned many things during his 15 years in prison. Yet, no playwright can really achieve his goals without the help of his cast, and the acting in *Dangerous George* is outstanding. Singling out anyone in the cast for extra plaudits is difficult, but mention must be

made of Ray Ashby (Bootnose), Louis Bailey (Jamal Abdul), Al White (George), and David Froman (Sgt. Murphy) for achieving maximum performances.

*The Ballad of Dangerous George* concerns the transformation of one prisoner, George Jones, from a hustler concerned only with his own welfare into a man willing to sacrifice his life to save his brothers. Returning to prison for parole violation, George figures he can do his six months time with no problems. Yet the arguments from his "home boy" turned Muslim, Jamal Abdul, to "check himself out" on the one hand, and the urging of the prison captain to give up information about a suspected escape attempt, on the other, bombard George relentlessly. He can't smooth talk his way around either of them too much longer. Neither can he continue to jive himself.

When Jamal Abdul is killed by a neo-Nazi prisoner and the neo-Nazi is stabbed to death in the ensuing fight between the Black prisoners and the racist Whites, George tries to break up the



*Dangerous George strangling Sgt. Murphy.*

fighting. But when Sgt. Murphy points his shotgun at George and screams out in the still silence, "Up against the wall, Boy, you too dark to remain neutral", the die is cast.

A short time later, when a young White prisoner George befriends is blocked from taking a note to the prisoners on Death Row informing them that someone has "snitched" and that the prison authorities know about the escape attempt, George's only resort is to start a fight with Sgt. Murphy. Shot in the back as he strangles Murphy with the guard's own club, George falls, and is beaten to death by Murphy. His body is then placed in the center of the yard as "example" to the other prisoners.

But it is not the plot by itself which makes or breaks *Dangerous George*. Rather, the plot is simply the vehicle through which the play's cast dramatically brings to the forefront the various individual attitudes which together make up the stark reality of prison life—a reality, which because of progressive examples like George, will never again be under the prison authorities' total control.


One point of criticism, however, must be made. If, as the theater hand bill states, "The playwright denies any attempt to depict the life of George Jackson", then the play's title simply represents a bold attempt to commercialize on George Jackson's name. Such a fine play deserves better than this kind of cheap advertising. □

M.F.

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**BOBBY: "WE ARE WORKING TO SET AN EXAMPLE"**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

We wanted money for vans, \$50,000 vans that are fully equipped with all the modern medical equipment for the doctors who had volunteered and the lab technicians and other people we were training. We wanted to take the van into the community, go into a 10-square-block area in the community and stay there. Then we would knock on doors and let the people know we were there and that they could receive medical attention. I don't care if it's a scratch, take the medicine to the people and educate the people. Give home tests for Sickle Cell Anemia, T.B., hypertension; teach the community about lead poisoning in children and about all the other things necessary for the community to know. That is preventative health care and attention.

**SURVIVAL CONFERENCE**

"March 29, 1972, when we gave away 10,000 full bags of groceries we also tested some 13,000 people for Sickle Cell Anemia. The last day of that 3-day Survival Conference, when we gave the remainder of the groceries away, I told people that the Black Panther Party and the other groups and organizations who had clinics working in a coalition had been arguing with the Berkeley city government for almost \$200,000 for those clinics; to get that money and not to build anymore hospital beds because we needed some preventative health care and attention. I told them, 'Don't vote anymore for any of those city councilmen in Berkeley.' We had been arguing for 6 months in a coalition, I told them. We are not going to support those programs. We had registered some 2½ thousand people to vote that particular day in Berkeley. You know what? Six days later, by a unanimous decision, the Berkeley City Council voted that money to all those clinics in the community.

"Now that was a small victory but by the very fact that we got those people out of their houses—



*Sickle Cell Anemia Testing Program.*

hungry people, people who had given up—for free bags of groceries and the fact that they also registered to vote scared those politicians. We connected a non-partisan voter registration program with organizing and unifying the people around their basic human desires and needs. You see what I mean?

"What I am saying is that we had a fat healthy grade A, three pound chicken in every bag with potatoes and eggs and other things and we told people to please register to vote and to stop voting for some of these lackey politicians who have no intention of serving our basic desires and needs. People were up on their feet hollering, 'Right on Bobby and Elaine, we'll do it!' Now that puts a little pressure on those politicians that they don't know how to deal with.

"You have to begin to organize people on that concrete level. These are the things that have to be done. Elaine and I had a grassroots campaign. Every one of those survival programs that we articulated to the people provided some outright service to the community; some 20 different survival programs. Now remember, the survival program are not reform programs per se. The survival programs are the means by which you organize and unify the people for their future liberation. They give a new character to the Black liberation movement in America.

**TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK**

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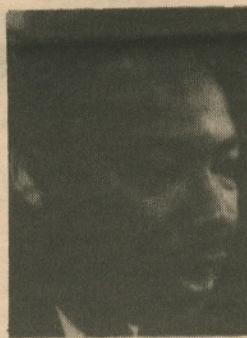
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# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

## 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.

### PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

## 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.

## PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

### PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

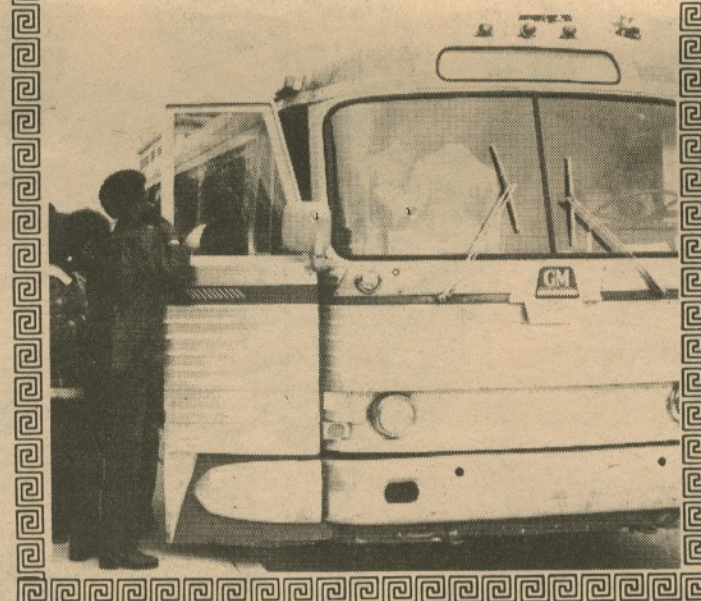
Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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



## FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM



## LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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

### FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

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.

## FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

## 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.

*"The survival programs are the means by which you organize and unify the people for their future liberation. They give a new character to the Black liberation movement in America."*

— Bobby Seale



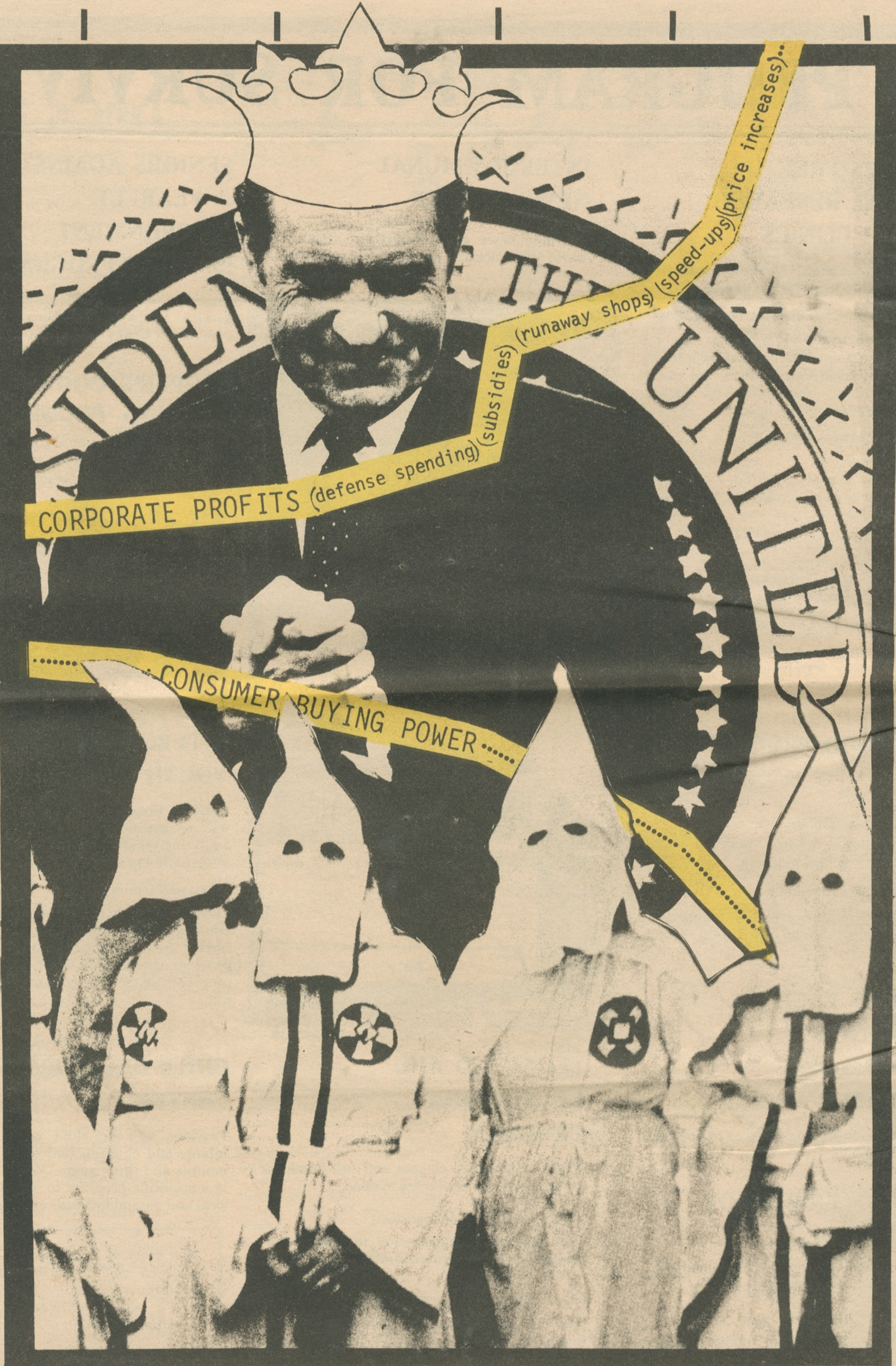


PHOTO COLLAGE BY EMORY