

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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25¢



PEOPLE'S VICTORY

CITY CENTER REPLACEMENT HOUSING WON



City Center Project construction sites.

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Editorial

HOUSING VICTORY

The Black Panther Party has won an unprecedented victory for the poor and oppressed of Oakland, particularly those being displaced by the multi-million dollar City Center redevelopment project in downtown Oakland. (See story on page 3.)

Ironically what has been won through hard work, perseverance determination and commitment, should have been guaranteed by the Oakland City Council as a matter of course. It is, after all, the law: The city is required by federal law to build quality replacement housing for displaced residents of urban renewal if the city has a less than five percent housing vacancy rate.

The Oakland City Council denied that Oakland has a less than five percent vacancy rate, forcing the Black Panther Party—apparently better in touch with the needs of Oakland than its City Council—to demand a review of this assertion by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). HUD's findings concurred with those of the Party, making it mandatory that the city of Oakland agree to build the replacement housing demanded.

Exposed, the City Council — at the instigation of its "liberal" standard-bearer, John Sutter—fumed, balked, delayed and maneuvered. But, relentlessly pursued by the people's advocates, the Council was forced to submit.

By its decision last week the Oakland City Council has agreed to construct QUALITY replacement housing for those displaced by the City Center project, with rentals no higher than 25 percent of the monthly income of the tenants.

It has also agreed to the creation of a non-profit corporation, wholly controlled by community groups, including the Black Panther Party, which will retain collective ownership and policy-making control over the new housing development.

The decisive struggle now begins. In this struggle we need and we request the sustained and determined participation of the people of Oakland. DON'T LET THE CITY COUNCIL, GOADED BY ITS "FAT CAT" LOBBYIST, USING ITS WEAK-KNEED "LIBERALS", STEAL THIS VICTORY FROM US. □



Letters to the Editor

Dear Brother,

I am hereby congratulating all Brothers and Sisters who are ready to lose their lives in this present struggle that is in this world of hate mongers. I wish all Brothers and Sisters to go with the struggle for freedom. There will be a day when all poor and oppressed people will come together united.

I wish the Black Panther Party to be an everlasting Party, to the day that all African states and all African people become one. I am wishing that Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins and all Party members, not lose any hope. You must succeed in the struggle. I wish you all long life and happy prosperity...

Your Black Brother in Africa,
Matarr Jallow
Gambia, West Africa

Dear Bobby Seale,

I am a White working man and disabled veteran of World War II whose opinion on Spiro Agnew as a criminal the Panther paper printed last October. Now I wish to say something about the sad mess described in the Panther paper of March 2nd that has been made in distribution of the Hearst (William Randolph) food:

1. I have been reading and studying the Panther paper for several years now and think I know something of what you are all about.

2. I am particularly convinced of your sincerity in behalf of all oppressed people and very especially of your sincerity and ability in distributing food to the poor.

3. Also, long before this Hearst food business came up I could have told any White group that would listen of the Panthers' particular ability to deal in this matter of food with the Black community.

4. The fact that the skill and leadership of the Panthers was not used in distributing the Hearst food to the Black poor of the San Francisco Bay area was a disaster I could have foreseen whether or not other Whites could have.

5. The Neighbors in Need group from Seattle — where I live — have done a good job of distributing food in an entirely different situation from yours down there. But they just plain don't know how to handle that job in a community of long-term poor Blacks. Therefore, at the very least, they should have taken guidance and leadership from the Panthers who know this subject in a way that no middle-class White group can ever know it.

6. I hope it is still not too late to salvage this situation. With what little influence I have, I am telling this to all Whites I know.

7. The White community has many wrong ideas, very wrong as to just what the Black Panthers are and what they are about. Many would cooperate with you far more if only they knew the truth — which I'm giving them to the best of my modest ability.

8. Finally, there is very much to be gained if the Neighbors in Need group can work with and learn from the Panthers and other leaders of the Black community. I most sincerely hope that this working and learning can start as soon as possible.

9. And, as a beginning of the above, they should take leadership from the Panthers and other leaders of the Black community in all efforts to aid Blacks with food.

Sincerely,
Paul H. Dunbar
Seattle, Washington

P.S. All Power to the People — and I want Blacks to be in charge of all efforts to aid their community. You know the territory and others of good will must learn from you.

COMMENT

"RECLAIM OUR NATIONAL HONOR"

The following is a stinging editorial calling for Nixon's impeachment reprinted from the March issue of the U.S. Farm News, the monthly organ of the National Farmers Association, headquartered in Des Moines, Iowa.

Nixon has made it "perfectly clear" that he is not going to resign. He intends to do just what Daughter Tricia said he would do, "fulfill the mandate he was given to rule the country."

That word "rule" was the word she used if the press quoted her correctly, and no doubt that is what she really meant.

Senator Sam Ervin had Nixon pegged correctly when he said, "There is a Gestapo mentality in the Nixon administration's domestic security policies."

This mentality and this determination to rule ought to make it clear that naming all the crooks and burglars and egotistical palace guards was no accident. He wanted unscrupulous men of incredible arrogance with contempt for the people to match his own.

He said he would not be impeached. That is the equivalent to throwing down the gauntlet to Congress and the people.

This is a challenge that must be met.

Impeachment is not the final step but it is the necessary first step.

Let's get on with it!

This is the way to reclaim and redeem our heritage and our national honor. It is also the way to serve notice to the world and to the Nixon cabal here at home that we will not countenance Nixon's brand of fascism here or any other kind. [Emphasis in original.]

The tyrant is not just at our door, he is in the White House — at least he is there part of the time.

He must be exiled. Only thus can our own political record be cleansed and cleared. To argue that Gerald Ford is no better is beside the point. *Farm News* was never for Ford. But he was not involved in Watergate or the cover-up and is not responsible for the long list of scoundrels picked by Nixon.

This black record on our history can only be cauterized out of our society and body politic by the one means provided in our Constitution.

That is impeachment. □

MILWAUKEE POLICE HARASS B.P.P. CHILD CARE CENTER

(Milwaukee, Wisconsin) - The Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party has been assaulted twice by the Milwaukee Police Department recently. The purpose of the attacks was to provoke Black Panther Party members into confrontations with the police, providing the police with an excuse for increased harassment of the Party and the community.

In the first attack on February 12, several detectives claiming to be looking for fugitives asked to enter the Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party's child care facility at 9:45 p.m. As they had no warrant and no "reasonable cause" to search the children's home at night, they were refused entry. They threatened to kick the door in and arrest the occupants. The firm resolve of the occupants and the knowledge that the Party had community support prevented the police from carrying out their threat.

When several more Black Panther Party members came to the child care facility later on, two were arrested outside the house for alleged traffic warrants. One of the cases was dropped at the arraignment and the other resulted in a small fine.

The next day, February 13, approximately eight uniformed Tactical Squad officers came to the child care facility. They still had no warrant and still were very persistent in trying to get in. Finally, they too had to leave without invading the Milwaukee child care facility.

Both of these attempts to provoke a confrontation were accompanied by an excuse about looking for unknown fugitives. The police were unable to obtain a warrant even after their first attempt without one failed. Since then they still have not secured one and have not come back. They had no legal authorization to enter the house and were not in "hot pursuit" of any criminals or fugitives.

These provocations were deliberate, intended to provide the police with an excuse for increased repression of the Black community, creating confusion and division, injury and death.

This attempt to force a confrontation was unsuccessful because the Milwaukee Chapter knew its rights and calmly but firmly held to them. □

CITY CENTER REPLACEMENT HOUSING WON

BLACK PANTHER PARTY'S UNPRECEDENTED PROPOSAL ADOPTED BY OAKLAND CITY COUNCIL

(Oakland, Calif.) "This is an unprecedented victory for poor people in Oakland", said Ms. Elaine Brown, spokesperson for the Black Panther Party, last week. Ms. Brown was commenting on the March 14 action by the Oakland City Council, after almost a year's delay, in unanimously enacting a resolution guaranteeing decent, replacement housing for those persons displaced by Oakland's multi-million dollar City Center Project. (See editorial on page 2.)

"By this action", Ms. Brown went on to say, "Mayor Reading and his Council finally conceded that building housing for the poor was the only way to save their City Center Project."

The city's commitment to \$12 million for the replacement housing, to be funded by profits from the City Center Project, was not, as Ms. Brown pointed out, achieved without a struggle. It was close to one year ago, on May 23, 1973, that Mr. Fred Hiestand, attorney for the Black Panther Party, took the podium at a City Council meeting to point out the city's legal — let alone moral — obligations to provide replacement housing for Oakland's poor.

The passage of the resolution on March 14 is the culmination of intensive negotiations between the city's Redevelopment Agency



Sister ELAINE BROWN and attorney FRED HIESTAND on Oakland City Hall steps.

and community groups including the East Bay Legislative Council for Senior Citizens, OCCUR (Oakland Concerned Citizens on Urban Renewal) and the Black Panther Party.

Specifically, the law (a section of the Federal Housing Act) requires cities to provide or construct decent, quality replacement housing for urban renewal projects in those instances when there is not an adequate supply of low-income housing throughout the city. Thus, the city is obliged to provide replacement housing for

those persons displaced by the City Center Project.

Referring to this obligation, Ms. Brown commented, "Although this law has been in effect since 1949, cities throughout the country have flagrantly violated it and have made urban renewal synonymous with 'people removal', usually Black and poor people."

The historic housing package passed by the council provides for the construction of 300 housing units at an approximate cost of \$22,000 per unit. Another unprecedented feature of the agreement is that a non-profit corporation, wholly controlled by community groups — including the Black Panther Party, OCCUR and the East Bay Legislative Council — will retain collective ownership and policy-making control over the entire housing development.

While the council passage of the replacement housing resolution is surely a victory for all poor people in this city, it is, just as surely, a victory won through the committed and dedicated efforts of the Black Panther Party and particularly Ms. Brown. Elaine worked tirelessly in organizing the alliance of community groups to press the issue of replacement housing forward, and she displayed remarkable skills in the negotiations with the Redevelopment Agency to achieve a package deal acceptable to both the city and the community. Credit Elaine Brown with a job well done.

Mr. Charles Drasnin (President of the East Bay Legislative Council for Senior Citizens Groups) summed things up saying that, "The city and its Redevelopment Agency are to be congratulated for their forward-looking attitude. They have recognized that an alliance among poor people, in this way, means growth for the entire city." Mr. Drasnin added, "We all want this people's housing program to succeed and we, therefore, urge everyone with suggestions and expertise to come forward." □



MILWAUKEE B.P.P. FREE BUSING TO PRISON PROGRAM

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - The Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party operates a Free Busing to Prisons Program every Sunday. The people in the photograph are boarding the bus that takes them to prisons in Green Bay, Wisconsin, Taycheedah and Central State. In operation since June of 1972, the Free Busing to Prisons Program is available to anyone free of charge. Buses leave from the party office at 2470 N. 3rd Street. More information about the bus schedule may be obtained from the office or by calling (414) 263-5251.

THE BLACK PANTHER

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FANTASTIC PERFORMANCES HIGHLIGHT YOUTH INSTITUTE BENEFIT

OVER 1,000 ATTEND TWO PERFORMANCES

(Oakland, Calif.) - As Oscar Brown, Jr.'s searching call of "Brother, Where Are You?" rang out amidst the accompanying voices of the several hundred people who filled the Community Learning Center, the audience joined him on stage, singing and swinging with the entire cast of sensational Black performers in a joyous finale of the thrilling musical benefit for the Intercommunal Youth Institute, last Saturday evening.

The rollicking end was the climax of an exciting evening of professional entertainment which featured the world-renowned Oscar Brown, Jr., in an enthralling performance. He was accompanied by "1976", a slick jazz combo. The Black Ensemble Theater Company preceded Brother Brown with a moving performance of "Willie Lobo/Manchild", a play depicting a Black war veteran's desperate search for inner peace upon returning from the war. Also highlighting the exciting evening were Afro-Haitian and modern dance performances by Jackie Buist, Halifu and Sandra McPherson.

The musical was sponsored by the African People's Performing Arts Company to benefit the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model school for Black and poor youth located in the Community Learning Center. A second performance of the show was given the following Sunday afternoon to another capacity crowd.

The dynamic performance by Oscar Brown, Jr., impressed upon all present the versatility, creative talent and special sensitivity and intimacy this swinging performer has with Black life, Black dreams, Black survival. Brother Brown, a famed singer, songwriter, poet and musical

PART 3 OF CHAPEL HILL SPEECH

BOBBY SEALE: "IT'S THE MASSES OF PEOPLE WHO ARE REALLY RADICAL"

The central feature of Brother Bobby Seale's speech at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill campus was certainly Bobby's attempts to tie the Black Panther Party's survival programs and his recent People's Campaign for Mayor of Oakland into the creation of a broad framework for people's liberation. In the following excerpt from that speech, Part 3, Bobby, in his uniquely brilliant way, places both the campaign and the survival programs in historical perspective, explaining the significance of the present in relation to the past, and, "moving on", points out the future direction for the Black liberation struggle in America.

"Historically, the Black liberation movement has been characterized in many different ways — the drive for voter registration, the right to vote throughout the South, the many Black people killed and murdered. I articulate it just like Malcolm X articulated it. They were killing us and shooting us and calling police out on us and trying to intimidate us, to keep us from voting and the like. The White racist capitalistic power structure of the South thought, "That's going to be bad for us if these Black people vote". So, 'what's bad for them', as Malcolm used to say, 'got to be good for us'.

Looking at the character of the Black liberation movement his-



OSCAR BROWN, JR. leads finale at benefit.

director smoothly ran through twelve numbers, all his own creations, displaying his broad range of talent.

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BLACK HISTORY

MARCH 20, 1852

Published on March 20, 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with its vivid, melodramatic depiction of the "shame" of slavery, sold more than one million copies in the years preceding the Civil War.

MARCH 18, 1877

Well into the twilight of his eventful and distinguished life devoted to his people, Frederick Douglass was appointed Marshal of Washington, D.C., by President Hayes on March 18, 1877.

MARCH 22, 1960

According to an *Associated Press* report dated March 22, 1960, over 1,000 Black people, predominantly Black students in the South, had been arrested for participating in sit-in demonstrations since they began on February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, N.C.

MARCH 20, 1965

Thousands of marchers, Black and White, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and "protected" by federalized Alabama National Guardsmen and U.S. Army troops, began their dramatic, five-day, Selma-to-Montgomery march on March 20, 1965.

MARCH 19-21, 1968

Black students at Howard University in Washington, D.C., seized an administration building and eventually forced a halt to all school operations from March 19-21, 1968. The students demanded campus reforms and a Black-oriented curriculum.

MARCH 22-24, 1968

A three-day student rebellion at Cheyney State College in Cheyney, Pennsylvania, ended swiftly and brutally on March 24, 1968, when state troopers mobilized and entered the predominantly Black school's campus.

MARCH 21, 1972

On March 21, 1972, an all-White jury rejected all claims in a damage suit brought by relatives of the two Black women killed when racist state highway patrolmen indiscriminately opened fire on a women's dormitory at Jackson State College in Mississippi, on May 14, 1970.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



"Until We're Free"

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

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Also Available At Major Record Stores
Near You.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED
BY ELAINE BROWN

Album produced and distributed
by MOTOWN RECORD CORP

F.B.I. RELEASES "TRUCKLOAD" OF DOCUMENTS ON B.P.P.

(Chicago, Ill.) - The Justice Department announced last week it will surrender a huge amount of information concerning FBI spying on the Black Panther Party. The spying took place before the December, 1969, Chicago police raid which took the lives of Black Panther Party members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Sheldon Waxman made the announcement in U.S. District Court here. He said the documents could amount to "as much as a semi-truckload" and would likely include memorandums sent to Ray Mitchell, an FBI agent, from Eugene O'Neal, the informant and agent provocateur inside the Chicago Branch of the Party suspected of having drugged Fred Hampton so that he slept while police guns blasted him to death.

Waxman said the information could also include messages from Mitchell to his superiors in Washington and information on the Party in the hands of Chicago police and the office of the former Cook County State's Attorney who ordered the raid on the Chicago Party office, Edward V. Hanrahan.

The surrender of the documents came in response to a \$3.8 million damage suit filed by the relatives of Fred and Mark against Hanrahan, 17 other persons, the city of Chicago and Cook County. Defense attorneys had been seeking the information.

Meanwhile, in Washington recently, FBI operations to disrupt, discredit and destroy the BPP in Oakland and San Francisco have been disclosed. The disclosure, as well as others concerning FBI operations to underhandedly and illegally destroy the Black liberation movement, came in seven severely censored documents the FBI released to NBC newsmen Carl Stern, who had sued for the release of the memos under the Freedom of Information Act.

A May 11, 1970, memo outlined the "disruptive-disinformation" operation against the BPP formulated by late FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover. According to the memo: "Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information, and entirely fabricated documents, would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader."

The memos would be on police and FBI stationery. The Panthers would be made to think they came from a "disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers."

The phony documents would be prepared to pinpoint Party members as police or FBI informants and to ridicule or discredit Panther leaders through their ineptness or personal escapades. They would also expound as "clearly indicating they had personal philosophies" and sought "to promote factionalism among B.P.P. members, to indicate electronic coverage where none exists, to outline fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions, to reveal misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds..."

A December 24, 1970, memo noted that a leader (whose name was blacked out), had "broken with the organization". A March 4, 1968, memo said that in 1968, the counter-intelligence program against Black organizations was being carried out by 41 FBI field offices.

The memo said: "An effective coalition of Black nationalist groups might be... the beginning of a true Black revolution." A major goal of the campaign against "Black nationalist hate groups", according to the memo, was to prevent the rise of a "messiah, who could unify and electrify the militant Black nationalist movement."

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Members of Los Angeles Police Department surrounded the headquarters of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Black Panther Party on November 12, 1969, in an attempt to provoke a confrontation.

9 HOUSTON COPS INDICTED FOR DEALING IN NARCOTICS

(Houston, Texas) - Nine police officers here have been indicted on charges of the sale and possession of heroin, theft, income tax violations and wiretapping. Although the men are on leave until after court action is taken they will continue to be paid.

Houston Police Chief Carrol M. Lynn says there will be no more illegal wiretapping in the future by the Houston police. He said he had "no direct knowledge" of how city narcotics officers got away with illegal wiretaps in the past, "but one thing I do know is that they are not doing it now", he claimed. He did not say

whether or not theft and heroin dealing were to continue.

A federal grand jury handed down the indictments on February 28, and Lynn is calling it, "one of the largest scandals ever"

The officers are accused of stealing money from defendants, conducting muggings, failing to report income from thefts and heroin sales, filing false tax returns and conspiring to violate the civil and constitutional rights of citizens by threatening and intimidating them and depriving them of property without due process of law.

Several of the officers reportedly used wiretaps to learn of large heroin shipments intercepted the dope, beat and robbed the suspects and then sold the drugs into the community through their own pusher network. Other officers had similar operations with marijuana.

Although U.S. Attorney J. P. Farris, who is handling the government's case, says that the indictments are not indicative of

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POLICE BRUTALIZE "BANDIDOS"

(Houston, Texas) - Two members of the "Bandidos" motorcycle gang say they were beaten by Houston police after their arrest following the killing of a narcotics agent by a policeman here three weeks ago. Glen Wilhelm and Gary Lichtenwalter both say they were clubbed and punched on the way to the police station following their arrest at the scene of the shooting.

Both men are being charged with having stabbed under-

cover agent Rodney Scott Morgan in a public bathroom shortly before Officer Glen G. Thyssen accidentally shot Morgan.

Wilhelm says that he and his partner were in the bathroom when Morgan entered and started slapping them around. Morgan's patrol partner, Officer Dodd, fired a shot into the ceiling to scare the pair. Then, according to Wilhelm, a third officer, Thyssen, entered the room and shot Officer Morgan.

N.Y.C. COP INDICTED

(New York, N.Y.) - The former commander of the New York City Police Department's unit assigned to arresting major heroin dealers has been indicted for sharing a bribe of at least \$10,000 in return for helping three dealers go free. □

CRIMINAL HEALTH CARE CAUSES UNBORN BABY'S DEATH

(Oakland, Calif.) - *Criminal medical health care and the Black community — the human life tragedies continue to unfold:*

On Thursday morning, March 7, Caroline Godfrey, 23, woke up with weak but persistent stomach pains. A nursing student at San Jose University and 8 months pregnant, Caroline discussed the pains with her husband, Ricky, 24, before deciding that the throbbing meant "nothing".

Later that afternoon, while in line waiting for gas, Caroline felt a sharper, more acute pain. She immediately went to the El Camino Medical Center in

Sunnyvale, less than two minutes away from where she was.

Once there, a doctor methodically examined her. He told her she had "gas pains" and suggested that she take some Maalox. Thinking that the doctor knew best, Caroline tried to ignore her growing pain and went home.

At home the pain grew worse and Caroline called Ricky at work and told him what had happened. Ricky immediately drove home, picked up his wife and, realizing there are no county hospitals in the San Jose-Sunnyvale area, drove to Oakland's Merritt hospital.

F.B.I. DOCUMENTS ON B.P.P.

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

It said one Black leader (whose name is deleted but who may be Malcolm X), "may have been such a 'messiah'; he is the martyr of the movement today." (Government agents assassinated Malcolm X in 1965.) Other names were listed, but deleted, who the memo said, "all aspire to this position"

The leader, the memo said (probably Martin Luther King) could "be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to White liberal doctrines (nonviolence) and embrace Black nationalism. The man has the charisma to be a real threat in this way". (Brother King was steadily moving away from "supposed

obedience" to the aforementioned doctrines before he was assassinated in April, 1968.)

In the summer of 1967, a group in an unnamed city was "arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail." As a result, the memo said, they spent most of the summer in jail and no violence took place that could be attributed to them.

One leader (who may be 76-year-old Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammed) "is less of a threat because of his age," the memo said.

In addition to the B.P.P., the main targets of the memos were six "Black nationalist hate groups", six Black leaders, the Ku Klux Klan, nine White "hate" groups and the Socialist Workers Party. □



CAROLINE and RICKY GODFREY. Criminal medical negligence killed their unborn child.

As soon as the staff of the emergency room at Merritt saw Caroline, they immediately admitted her and called her obstetrician, Dr. Hall. Hearing a description of her symptoms over the phone, Dr. Hall ordered that she be placed under sedation.

Driving quickly to Merritt, Dr. Hall, still in street clothes, walked into Caroline's room for a few minutes to examine her. When he emerged, Dr. Hall told Ricky: "The baby's going to be dead. We'll try to save your wife."

Caroline had a ruptured placenta. At the time she felt the sharp pain that afternoon, the baby had only five to seven minutes to survive. Yet, at El Camino Medical, in time to save the unborn child, the doctor told Caroline she had "gas pains" and to take some Maalox.

Although she was hemorrhaging badly, Caroline survived her operation. Later, she told Ricky that when she called him from home, she knew something was wrong. She could feel the baby "crawl up into my chest." The baby would have been the Godfrey's first.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Because of the severe hemorrhaging Caroline Godfrey suffered, a number of costly blood transfusions were required to save her life. Persons who would like to help the couple meet the expensive transfusion costs — \$35 a pint — are asked to donate a pint of blood at the Alameda County Blood Bank. Please tell the receptionist that the blood is a donation to Caroline Godfrey. Or, send a financial donation to Richard and Caroline Godfrey, 260 N. Matilda, Sunnyvale, Calif. Thank you.) □

INSIDE OUT

WALTER L. CHESSE EXPLOITS THE PEOPLE

(Milwaukee, Wisconsin) - Walter L. Chesser is a very jive brother and an opportunist. Back in 1968, he joined the Black Panther Party and went out to find some "action" When he found out that the adventures he dreamed about could be dangerous in real life—and weren't any fun—he had no more use for "action", or Party practice.

Now he's back on the scene again and this time Walter L. Chesser is calling himself the "Prime Minister" of the so-called "Black Masses Party". No longer interested in adventures, Bro. Walt is now trying his hand at making money off the people. As Prime Minister, Walter has also made himself the director of the "People's Community Service", which he calls the "economic arm" of his so-called Black Masses Party.

Walter is federally funded (the "militant" representative on the local OEO board) and recently ran for the Milwaukee School Board. When the government threatened to impeach Walter Chesser from the OEO board for poor administration of a food program, he went on strike by impounding all the food at the Hillside Housing Senior Citizens project. The food spoiled in locked closets while people went hungry.

He refused to donate paper plates or cups to the Black Panther Party-sponsored Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program because the Milwaukee Chapter refused to support his candidacy for the school board.

Recently when Walter found out that a Free Busing to Prisons Program is expensive and hard to institute, he decided not to initiate the program he had publicized. Then, after several weeks of excuses, he finally told the people he couldn't operate the program because of the energy crisis. He spitefully transported people to the Black Panther Party Busing to Prison Program departure point without prior arrangement or permission. All the Party's buses run on schedule and by reservation because of the great number of people requesting the service.

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.

SUPPORT GROWS FOR TARBORO 3

(Tarboro, North Carolina) - The Black community of Tarboro and Black communities throughout North Carolina have mobilized in behalf of three young Black men sentenced to die for the alleged rape of a White woman. The three men, Vernon Leroy Brown, 22, Bobby Hines, 23, and Jesse Lee Walston were sentenced on Jan. 10 to die in the gas chamber on the testimony of the young White nurse who submitted to intercourse and later charged rape. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, February 2, 1974.)

Marches and rallies have been held across North Carolina by Black people outraged at the conviction of the three men. Seven hundred people rallied in Memorial Auditorium in Raleigh on January 13 to demand their release. The rally was sponsored by a broad coalition of civil rights, civil liberties and religious groups. Over 150 of those attending the rally had staged a protest march from Tarboro to Rocky Mountain prior to the rally.

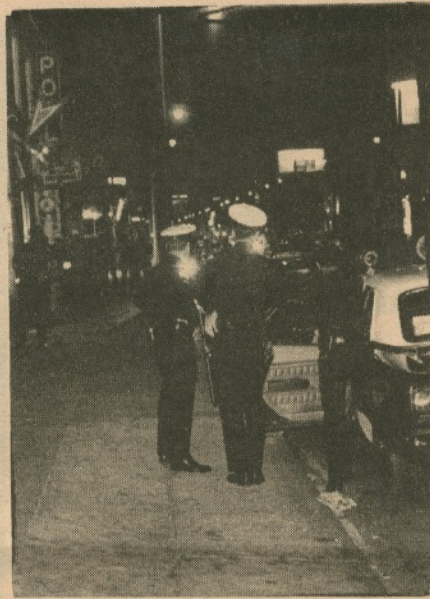
According to the young men, on August 4, 1973, the woman who accused them was walking along a lonely road and was clearly heavily intoxicated. They asked her if she needed a ride. Once inside the car she made advances toward them, and willingly submitted to sexual intercourse. Her claim that she was raped was believed in court although a Black nurse and a White doctor who examined her following the incident testified that they found no evidence of rape or any type of struggle.

The Black community in Tarboro and many White residents are convinced that the three men are innocent. Black employees at Edgecomb General Hospital, where the woman who accused the three men works, demanded the woman's resignation. They charged that because so many Black people were at the hospital her remaining there would hamper morale.

This protest action also prompted them to draw up a list of demands about racial discrimination at the hospital. The woman is still at the hospital and the other demands have not been met either.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Southern Poverty Law Center and Anthony Amsterdam have entered the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



Members of the Los Angeles Police Department raiding the Black community.

L.A. COP CHARGED WITH PLANTING GUN ON MURDERED BROTHER

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - A Los Angeles policeman, Paul D. Koerschgen, was recently charged with planting an automatic pistol at the side of Brother James Otis Baldwin, 34, after Koerschgen had shot Baldwin to death. The charge was brought by

Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) Police Chief Edward M. Davis following an "intensive" Internal Affairs Division investigation.

Koerschgen was also charged with carrying the unauthorized pistol while on duty (a .25 caliber automatic), carrying an unauthorized 9-mm. Browning automatic pistol while on duty and carrying unauthorized ammunition (high-powered magnum hollow-point cartridges called "dum-dums").

This action followed indignant eyewitness and community protest of the brutal murder of Baldwin by Officer Koerschgen at 70th Street and Avalon Boulevard on January 11, and police claims that Baldwin had threatened them with a gun.

Brother Baldwin was stopped by Officers Koerschgen and Joseph M. Coppi of the 77th Street Division, according to the police report, because his car matched the description of a car involved in a shooting the night before.

SHOT IN LEG

After dragging Baldwin out of the car and frisking him, police claim that "without warning", Baldwin ran to his car "and dove onto the front seat". Witnesses report that Baldwin was running to the car to get his identification, when for no apparent reason Koerschgen shot him in the leg. "Then they just blew the windows out of the car", according to one witness.

Following the incident, when police explanations appeared in the press that Baldwin had threatened them with a gun, and claims of having found a gun by his side on the seat of the car were reported, witnesses came forward to expose the lie. The slain man's brother, Albert Baldwin, told the *Los Angeles Sentinel*: "Both my brother's guns were at his home. The gun they found didn't belong to him. They just murdered him, man!"

The charges of planting the gun, and possession of unauthorized guns and ammunition have only been leveled at Koerschgen, who has been suspended by the LAPD and was reported to have been hospitalized "suffering from a nervous breakdown", according to the *Sentinel*.

Coppi, the other policeman, is reportedly doing desk work in the 77th Division. In late January, a police spokesman said that the Internal Affairs Division inquiry regarding conduct of Coppi in the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

KU KLUX KLAN "INFILTRATES" HOUSTON POLICE FORCE

(Houston, Texas) - The head of the Texas Fiery Knights, a militant splinter group of the Ku Klux Klan, recently reported that his group has infiltrated the Houston Police Department "much more heavily than they ever infiltrated us". Imperial Wizard Scott Nelson said the Fiery Knight includes "over a dozen" active Houston police officers, including "a couple in narcotics and a couple in theft and burglary" divisions.

Nelson made this long-suspected revelation of Klan activity within the Houston Police Department in response to a recent statement by the former head of the criminal intelligence division, Joe Singleton. Singleton had said that Houston police used undercover agent provocateurs to infiltrate the Klan, the Socialist Workers Party, and People's Party II, an organization which later became the Houston Branch of the Black Panther Party.



The racial bigotry and violence of the KKK is well known to Black people.

Houston Police Chief Carrol Lynn denied knowledge of any Klansmen within the ranks of his force, but stated that if he discovered any Klan members he would discharge them. Mayor Fred Hofheinz agreed with the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

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RENEWAL

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ALL WHITE JURIES CONVICT TWO OF LEAVENWORTH 26

(Topeka, Kansas)—Two Black prison inmates at Leavenworth Penitentiary, Alf Hill and Alfred Jasper, have been convicted here in separate trials by all-White juries on charges of assaulting a federal officer and inciting mutiny.

The charges grew out of the July 31, 1973, rebellion at the prison. Since that time, prison authorities have been illegally holding 26 men — the Leavenworth Brothers—in solitary confinement. The two juries reached their verdicts after two hours and 15 minutes of deliberation in Hill's case and one hour and 45 minutes in Jasper's case.

Not only were Brothers Hill and Jasper denied their constitutional right to trial by a jury of their peers, but Hill's trial was further unjust because of improprieties on the part of U.S. District Court Judge George Templar. During the jury selection, Templar arbitrarily denied defense motions to allow Brother Hill to examine prospective jurors or cross-examine witnesses. The judge said that Hill could not make an opening or closing statement in his behalf. However, Templar added, "You may assist in your defense". When Hill asked "How?", Templar snapped, "I have had enough of your say, sit down".

Addressing the jury in a plea for justice, Brother Hill said, "There are no Black people here...This is a frame-up. My nose was broken. I've got no shoes. They tell me they're going to kill me...They broke my ribs. The man who should be here on trial is the man who broke my ribs". He continued, "This is a racist frame-up. The judge should take his black robe off and put on the white robe of the Ku Klux Klan..."

On the eve of Jasper's trial, March 5, three of his defense witnesses made an aborted jailbreak attempt. In a ridiculous statement before the jury, the next day, Judge Templar accused defense counsel Gary Eldredge of "planning the jailbreak".

Following Templar's charge, Eldredge filed a motion for the



Brother JESSIE LOPEZ was visibly bruised by guards.

judge to disqualify himself from the case because of prejudicial conduct. Templar denied this motion submitted by the defense in both the trials of Hill and Jasper.

Brother Jasper was found guilty specifically of "conveying a thing designed to injure a person, from place to place, in Leavenworth Penitentiary, specifically a sock filled with glass"

Leavenworth guards testified that Associate Warden Vander-slice removed a sock filled with

glass from Jasper's right rear pocket in the hallway of Building 63, the "hole", during the July 31 rebellion. Jasper and defense witnesses testified that a black Afro comb was taken from his right rear pocket. Albert Reiderer, defense counsel, raised the issue of a politically manufactured case against Jasper. "Why would Jasper transport such an openly displayed sock in the presence of 15 to 20 riot-equipped guards?", Reiderer said in the defense summation. □

FANTASTIC PERFORMANCES HIGHLIGHT BENEFIT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Bathed in the beams of stage lights and attired in orange slacks and a tough print shirt, Brown captivated his audience with the moving "Work Song", the amusing but instructive "Signifying Monkey", the hilarious "But I Was Cool," and the poignant "A Dime Away From a Hotdog." Brown's lyrics in "Bid 'Em In", depicting a slave auction, were gracefully interpreted by the dancing of Halifu, who then pantomimed "Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child" While Brown sang the flowing words of "Afro Blue", the sleek dancing figure of Saundra McPherson provided an added dimension.

A highlight of Brother Brown's act was the performance of his hit, "The Lone Ranger", in which four foxy members of the Son of Man Temple Singers accompanied him, resplendently attired in green velvet and satin gowns. During the grand finale in which Brown belted out the title song of his latest album, "Brother Where Are You", members of the audience needed no coaxing to join the entire cast singing and dancing on the stage, bathed in the maddening flashes of an electronic strobe light.

The program had begun with a splendid Afro-Haitian Dance performed by Jackie Buist, director of the Community Learning Center's Dance Program with Debbie Wood and Phyllis Lee.

"Willie Lobo/Manchild" was performed by the talented members of the Black Ensemble Theater Company of the University of California. The play was written and directed by Walter Dallas, a young Black playwright, director and lecturer at the University of California at Berkeley, who successfully synthesized the talents of the young troupe of students into an exciting experience in Black theater.

BLACK ARTIST

Emory Douglas, the internationally-acclaimed Black artist and community leader, was the charming master of ceremonies whose cheerful smile and cordial manner kept the show flowing smoothly.

In commenting afterward on the successful benefit, Brother Brown's words displayed the sincere concern which prompted this people's artist to contribute his valuable time and masterful talent:

"I think this is the direction Black theater should take, toward community - based activities. I would hope that eventually there will be a network of places like this throughout the community and around the country, so we can begin to present ourselves in our best light and reap the rewards ripped off regularly from generations of gifted Black artists. We've got to seize the time and keep it swinging!" □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

CURSING COPS LEGAL

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Supreme Court has struck down a New Orleans ordinance making it unlawful to curse at police officers. The decision overturned a ruling by the Louisiana Supreme Court upholding the conviction of Mallie Lewis, who was arrested January 3, 1970, on charges she said an obscenity to a police officer.

COLLEGE BIAS SUIT

(Washington, D.C.) - The Justice Department, in its first civil rights suit against a state-wide system of higher education, has sought to force Louisiana to desegregate its 20 public colleges and universities. In a suit filed in U.S. District Court in Baton Rouge, the department said that since 1953, when state colleges were technically desegregated, Louisiana has not only perpetuated a dual Black and White system but has expanded it.

NEW STERILIZATION RULING

(Washington, D.C.) - A federal judge has barred the government from financing the sterilization of any more children or "mentally incompetent" persons. The judge also ordered the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to amend its new sterilization guidelines to assure that adults seeking sterilization are not threatened with the loss of welfare payments if they change their minds. The National Welfare Rights Organization filed the suit against HEW, claiming that the sterilization rules were illegal and unconstitutional.

WOUNDED KNEE TRIAL

(St. Paul, Minn.) - Defense attorneys have asked a federal judge to dismiss all charges in the trial of Wounded Knee occupation leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means on the grounds that the FBI set up an illegal wiretap. Lawyers for the two Native Americans said they will call a telephone installation man to court to prove that the FBI had a line leading to the trading post in the embattled Pine Ridge reservation to be tapped during the 71-day occupation last year. U.S. District Court Judge Fred Nichol said if the wiretap charge is proven he may dismiss the case.

STUDENTS ANGRY

**N. PERALTA
COMMUNITY
COLLEGE
TO BE CLOSED**

(Oakland, Calif.) - On March 15, at the North Peralta Community College gym, Dr. Thomas Fryer, chancellor of Peralta School Board met with approximately 400 students to announce the phasing out of North Peralta College.

North Peralta Community College (NPCC) is one of four Peralta District Community Colleges (two-year, degree granting). It is the only college located in the heart of a Black community and has an overwhelming Black enrollment. A very active community services program provides a variety of educational and cultural opportunities relevant to the community it serves.

REASONS

The reasons Dr. Fryer gave for his decision to recommend to the Peralta Board the closing down of North Peralta College were:

1. Oakland operates more colleges per square mile than any other community college district in the country.

2. Because of the need for a campus that would serve the north Peralta district as well as Albany.

3. The tremendous financial burden that North Peralta is to the school board and that the enrollment is not meeting expectations.

The students were extremely angry. They told Fryer, "We're not going to accept your or any one else's whim decision to please some unknown political entity in Berkeley."

They said that the college had become a community resource center with many meaningful ties in the general surrounding community and to move the college would cause many hardships.

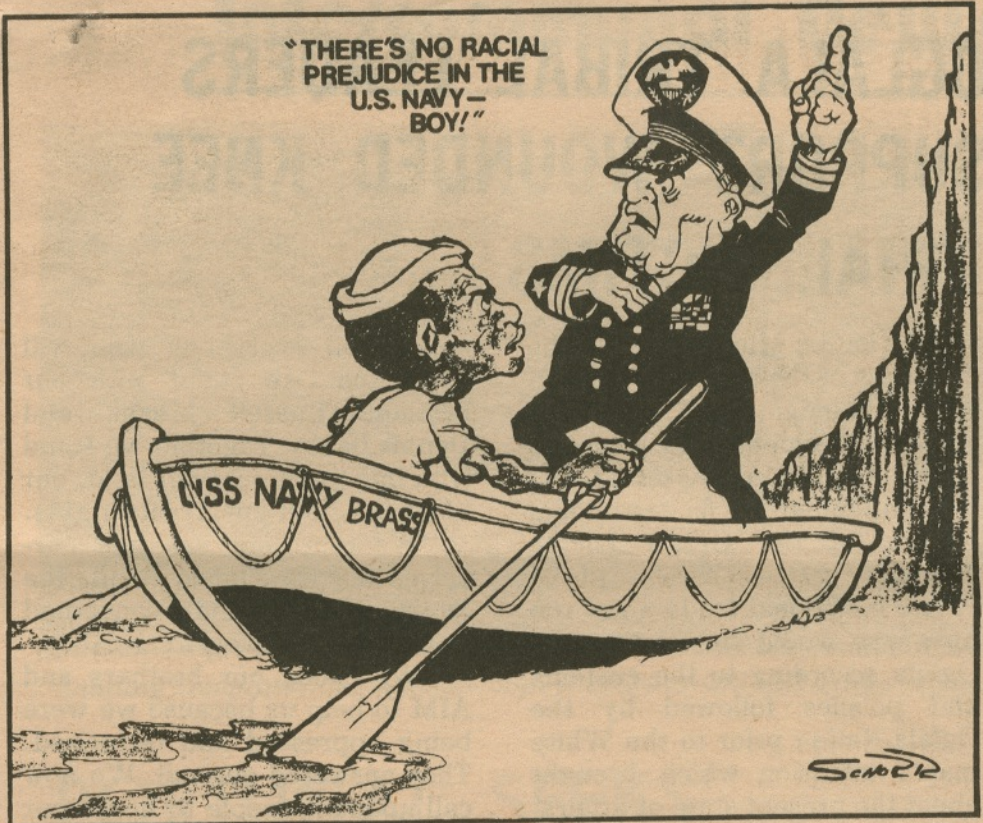
At one point a faculty instructor, Bernardo Pontavina, accused the President of North Peralta, Dr. Young Park, of being the root cause of NPCC's problems. Orlando Vaughn, a leading member of the Black Students Union (BSU) on campus took the microphone and responded: "Dr. Park is not the issue, so let's not falsely accuse anyone. If Bernardo himself was running the campus and the district decided to close the school, all they would have to do is shut off the water and power

U.S.S. LITTLE ROCK

**11 BLACK
SAILORS
CHARGED WITH
RIOT AND
ASSAULT**

(Naples, Italy) - The trials of 11 Black sailors charged with riot and assault aboard the U.S.S. Little Rock last November 8, 1973, are scheduled to begin here this month at the Naval Law Center. The sailors face special court-martial charges which could result in six months imprisonment and bad conduct discharges.

Four months prior to the alleged riot aboard the Little



Rock, the 6th Fleet flagship's 50 Black sailors - who composed less than four percent of the crew of 1,300 - protested and sought relief from the racist conditions on the ship. The younger Black

sailors had brought specific requests and complaints to the ship's captain, Peter K. Cullins.

Among their demands were: the removal of racist supervisors; an end to duty roster juggling which placed Black sailors on duty in liberty ports; an end to unequal treatment at sick call, and an end to Blacks being forced to do the most demeaning jobs on the mess desk.

One of the brothers, James Shempert, described what was happening this way: "After a few days on the water, problems started to show up, little incidents began to occur. Really, no one but the Blacks looked at them as if they were racial problems. And with the captain's help, the incidents increased." Ignored by Cullins, the Black sailors discussed their grievances in meetings. Afterwards, Shempert explained, "...They (White sailors) would spread rumors about us."

Finally, on November 8, when the ship was cruising the Mediterranean waters on maneuvers during the height of the Middle East War, Brother Earle Jessie was attacked and hit over the head with a wrench by a White sailor, who, according to witnesses, screamed, "I'm going to kill you nigger!"

At that point, a rebellion broke out. During its course, 200 Whites armed with knives, pipes and spikes raced through the ship trying to corner the greatly outnumbered Blacks.

Cullins, was able to calm the White sailors for awhile, but the Black sailors did not trust him due to his past behavior. "Our hopes had turned to hatred... our raised hands for help became clenched fists", David Pryor said

Although no one was seriously injured in the rebellion the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

DELLUMS' CORNER

ON ENERGY CRISIS

(Washington, D.C.) - California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums, staunch advocate of the rights of the poor and oppressed, is co-sponsoring a resolution to create a select committee from the House of Representatives to conduct a thorough investigation of the adverse effects of the energy crisis on the poor.

"We have to allocate our available energy resources in a way that will not treat our country's poor unfairly..... Fuel cutbacks and the lowering of the thermostat to 68 degrees affects poor people much more severely than it affects the majority of Americans", the Bay Area congressman said.

Under the terms of Dellums' resolution, the 15-member select committee would be appointed by the Speaker of the House to conduct hearings on the health effects of the energy crisis on the poor. The committee would have subpoena power to expedite its investigation and study.

In other legislation directly related to the interests of the handicapped and aged, Dellums is sponsoring legislation requiring the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to exercise his discretion and replace missing funds on an immediate emergency basis to Supplemental

Security Income (SSI) recipients who do not receive their checks because they are lost or undeliverable.

The California congressman noted that at present there is no emergency assistance payment program. "We should not allow these needy persons to suffer as a result of bureaucratic errors for which they are not responsible", he explained.

Dellums' bill will require the Social Security Administration to make an emergency payment to an SSI recipient who has not received his or her check because it has been lost, stolen or undeliverable.

The almost totally nonexistent health education program in U.S. elementary schools has caused Congressman Dellums to co-sponsor a bill which will set up a three year in-depth health education program for grade school children.

The "Comprehensive School Health Act" was written with the advice of national PTA representatives and health education specialists. It provides for direct grants to state and local schools to start health education programs which are especially needed in schools attended by Black and other poor children. □

OGLALA TRIBAL LEADERS SUPPORT WOUNDED KNEE TRIAL VICTIMS

(St. Paul, Minnesota) - The first days of the trial of Wounded Knee defendants and American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means were attended by 65 traditional leaders of the Oglala Lakota Nation.

The traditional leaders are the men who would be leading the Oglala according to the customs and policies followed by the Oglala Nation prior to the White man's intrusion which brought about the present state of affairs. Although under U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs rules the Oglala chiefs have no authority, they are still highly respected by the Oglala Lakota people. Realizing this, Mayor Lawrence Cohen of St. Paul welcomed the 65 men to a formal dinner in their honor when they came here to observe the trial.

TRADITIONAL SUPPORT

The traditional leaders have supported the American Indian Movement, its goals and the liberation of Wounded Knee (their home) from the beginning of AIM's involvement in the Native American struggle. It was at the invitation of the traditional leaders that AIM first came to the Pine Ridge reservation and Wounded Knee.

The traditional leaders issued the following statement to the "American public and to Frank Nichol, federal judge:

"We are all Oglala people, landowners and Traditional people. We have come to a court we don't know, which doesn't know

us, to tell everybody who will listen that we stand with our brothers Russell Means and Dennis Banks. Together we stand with our traditions, our land, our medicine, and our Treaty rights.

"We represent not only ourselves but the Oglala Band, the Sioux Nation and concerned Indian people everywhere.

"We called our brothers and AIM to help us because we were being oppressed and terrorized. They answered our call. We now call upon all people to honor our people and to honor our Treaty rights.

"If Dennis Banks and Russell Means go to jail for supporting the dignity of the Sioux Nation and the promises made to us, you must be ready to send us all to jail. If we cannot live according to our ways and tradition we are ready to join them in the White man's prison."

Frank Fools Crow,
Traditional Chief of the
Oglala Nation

The treaty rights which Chief Frank Fools Crow refers to are those rights to land and independence for the Oglala people that are promised by the 1868 Sioux Treaty. This document is also the heart of the defense case in the trial. When Brother Russell Means introduced the issue of this important treaty during the opening statements, Judge Nichol interrupted him to say that it was not settled yet whether the treaty would be allowed into evidence.



As RUSSELL MEANS sees it, his is a political trial.

Russell Means, in his opening statement, said that the prosecution's ten count indictment was only the excuse for having the trial: "This trial is the United States of America vs. the Oglala people and all Indian people." He closed by saying that the real issue in the case is whether the "United States is to live up to their own laws" □

SUPPORT GROWS FOR TARBORO 3

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

case on behalf of the three condemned men. Amsterdam is the law professor who argued the "Furman vs. Georgia" case in the Supreme Court which outlawed capital punishment as it was previously administered. G.P. Hopkins, a White lawyer from Tarboro, is the local defense attorney.

Though nearly half of the 9,425 Tarboro residents are Black, only one Black person sat on the jury which deliberated for only an hour and a half. A stay of execution of the three Black men has been granted pending appeal.

KLAN "INFILTRATES" HOUSTON POLICE FORCE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

police chief's position, but stated that he would request an investigation of the Klansman's claim.

The Fiery Knights is a terrorist splinter group of the United Klans of America, which for years has claimed to have members in the Houston Police Department.

Former Klan leader Frank Converse told a rally in October, 1970, "We have them (Klan members) in the police department, in the sheriff's department, and up at City Hall."

The Fiery Knights claim to be much more vicious than the KKK, which they describe as "just a bunch of old coffee and donut boys." Imperial Wizard Nelson advocates: "Running all the Communists out of Houston in any way possible. I'm for physically getting rid of them." □

The North Carolina law, one of the strongest capital punishment laws written since the U.S. Supreme Court struck down such statutes in 1972, makes death a mandatory penalty for anyone convicted of first-degree murder, rape, arson and even first degree burglary—entering a residence after dark with the intent to commit a felony.

The conviction of the three men put them on death row at N.C. Central Prison with 19 other persons. Of the 22, 15 are Black and one is Native American.

There are 22 other prisoners under death sentences in seven other states. Twenty-nine of the 44 inmates on death rows in the U.S. are Black.

The case has become a prime example of the use of the rape charge and the death penalty to terrorize Black men and control White women. Any one wishing to protest the conviction of the Tarboro 3 should write to Dr. Ed Roberson, the mayor of the city, in care of the Tarboro Clinic, in that city. Letters of protest should also be sent to Governor James E. Holhouser, Jr., State Capital, Raleigh, N.C. 27601. □

REDD FOXX MAY RETURN

(New York, N.Y.) - Comedian Redd Foxx, who left NBC's top-rated series "Sanford and Son" on January 22, says he'll return to the show if NBC corrects the series' depiction of Black life.

After a recent meeting with NBC officials, including network president Herb Schlosser, Foxx said he was "very pleased with what I heard" and said he'll go back to work when the series begins shooting for the 1974-75 season "if everything I was promised happens". □

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IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON
AND HUEY P. NEWTON

In last week's excerpt from *In Search of Common Ground*, conversations with Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton and Harvard professor and psychoanalyst, Erik H. Erikson, the two men ended their Yale discussions and the introduction to the Oakland conversations was presented. This week the two, joined by Erikson's son Kai Erikson, a Harvard sociologist, and J. Herman Blake, a Black sociologist, and Provost at the University of California at Santa Cruz, open the Oakland discussion with comments on preconceptions the two men had about each other before starting the Yale talks.

K. ERIKSON: We were talking about the meetings in New Haven...

NEWTON: My preconception about the meeting was that I would be at odds with you, Erik, as a psychoanalyst. I didn't know that you had developed a new approach to the understanding of man's behavior. After I read a number of the essays and books you had written, I was impressed; your approach took the edge off of what I thought would be my attack, you see, because I was ready to view it as an adversary kind of thing. Then after starting the seminar at Yale, I was somewhat on the defensive because of the general environment.

There were a number of people there who were more likely than not to misunderstand. And I was more likely than not to misunderstand, too, because in a setting like that you tend to want to answer as quickly as possible, to come out looking and feeling all right about it. In that kind of environment, one might miss the purpose of the whole thing.

E. ERIKSON: I suggested to Kai that whatever title we agree on, the word "search" or "exploration" should be in it. We were really in an exploratory mood in New Haven, and that was the meaning of the whole thing. But, of course, I was on the defensive too—wondering from which direction your offensive was going to come, and feeling that we were an odd pair of contestants. We are obviously an old man and a young man, an immigrant to America and a Black man coming out of that American reality which I did not know and, no doubt, preferred not to know at first. And then, too, I am a psychoanalyst at the end of his career, a certified professor, already emeritus; and you are a young man who has put his life and liberty on the line in the service of a future as yet unclear to me. So on every score we were apt to talk by each other at first—which is actually what happened at the scheduled meetings, even though we were relating privately in ways I was not yet willing to share in public. When you come right down to it, I am the kind of person who has to respond to what is going on in the world with psychoanalytic in-

sight, which I realize now you can accept up to a point. But I could not be sure when we first met that you would not feel like calling me some kind of names—because, you see, I thrived on that system that exploited your people, thrived in spite of being an immigrant, a former dropout, and (then no general recommendation) a Freudian. And then, just before we met, I had received a certain amount of publicity—my picture on the cover of magazines and all that—because a book about me had just come out. I felt particularly vulnerable then. My book on Ghandi is the closest I have come in understanding revolutionary action.

BLAKE: What was the role of the students in the conference? What were they looking for? What were they expecting?

K. ERIKSON: I don't know. As I look back on the whole affair, I sometimes worry that I handled it poorly. It all began with a phone call from Don Freed, as I guess you know, and our thinking at the time was that it would be nice for you, Huey, and later for you, Pop, to compare ideas with one another in a room full of thoughtful students. I suppose I actually had two things in mind. For one, I am a teacher and I just wanted students to hear and share in the discussions. And then, frankly, I also wanted to avoid bringing a lot of other professionals into the conference who have their own particular lines of thought to offer—Yale is full of them, of course—because I thought our agenda would get so crowded. It seemed to me that "intercommunalism" and "the wider identity" were about as much as we could handle in a three-day workshop, and I did not want other people hawking their own wares. I didn't even hawk my own (to the great irritation of my esteemed colleague here) and maybe I was just too sensitive on that score. It might have been interesting to hear what people like Bob Lifton or Bill Coffin or Ken Keniston would have made of the proceedings.

E. ERIKSON: In retrospect, would you have liked to have some of those people there?

NEWTON: I think it would have been interesting. I didn't think the students made the contribution they could have.



Brother HUEY P. NEWTON receiving congratulations at his recent book party.

K. ERIKSON: Well, one problem was that the conference got out of hand in terms of scale. If I had to do it over, I wouldn't locate the whole thing in that enormous library: it's Ivy League to the core. And there were simply too many people in the room. Several of the students I talked to felt they were in some kind of theater, acting out a script they hadn't seen yet.

BLAKE: Perhaps. But it seemed to me that the students were reflecting a general public attitude—an image of Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party which is uninformed and unenlightened—and I frankly doubt that they saw the conference as an opportunity to become exposed to new ideas. I thought some of the students were surprised to see Huey without his shotgun. I would be interested in knowing from you, Erik, what your first reaction was to Huey's articulation of revolutionary intercommunalism. Is this the direction you expected him to come from? The reason I ask is that I have a concern which is shared by many persons who have become revolutionary. People who sit in positions of power and influence keep saying, "We're doing all right, what's the matter with you that you can't fit in?" They cannot seem to accept as legitimate the fact that someone has done an objective and serious analysis of the system they live in and has consciously made the decision not to be a part of it. For people like that, to even give serious thought to the ideas of the Party is to question their lives, their selves, their beings, their positions; and so they spend all their time trying to rationalize the matter, to push the Party back into the system or even to psychoanalyze it out of existence. I'm wondering to what extent those kinds of sentiments were coming through.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

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 celebre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography "in a most moving sense is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s." —Publishers Weekly

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

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

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

SEARCH THE WHITE HOUSE

(Washington, D.C.) Why is it that U.S.A. law enforcement agencies don't obtain a search warrant and go into the White House and look for subpoenaed materials Nixon either refuses to turn over or claims are missing or nonexistent?

Most U.S. citizens, if they withheld a fraction of the amount of subpoenaed material Nixon has withheld, would have had their premises subjected to the most scrutinizing search. If they happened to be Black or other oppressed citizens, the law enforcers would quite probably not even have obtained the required search warrant and the officers would be likely to kick down the door and go on a rampage inside the house.

In the last week alone, Nixon refused to surrender 42 additional Watergate tapes requested by the House Judiciary Committee for its impeachment proceedings. Also, a "private, personal file" of intimate Nixon conversations that are stashed away in a top security filing cabinet in the White House basement, has been revealed — not to mention numerous tapes, documents and other material Nixon has previously failed to hand over to the courts, the special Watergate prosecutor, the Senate Select Committee Investigating Watergate, and the House Judiciary Committee studying impeachment.

The law, as provided for in the Constitution, is supposed to apply equally to all citizens. If it actually did, officers of the law would have long ago knocked on the White House door with their search warrant. In the eyes of the law, the White House is no different than any other citizen's house.

Furthermore, the documents and tapes illegally held therein are not the property of one man, Richard M. Nixon. They are public documents, owned by the people of America. Nixon ignores the fact that he is supposed to be a public servant, and that he was voted into office by the people — and even that vote was obtained through illicit means. All that any law-abiding President could possibly claim in a similar situation is that he is holding the material for the people, a claim Nixon does not make.

What Nixon does claim, as he did in his recent interview at the Chicago Executive Club, is that he will not "be a party to the destruction of the Presidency of the United States" Clearly, what Nixon means is that he will not be a party to the destruction of himself. The office of the Presidency, as representative of, and as an executor of, the will of the people has already been destroyed. We would only benefit by dismantling that office completely and placing the power it has usurped into the



hands of the elected representatives of the people — the Congress of the United States. The Black Panther Party's demand to eliminate the Presidency proposes to do this.

The Nixon argument for withholding the most recently requested Watergate tapes is that: "The mere fact of an impeachment inquiry does not give Congress the right to back up a truck and haul off White House files." Certainly not. But the mere fact that Congress is the representative body of the people does. Congress has a right to know, all Americans have a right to know, what goes on in the seat of government. For it is we, the people, who suffer from its corruption. □

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

Operation Gemstone was the code name of Nixon's plan to establish an absolute dictatorship in America. It is also the name of Don Freed's exciting, soon-to-be-published book about the Watergate "plumbers" team and Nixon's inner circle. Here is an excerpt about Howard Hunt, who's arrival on the White House team in 1971, began the "White House Horrors"

The phrase "White House Horrors" was introduced by John Mitchell during his testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee. When Senator Talmadge asked him, "What do you mean by that phrase?" He replied, "...they certainly involved the break in of Dr. Ellsberg's doctor... the Dita Beard matter... We are talking about the alleged extra-curricular activities in the bugging area, the bombing of the Brookings Institute, and a lot of miscellaneous matters with respect to Chappaquidick..."

Charles Colson was significantly involved in each of these incidents, a fact of which Mitchell was undoubtedly well aware. Most of these events also involved Colson's friend, Howard Hunt. In fact the entire category of "White

House Horrors" seems to have begun after Hunt was hired in the summer of 1971 on Colson's recommendation.

The burglary of Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist was financed by a \$5,000 loan to Colson from a political donor according to Colson's own attorney. Colson claims he knew nothing about the actual operation. His ignorance was so intensely deliberate that when Hunt wanted to show him some photos of the mission he covered his eyes and said, "I don't want to know what you have been doing."

One incident overlooked by Mitchell occurred in May, 1972, when Dr. Ellsberg was speaking to an antiwar rally on the Capitol steps. Bernard Barker, a convicted Watergate burglar, led a group of nine men who physically attacked Dr. Ellsberg, but did not seriously injure him. The men were recruited in Miami and included Eugenio Martinez, another Watergate burglar, and Pablo Manuel Fernandez, who also tried to sell arms to leaders of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Howard Hunt was probably the "mysterious stranger in a trench coat standing nearby"

This counter-demonstration is strongly reminiscent of the part of the original million

dollar version of the Liddy plan that called for a mugging squad to rough up demonstrators. According to a CRP (Committee to Re-elect the President) official, Charles Colson authorized the payment of \$3,300 of election committee funds to G. Gordon Liddy to finance this operation. Colson denies any involvement.

One event which would have been a horror, if Colson's suggestion had been carried out, was the firebombing of the Brookings Institution. Morton Halperin, a former assistant to Henry Kissinger, had an office in the Brookings Institution. He had been under investigation since 1969 in connection with leaks of information considered vital by the President. A wiretap had been placed on his phone with Kissinger's approval. His association with Daniel Ellsberg had been noted, and he was thought to possess classified documents that Colson wanted.

Colson suggested to White House undercover agent John Caulfield that Halperin's office could be burglarized and then firebombed to disguise the illegal entry and theft of papers. Caulfield fled to John Dean's office and denounced Colson's proposal as "totally insane" Dean asked Ehrlichman to help head off the burglary, and Ehrlichman called someone (he couldn't remember who) to put a stop to it. Colson, of course, denies he ever made any such suggestion, but one of his associates admits Colson was involved in discussions about how to remove material from the Brookings Institution.

While E. Howard Hunt was studying upwards of four or five thousand State Department cables in connection with the leak of the Pentagon Papers by Daniel Ellsberg in 1971, he supposedly discovered that cables

EASTER WEEK TELL YOUR CONGRESSMAN 'IMPEACH NIXON'

(Chicago, Ill.) - Continuing efforts to "recapture the promise and hope upon which America was founded", the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon's second conference, held here March 1 to 3 voted unanimously to declare Easter week, April 15 to 20, a time for massive home-town lobbying for Nixon's impeachment. Members of Congress will be visiting their local districts at that time.

On April 27, prior to the House Judiciary Committee's scheduled report to the full House of Representatives, three regional demonstrations will be held in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and on the West Coast. A three-day lobby in Washington will be part of the activities leading up to the April 27 mass action, but the major focus will be on the regional demonstrations.

The demonstrations in Washington will feature an Impeachment March through the Federal Triangle area; followed by a rally with a maximum of six speakers, at least half of them women, representing different constituencies and political perspectives on im-

peachment. It will end with an Impeachment Fair where grassroots and national organizations can set up booths or displays. The fair will be a politically inspiring yet entertaining event, and it is hoped that it will renew spirits and mass determination for everyone to return home and organize for King Richard's impeachment.

Large, city-wide meetings will be held throughout the country during Easter week, April 15 to 20, involving labor, Third World, women's groups and students. Workshops and seminars will devise strategies to speed up the process of Nixon's impeachment and members of Congress will be invited to inform them that the people of this country are sick and tired of the President's "divine right" to rule.

In addition, to the demand for impeachment, the Chicago conference adopted three other demands: (1) Roll back fuel and food prices; (2) No U.S. aid or fuel oil to repressive regimes abroad; (3) Stop repression — Defend democratic rights.

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

Andrew Hamilton, 1735

The conference also endorsed the Indochina Peace Campaign's regional demonstration scheduled for May 4, at Kent State University, which will commemorate the anniversary of the invasion of Cambodia and the Jackson/Kent State massacres in 1970.

Conference attendance indicated the growing number of organizations who are joining the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon. Members include: the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; New American Movement; People's Party; the People's Bicentennial Commission; Workers Committee to Throw the Bum Out; War Resisters League, and over 30 grassroots impeachment groups.

The National Campaign to Impeach Nixon's "A Call to Action" states, in part: "...through attacks upon poor and non-White people struggling for justice and freedom, through subversion of the Bill of Rights itself, Richard Nixon has tried to put himself above the Constitution and the law of the land. Our democratic rights have been ignored and attacked...Our country, born in revolution against oppression, has become, to much of the world, what England was to us in 1776...We must act to regain control over the institution of which we are a part. We must come together as a free and brave people to save our country from those who, by hook or crook, would steal even more of it from us. Government of, by and for the corporations has become our lot; we must act, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, 'so that government of, by and for the people shall not perish from the face of the earth' "

relating to the assassination of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem in November 1963 were missing. When he called this to Charles Colson's attention, Colson asked, "Well, what kind of material have you dug up on the files that would indicate complicity?"

Hunt related to a grand jury in Washington, D.C., in May, 1973, that "...I showed him three or four cables that indicated that they had pretty close to pulled the trigger against Premier Diem's head..." "Well, this isn't good enough," Colson said. "Do you think you could improve on them?" Hunt replied that he could, but when he requested assistance Colson said, "We won't be able to give you any technical help. This is too hot. See what you can do on your own." Hunt used a Xerox machine, a razor blade, and a typewriter, and after some effort he says, "I was satisfied that

I had two creditable cables...I showed them to Colson. He seemed to like them."

One of the phony cables allegedly stated, "We believe future success of Vietnam efforts depends upon displacement of Nhu and Diem." It continued, "Moreover, leaders of a successful coup deserve a clean slate...by making sure neither brother survives."

Colson subsequently sent William Lambert, an investigative reporter for *Life* magazine, to Hunt to plant the faked cables with him. In this manner two men nearly rewrote history in order to tarnish the name of an assassinated President and to politically embarrass his surviving brother.

After the Watergate break-in, Colson expressed concern to John Dean over the contents of Hunt's White House safe. Presumably one reason for his concern was the

existence of the forged cables in the safe. Dean gave the cables and other documents relating to the investigation of Senator Edward Kennedy and the Chappaquidick incident to L. Patrick Gray, then acting director of the FBI. Gray burned both sets of documents at his home with the Christmas trash in December, 1972. Colson, in testimony before the House Armed Services Subcommittee, denied that he told Hunt to alter State Department cables.

In the summer of 1971, when Hunt was supposed to be working diligently on plugging the Pentagon Papers leak, he went to Colson with the information that Clifton DeMotte knew something about Senator Edward Kennedy's auto accident on Chappaquidick Island in which Mary Jo Kopechne was killed. Hunt wanted Colson's help in obtaining equipment from the CIA to use in conducting the interview. □



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.

BOBBY SEALE: "IT'S THE MASSES OF PEOPLE WHO ARE REALLY RADICAL"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

people registered to vote. Now, there are 10 million Black people registered to vote. Black people are deliberately, willfully and correctly voting for Black candidates, primarily for the reason that they are getting tired of electing racist, capitalistic, fascist, warmongering candidates who do not have their interest at heart. That is the character of the Black liberation movement in this country today.

"In the 14 Southern states last year, some 79 Black candidates ran for political office and about 50 of those that ran got into office. Maybe not all of those candidates were good candidates but the conscious act of running and calling upon Black people to elect them triggered a conscious effort on the part of those 10 million Black people voting across this country. It's important to understand the character of this movement. It's very important.

"When you're talking about running and voting Black political candidates into office remember, we are talking about electing candidates who have internalized the philosophy of people's struggle. That's important. Not just any old candidate. We are talking about community control of politics, and we don't need any political teachers that really don't serve our interests, desires and needs.

"Your congressman, who is supposed to represent you in the Congress of the United States, is elected every two years. We're going to have to focus in on all those seats. With 10 million Black people voting, brothers and sisters, do you realize that the Black Caucus in Congress could be 5-10 fold.

"Coalition politics with Chicano, Puerto Rican and other poor, oppressed people; coalition politics with Native Americans and young White people who are tired of the racism and the fascism that is rampant in this country, can be successful. In coalition politics, do you realize that we could put more people into office who have internalized — whether they are black, blue, white, green or yellow, but mainly those Black candidates since this is very important for the political consciousness of the Black community to elect Black representatives—the philosophy of people's struggle. I am saying that if we don't do this we will not counterbalance the reactionary racist forces and policies of this country that are building up in direct opposition to us.



S.A.F.E. Program member escorting Senior Citizen.

"When the Black Panther Party first started, as one example, there were only ½ million police throughout the whole country. Now, there are over 1,200,000 policemen. If you start saying that there are at least two guns per policeman then they have at least 2,400,000 guns; from AR-15s to .357 magnums and .44 magnums. They have armed cars and trucks and everything. That's what it is!

"A community is a comprehensive set of institutions and we do not have community people in control of these institutions; we are not able to transform them to serve our interests. A police department is an institution, a fire department is an institution; supermarkets, governmental agencies and the like, all institutions. As I say, humankind has always institutionalized functions for their survival.

"Where we have 10 million Black people eligible to vote now, in the next 5 to 6 years we should have 15 to 20 million eligible to vote. Malcolm X told us that when Lyndon Johnson ran for office against Goldwater (in 1964) 90 percent of all Black people who went to the polls voted for a racist who did not have the interests of Black people at heart. He said that never before in history did a minority people, residing in a place where they are oppressed, vote that strongly for a racist candidate.

"In Oakland, California, in 1969, two avowed, outspoken racists ran for political office, City Council. With a 50 percent mixed population of Blacks and Chicanos, they ran unopposed. That's not supposed to happen any more in any community! I don't care if it's only 5 percent Black in the community. Keep

those votes blocked up and divide the White people from that racist and that capitalist.

"You ever heard talk about divide and conquer? Well, I hope that your conscience will conquer you. If you're still hooked up with that racist, stop it. Join humanity. Join humanity's right to survival on the face of this sweet little Earth we've got. Let's move on. Let's move on like human beings. We're all on this Earth — red, white, black, blue green, and yellow—or polka dot. And if we do get a Martian or a Jupiterian to come down and visit us, don't start acting like a bunch of 'Earth nationalists' Let's understand that we're interconnected and interrelated in this whole universe; that we are humanity trying to survive.

"For millions of years, up until this day and time, corruption exists. I like to remind people of that because, when I talk about people organizing and solidifying these local seats, even Congressional seats, you have to realize that there are a lot of corrupt congressmen. You have to elect those kind of congressmen who really know what the problems are and will really work hard for the people. I'm telling you to use that electoral process because there is no government of the people, by the people, and for the people in this country.

"In Oakland, California, when our campaign was moving, some senior citizens walked up to us, a Mrs. Isabel Van Frank and Mrs. Ruth Jones, a White and a Black senior citizen. They came up to Elaine and I in our campaign office. We had known them before, and they brought this problem to us. What could we do about senior citizens getting mugged in the community so much? They had just come from

the police department and the police down there — for the fifth time — were making cracks, telling them not to walk so close to the doors but walk closer to the curbs in order to cut down on muggings. So I went down to the YMCA and got four vans. I got another brother to give us two vans. There are five senior citizens buildings in the Satellite Senior Citizen's Homes, about fourteen stories high. We went down there and leafleted them and told the people that on the day they cash their checks — social security and pension checks — we would have transportation and personalized escort service, to and from the banks. And we ran them every half hour on the hour.

"I remembered something very significant when those two senior citizens brought that problem to me. My mother had been mugged twice, and the second time we had to put her in the hospital. We wanted to teach youth about senior citizens. Elaine Brown and I criticized the local city government because they wanted to give two and one half million dollars more to the police department. They had already tripled themselves in the last five or six years. We had a press conference and said 'no'. We wanted two and one-half million more for the senior citizens program — for vans, 75 vans, to train some young people in karate, in first aid, and teach them about escorting senior citizens.

"The norms of this society say that when a person gets old, he or she is supposed to go somewhere and lay down. I'm saying that senior citizens have a right to be happy, that they shouldn't have to be forced to be locked up and fearful of going out on the streets.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



The campaigns of people such as Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown have brought Black people to the polls in record numbers in recent years.

Intercommunal News

NEW PORTUGUESE ARMY MASSACRE DISCLOSED

200 ANGOLANS KILLED

(Deep Inside Angola) A Portuguese army massacre of some 200 Angolans in February or March, 1970, was disclosed recently. The report, which appeared in the March, 1974, issue of *Africa* magazine, was written by a correspondent who visited Africa and talked with two Angolans who barely escaped death in the massacre.

The Angolans say that soon after a group of African guerrillas attacked the garrison near Chicala, a special squad of Portuguese troops raided the nearby "resettlement" camp of Kauvli.

The Portuguese took all 230 men present and forced them into a large hut. "They beat us around the head with the butts of their guns to force us into the building—we even had to lie on top of each other to fit in."

The soldiers pulled the men out one by one. They said it was to question the Angolans on the whereabouts of the "terrorists" "After each person had been taken, we heard a shot — one for each...Man after man left the hut. We counted over 140.

"Suddenly a screaming man ran past the window. He had been shot in the side. We watched him fall to the ground. A

soldier came up and shot him in the head with a pistol.

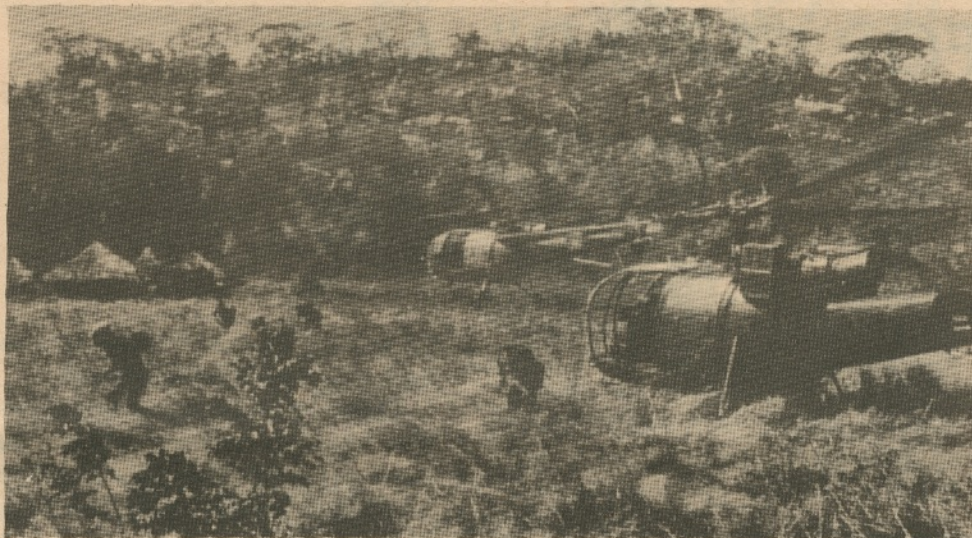
"The remaining 80 or so of us decided we might as well die together. We stormed the guard and broke down the door. What we saw was horrible. There were bodies and blood everywhere. The Portuguese soldiers immediately started firing at us with machine guns. As we ran, we kept stumbling over all the bodies."

Tshiyuka and Montanha, who disclosed the massacre, were the only survivors.

Resettlement camps of the type the Portuguese raided have been described by many Angolans as the worst manifestation of Portuguese domination. Called aldeamentos, or "strategic resettlements" by the Portuguese, their purpose, according to the Portuguese, is to protect the people from the "terrorists" and to centralize educational and medical facilities. These facilities are non-existent however.

Clearly the major purpose of aldeamentos is to control the rural people so that they cannot provide a support base for the guerrillas. Some people volunteer to go and live in these aldeamentos, though they regret it later.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17



Landing in copters, Portuguese troops prepare to raid an Angolan village.

PORTUGAL SEEKS "AFRICANIZATION" IN MOZAMBIQUE

(Lisbon, Portugal) - Faced with the reality that it cannot militarily defeat the African freedom-fighting party in Mozambique, FRELIMO, the Portuguese government is pressing for an "African solution" in the east African colony.

To implement this so-called African solution, Portuguese Prime Minister Dr. Marcello Caetano is quietly backing a new group of predominantly African nationalists in Mozambique. This "third force", as it is called, is made up of a loose association of about 300 people drawn primarily from the African professional classes.

The fact that the Portuguese have allowed the nationalists to form a political pressure group in Mozambique is a clear indication that the group, Grupo Unido De Mozambique (GUM), will be nothing more than puppets of the Lisbon government. The Portuguese claim that GUM will be given sanction to press for independence in Mozambique.

Portuguese observers believe it is highly probable that the Portuguese Governor of Mozambique, Pimentil dos Santos, will be replaced by a "more imaginative" administrator in agreement with the need to create a predominantly African government in the colony.

The military situation for Portugal in its war of repression against FRELIMO is fast deteriorating. White settlers are leaving Mozambique in increasing numbers, and those who have remained have fortified their farms in remote areas. In addition, at the beginning of the year

FRELIMO launched a new offensive and presently has firm control of the areas surrounding the vital road and rail links from the Indian Ocean port of Beira west to Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and north to Zambia and Malawi.

FRELIMO is now concentrating on attacking White-owned farms around the key cities of Vila Pery and Vila de Manica, close to the Zimbabwe border. Several farms have been destroyed in what is considered the White heartland of Mozambique.




FRELIMO guerrillas in jungle before attack on a Portuguese position.

Therefore, seeking to save face for Portugal, Caetano and his new Overseas Minister, Dr. Balthazar Rebello de Souza, are taking steps to give Mozambique token, neo-colonial independence. The Portuguese have every intention of keeping Mozambique part of the Portuguese Commonwealth.

Not only is Portugal losing the military side of the war but it is having political problems, too. In

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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ETHIOPIANS PRESS DEMANDS FOR "BREAD" AND "DEMOCRACY"

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia)

Despite reports to the contrary, the Ethiopian people have not ended their demands for bread and democracy. Last week enlisted men in Ethiopia's small Air Force refused to go to work until their demand for the ouster of 21 officers was met.

Air Force enlisted men complain that while the government had acceded to Army and Navy pressure for increases in pay and the removal of objectionable officers, nothing had been done about the Air Force personnel. The original mutiny that began in the Army on February 25 and spread to the Navy, resulted in substantial raises in pay for enlisted personnel and removal of many officers.

A new strike by air-traffic controllers closed the airports at Addis Ababa and Asmara, the two largest cities, and riot police wielding clubs dispersed students demonstrating for political freedom at Emperor Haile Selassie University. "We want popular elections", a student leader is reported to have told the *New York Times* reporter. "We do not want any government appointed by the Emperor. We want to choose our own."

The student was referring to the government of the newly-appointed Prime Minister, Endalkachew Makonnen, which has promised concessions to the country's workers and military. He has promised a minimum wage, the right of public employees to strike, nationwide price controls and abolition of school fees for poor children.

At a faculty meeting at the university, the demand for the ouster of Premier Endalkachew was adopted and the meeting called for free elections. Following the meeting, several hundred students were burning an effigy of Mr. Endalkachew when helmeted police fired tear gas grenades onto the campus and brutally waded into the demonstrators with clubs.

Emperor Haile Selassie conceded to newsmen last week that his absolute rule was no longer absolute. He said that while the monarchy was in his opinion a durable institution needed to hold Ethiopia together, its once overwhelming political power was not "eternal" and could be varied

according to the "requirements and exigencies of the time".

These remarks seem to suggest that he is serious about the eventual convening of a constitutional conference, with the hope of establishing some form of constitutional monarchy in Ethiopia. However, when asked to outline the most important tasks facing the nation, the Emperor did not mention land reform, central to any break up of the feudal structure of Ethiopian society.

Henry S. Hayward, staff correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor* writing from Addis Ababa, was skeptical about the government's ability to implement all the reforms and changes it has promised during the continuing rebellion. He wonders if Ethiopia's present resources are sufficient.

PORTUGAL SEEKS "AFRICANIZATION"

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

February, angry mobs of Whites demonstrated against their army for three straight days in Beira. At one point military police fired over the heads of the crowd in order to drive them back from the homes of the military officers.

The crowds demanded the resignation of the two highest-ranking men in Portugal's army, General Francisco Costa Gomes and General Antonio de Spino-la.



Thousands of Ethiopians have died in the famine that has plagued their country and five other African countries during the past five years.

"Unless the host of political, economic and social improvements which have been demanded here in the past three weeks show some signs of being put into effect rapidly, further confrontations between the government and its people seem almost inevitable", he writes.

FIND THE WAY

The question, of course, is not resources but will. If the present government seriously desires to meet the demands of the people it will find the way to do so. The people do not and will not expect the government to perform miracles. They will expect the government to move to seriously meet its commitments. Without

this they will return to the streets.

In the news conference the Emperor's words were guarded, according to reports. He declined to outline views of his own on how Ethiopia should now be governed following the political upheavals that have seriously undermined his absolute authority. He says he will await the recommendations and advice of the constitutional conference.

While the news conference was in progress, outside, on the grounds of the Jubilee Palace, hundreds of Ethiopian peasants, their shoulders wrapped in white cotton "shemmas", or national shawls, waited to present petitions to the Emperor. □

plebiscites be held in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola to help determine the nature of future governments in these countries.

Ultra right-wing White settlers who are dead set against Africanization have long been suspicious of Caetano's policy of greater autonomy for the colonies. Their suspicions were heightened in February when an African school teacher, Johanna Simiao, was allowed by the government to say openly and publicly in Lisbon that Mozambique is for Mozambicans. Ms. Simiao is expected to emerge as a leading member of GUM.

WILL POWER

Despite pressure from the conservative right-wing, Caetano will no doubt press on for political "Africanization" for two reasons. First, most of the middle ranks of the army backed Spino-la although some senior officers don't like the way things are going. The army would not mind leaving Mozambique if it could do so with "honor" and was not made a scapegoat for Portugal's disengagement.

Second, one of Portugal's most intelligent and highly-respected figures visited Lisbon late in February specifically to tell Caetano that Portugal would lose Mozambique totally unless solid Africa political institutions were established. □



FRELIMO organization of villages in Mozambique has helped the people in their fight against Portuguese oppression.

Africa In Focus

ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) charges the Ian Smith regime of Rhodesia with responsibility for a cholera outbreak in the northernmost combat areas of Rhodesia. According to a ZANLA medical report in the February *Zimbabwe News*, official organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the origin of the current epidemic and its geographic distribution are unnatural enough to suggest that the White settler government has a "hand in it". ZANLA health teams have vaccinated more than 2,000 men, women and children in the affected area.

KENYA

Police used tear gas and clubs in Nairobi, Kenya, recently to break up student demonstrations against further cuts in educational opportunities. Because of mounting economic problems, the Kenyan government has recently cut back expenditures on education and raised university entrance requirements to reduce the number of entrants into the already overcrowded job market. The students charged that mass failures at graduation time are designed to further reduce this flow.

UNITED NATIONS

The United States was the sole "No" vote before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on March 4, which urged the U.N. to issue a strong condemnation of the South African and Portuguese governments and the Rhodesian White minority regime for flagrant disregard of U.N. resolutions relating to fundamental rights — and specifically the right of the people of southern Africa to self-determination. The vote was 19 in favor to 1 against (U.S.), with 2 abstentions (France, England).

GUINEA-BISSAU

A delegation of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) is currently visiting African countries and other countries for discussions on the question of United Nations membership for the newly-proclaimed Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The Secretary-General of PAIGC, Mr. Aristides Pereira, told a news conference in Accra, Ghana, recently that Guinea-Bissau will formally apply for membership in the United Nations during the next session of the General Assembly.

UNPRECEDENTED MEETING

S.AFRICA'S VORSTER MEETS WITH GOVERNMENT-CREATED "HOMELANDS" CHIEFTAINS

(Pretoria, South Africa) - For the first time in the history of this minority settler regime, a meeting has taken place between the Prime Minister and government-created African leaders.

On March 6, South African Prime Minister John Vorster had discussions with African leaders of the eight so-called tribal "homelands", created by Vorster in an attempt to undermine legitimate demands for self-determination by the African people of South Africa.

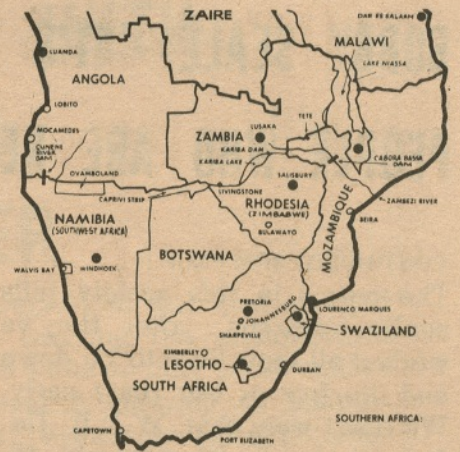
An indication of the true nature of the talks can be drawn from the statement that was issued following the meeting. Vorster and the tribal "leaders" declared that no African leader had demanded independence at this time.

The eight tribal "homelands" represented at the talks are collections of fragmented bits of land, interspersed with vast lands occupied by Whites, roughly representing African tribal groupings. With one exception, none of the "homelands" represent solid land areas. The excep-

tion is the tiniest territory of 177 square miles for the South Sotho tribe.

This fact compels these African tribal chieftains, who have been given government classifications such as "Chief Minister of the Transkei", to concern themselves in discussions with Vorster about the problem of land. Fifteen million Africans are forced to occupy only a fraction of the total land area of South Africa in the so-called Bantustans. (The White population, constituting 19 percent of the total population, owns 87 percent of the land surface. The non-White majority owns the least productive sections of the land in the remaining 13 percent.)

The statement following the meeting said only that the discussions had been about land and the pay differences between Africans and Whites. Within the framework of the government-created Bantustans, demands have been made for more aid and assistance from the Pretoria government for "homeland" development.



At present, most of South Africa's Africans work outside of their tribal "homelands" in White industrial cities, the only places where employment is available to them. The government's alleged "homelands" policy is to develop job opportunities in the Bantustans. But little if anything is being done toward this end.

The all-day meeting between the tribal leaders and Vorster was held behind closed doors. It should be seen as an attempt on the part of the settler government to answer criticisms of African governments who respond to the South African government's appeal for "dialogue" by demanding that there should first be dialogue between Vorster and South African Africans before there can be meaningful dialogue between Vorster and representatives of independent African governments.

However, these handpicked African leaders do not speak for the growing, militant African liberation movements represented by the Pan Africanist Congress and elements from the African National Congress, who are in the process of waging and developing the armed struggle toward the total and absolute self-determination of the African people of South Africa. □

PORTUGUESE MASSACRE DISCLOSED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

But the Portuguese are prepared to use force to round up and hold those who will not cooperate willingly. The soldiers methods lead to many deaths.

Most of the aldeamentos have armed guards and are surrounded by barbed wire. Food supplies are severely limited. The people must work in exchange for food.

In one aldeamento, the work consists of gathering stones 12 hours a day. The only "pay" is two mugsful of flour every three days for a family of eight. Many die from malnutrition, overwork, disease, beatings or shootings.

Gerald Bender, an American writer on Angola, wrote in 1971 that about one million Angolans, or 20 percent of the population, lived in aldeamentos. The proportion is much higher in eastern Angola, where the guerrillas are most active.

Bender quotes a high-ranking Portuguese official as reporting to the government that there are incidents where: "The soldiers rob and pillage food, animals, clothes, radios, almost any ob-



African guerrillas fight much like the Vietnamese did.

jects of value, indiscriminately and without justification. They have also raped women in the villages, killing anyone who attempts to intercede, then later justifying killing by accusing the man with having collaborated with the terrorists." □

Write Us

THE BLACK PANTHER is your newspaper, so let us know what you think about the opinions expressed in our columns. Write us. The Editor and staff are eager to know your reactions. As space permits we will share your letters with our readers.

ALLENDE MINISTER A SUICIDE?

(Santiago, Chile) - Former Interior and Defense Minister in the government of the late Dr. Salvador Allende, Jose Toha Gonzalez, hanged himself in the military hospital where he was undergoing treatment, according to a report by the fascist military authorities.

Toha allegedly killed himself in a bathroom of the hospital where he had been receiving treatment for gastric pains, the report said. However, Chilean patriots are convinced his death was at the hands of the junta authorities. □

BOBBY SEALE: "IT'S THE MASSES OF PEOPLE WHO ARE REALLY RADICAL"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

The norms in this society tells senior citizens after they've worked all their lives to lie down and die five or ten years early. We don't want that. W.E.B. Du Bois lived to be 96 years old. He had a very active mind.

"At the same time we were implementing this program, we went down and got all the Party members, the sisters and the brothers, who were trained in karate and understood the human liberation struggle and gave those senior citizens personalized escort service right up to the bank door and waited until they cashed their checks — cash their checks, buy their groceries, pay their bills, and come back home.

"Talk about campaigning on a grassroots level—some of those young White fellows working in our campaign were talking about '1984, 1984. Look at the helicopters. I'm dropping out of the system, man. How do you think that you're going to educate the people that voted Nixon in about 1984?

"We had a White cat working on our research team in the campaign, long-haired and everything. I told him, 'Man, you've got to go down to the police department and find out this information for us for the press conference tomorrow. We need to know how many crimes are committed against the senior citizens in our community. They're not going to give it to me because I'm Black and they're not going to give it to any Black person down there. They're not going to give it to any long-haired person, so cut your hair, get yourself a tie and get yourself a sports coat'.

"Do you know what he said? He said, 'I don't want to cut my hair, Bobby'. I said, 'Look man, I am tired of you White folks coming up to me and saying that you'll do *anything* to help out with this program and when I ask you to sacrifice by cutting your hair so that we can get some accurate information about senior citizens, you talk about not wanting to cut your hair.' I said, 'Get out of here! Don't even come around here anymore. This is what I'm tired of'. He said, 'Wait a minute, man' I said, 'Wait a minute, nothing.' So he said all right.

"And we scrubbed him up. We cut his hair, got him a sports coat, got him all spruced up and told him what to say. He went down to the police department and told

them that he was a law student from the University of California (which was true). He got the information.

"I came back and explained to the people that the police department was getting ready to buy new helicopters to fly around in the sky and they already had allocated 2 million dollars for that while you — senior citizens — are down here on the ground getting mugged.

"We want a program with 75 vans to transport and escort senior citizens to and from the banks in the community. We'll cut down on crime 75 percent because we'll train 500 youth and, in fact, pay many of the students part-time. We'll establish a 24-hour around the clock transportation service for all our senior citizens.

"If you want to teach some senior citizens who to vote for and who not to vote for, you have to create some concrete programs like that. We took 63 percent of the vote in all five of the senior citizens satellite homes. There were some elderly, White people who were diehard racists who changed their minds and voted for Elaine Brown and Bobby Seale.

"What I'm saying is that grassroots organizing is where it's at. Just talking about something is *not* where it's at. Armchair revolutionaries are not where it's at. Running around and hollering that we're 'Black and beautiful' is not enough. That was essential in that ten-year period that developed, because Black people were accepting themselves as human beings. We're not going to be 'nigras'; we aren't going to be 'Negroes'; we're not going to be 'colored' any more. I'm saying that we accept ourselves as human beings. That's where we were coming from!

"The power structure and the Agnews and the others said that's 'Black militancy'. John Reading, (the Mayor of Oakland) when we first started out said that we cannot have a 'radical' elected to office in our city. He doesn't even know what a radical is. It isn't me, Bobby Seale, that's radical, if you really understand what 'radical' is all about.

"The word revolution has been defined by the politicians to mean so-called anarchy. I'm not talking about the anarchy. I'm talking about evolving the control of institutions in the community to the hands of the people. Evolve,



BOBBY SEALE and ELAINE BROWN campaigning on buses in Oakland last year.

move ahead, revolutionize, change via a process — that is what revolution is about.

"They're talking about radical and militant. I told Reading that he didn't even understand the people in this community. One third of all the crimes being committed in Oakland were being committed against senior citizens. I say that he or she who is getting mugged or a hungry baby or a person unemployed without a job; I'm saying that people right now without gas, people who are feeling a wholesale cutback in services at the same time capitalist corporations are making large profits in this country; all those people who are suffering under this want a *RADICAL* change. Don't tell me about being radical. It's the masses of people who are really radical. The hungry baby wants a radical change, so he or she isn't hungry anymore.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

JAPANESE SOLDIER SURRENDERS

(Tokyo, Japan) - After living 30 years in a mountain hideout in a Philippine jungle, Second Lieutenant Heroo Onoda of the Imperial Japanese Army has returned home.

Onoda, 52, was ordered to stay behind on Lubang Island when the Japanese Army pulled out nearly 30 years ago. One of four soldiers who refused to surrender on the island when Japan withdrew in 1945, Onoda was discovered in the jungle recently. He presented his sword in surrender to Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos before returning to Japan pan. □

WORLD SCOPE

CAMBODIA

(Phnom Penh, Cambodia) - Four former leading Cambodian government officials have left the country to join the exiled government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The four included: an engineer in the Ministry of Public Works; a former high-ranking official in the Ministry of Commerce; a magistrate in the Takei province; and an official of Tela Khmer, the government-owned oil refinery and distribution complex.

TURKEY

(Ankara, Turkey) The Turkish government has officially informed the U.S. that Turkey will resume growing the opium poppy, official sources said.

Following several days of talks with Turkish government officials, U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, Melih Eserbel, left Turkey to relay the message to the State Department. In 1971, Turkey, once the main source of illegal heroin for the American black market, banned opium poppy cultivation in return for a \$35 million compensation payment from the U.S.

SOUTH VIETNAM

(Saigon, South Vietnam) - A delegation of Buddhist leaders and government opponents were denied entrance to Chi Hoa prison when the group tried to visit 200 to 300 prison inmates.

Prison officials confiscated film and tape recordings belonging to CBS and NBC newsmen and several other organizations that were covering the event.

VENEZUELA

(Caracas, Venezuela) - The new president of Venezuela has pledged his country's vast oil wealth to help achieve Latin America's economic liberation.

President Carlos Andres Perez said in his inaugural address, "We must take up the defense of Latin American rights, trampled by the economic totalitarianism of the developed countries."

ENTERTAINMENT

MOVIE REVIEW

"FIVE ON THE BLACK HAND SIDE"

SPEAKS OF UNITY

When Leonard Jackson said, "Gimme five — on the Black hand side", in the motion picture of the same name (minus the "gimme"), the unity of a Black family was consummated. This unity was desperately pursued throughout the film. It was unity of the kind the larger Black family—the community—must realize before freedom can be won.

Five on the Black Hand Side speaks of unity. And although this is the film's major contribution, it is not its only one. It's also 90 minutes of a good time, and, like any good time produces frequent laughs.

Many scenes mirror the Black community. Sometimes when we view aspects of the way in which oppression makes us act, it is funny. For example, when the



LEONARD JACKSON [left, as Mr. Booker] and D'URVILLE MARTIN [as Booker T] discussing family problem.

local hustler-pimp explains the hows of handling women to Mr. Booker's barbershop assemblage, it's real. "It's all in the lines", says the pimp as he proceeds to run some down. "I may not be the baddest man in the world, but I'm in the top two and my father's getting old...I'm the only one that ever sold a blind person a flashlight...I know where the light goes when you turn the lights out", are examples.

Then there's Roll Royce, the numbers writer with the "photogenic" memory. He never needs to write down his customer's numbers and his every utterance

is a poem he heard or read somewhere.

These aren't the major characters in the movie, however. The story revolves around the problems of a Black family. Mr. Booker severely oppresses his wife. He forces her to address him as "Mr." Booker, makes her fill out a daily appointment book of activities he schedules for her, won't allow her to buy a new dress for their daughter's upcoming wedding, and so on.

Fed up, Mrs. Booker decides to fight. With the help of "Stormy Monday" and another friend, she transforms herself into a dashiki-wearing, natural-haired "African Queen" and presents Mr. Booker with a list of non-negotiable demands. She mounts an operation from the rooftop of the house to get Mr. Booker to sign the demands. The operation is coordinated by her young son, Gideon, who is living on the roof in protest of Mr. Brooks.

Part of Gideon's protest stems from his father's desire to see him study business administration instead of anthropology. Gideon feels that the purpose of education is not to make money but as a tool for the liberation struggle.

Gideon goes all out to direct the battle against Mr. Booker, who represents "Uncle Tom" and the establishment. He enlists a team of women karate experts, and sets up pickets in front of the house who shout, "Take the chain off your brain, John Henry (Booker)!" They take over Mr. Booker's barbershop, threaten to leaflet the community and call a congressional investigation.

Mr. Booker, adopting the methods of the oppressor, enlists the aid of the oldest son, Booker T., a poverty program worker, to try to open up meaningless negotiations, and divide and conquer the "bad guys".

RISA

she's young

BLACK

around 9 or 10

(not yet in her teens)

just a princess

growing into a queen

— if we let her grow

help her grow

tell her no

(but gently)

when it isn't so.

she's young

— pig-tailed

and quite frail

but she's knowing

and she's growing

into a woman.

Joe H. Mitchell

Markham, Illinois

REGISTER TO VOTE

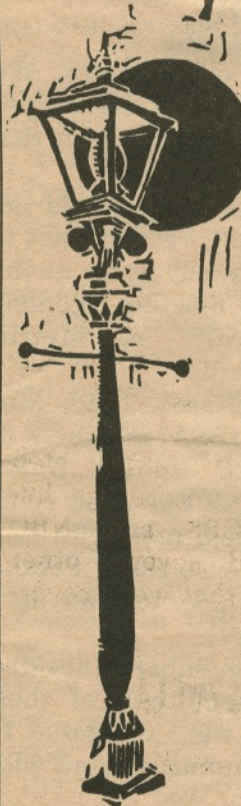
FREE FILMS

The following films will be shown at the Community Learning Center:

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- APR. 4: SOMETHING OF VALUE
- APR. 11: BLACK ORPHEUS
- APR. 18: THE LEARNING TREE
- APR. 25: JACK JOHNSON
- MAY 9: SOUNDER
- MAY 16: MALCOLM X
- MAY 23: SWEET SWEETBACK
- MAY 30: SABA SABA
- JUNE 6: BLACK GIRL

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



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L.A. COP CHARGED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Baldwin shooting had not been completed.

The gun planted beside Baldwin was traced by investigators to a man arrested two years ago. A source close to the investigation told the *Sentinel*, "one of the same officers" involved in the arrest of the gun owner was also involved in the Baldwin shooting.

The pistol had been confiscated by police officers two years ago, but never booked into evidence.

Baldwin was shot six times by Koerschgen and hit all six times with the unauthorized hollow-point magnum "dum-dum" bullets. ("Dum-dum" bullets have a tearing and ripping effect when they hit the human body, and fragment as they travel through the body.)

A citizens committee together with the family is preparing a civil suit against the LAPD. Mrs. M. Baldwin, mother of James Baldwin, told THE BLACK PANTHER: "They claim their investigation is continuing, but we can get no information whatsoever about the progress of that investigation."

She added that a hearing is expected soon to report on the findings of the inquiry. She

insisted that the family and the citizens committee is keeping a close eye on police maneuvers in order to assure that this is not another whitewashing of a police murder of a Black man.

The citizens committee is holding a dance on April 6, in Los Angeles, to raise money for a "contingency fund" to be available to the community for similar occurrences involving members of the community unable to afford legal and professional assistance in securing and protecting their rights. □

REGISTER TO VOTE

9 HOUSTON COPS INDICTED FOR NARCOTICS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

"widespread" corruption in the department, local citizens say that police corruption and brutality are rampant in the Houston department as well as the Harris County Sheriff's Department.

Chief Lynn says that the problems will be ended by "closer accountability of seized property" and beefing up "su-

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Black sailors have been charged. The two White crewmen who precipitated the rebellion have already been rushed through the courts. The one who hit Brother Earle was acquitted, and the other, found guilty of drunken behavior, insulting officers and beating a Black sailor on the back, was sentenced to minimal brig (jail) time and has now resumed his duties on the ship. No White sailors have been charged for assembling with weapons.

In a clear violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, the courts-martial of the 11 Blacks have all been convened by

pervision in the narcotics department".

The nine indicted officers are Carlos Avila, Douglas W. Albert, Delbert D. Collins, John J. Davis, Jessie C. Smith, Antonio V. Zavela, Bennard D. Jackson, Gilbert Gonzalez and Richard T. Garcia. All of the nine are members of the narcotics division. □

Captain Cullins, the commanding officer of the ship. The Uniform Code requires that a commander who is personally involved in an incident disqualify himself. Until recently, following months of protest by the accused and their civilian attorneys, the jury members had been White officers hand-picked by Cullins exclusively from the U.S.S. Little Rock— White officers who had witnessed and prejudged the participants in the event.

The 11 charged are James E. Shempert, Fred Crowder, Martin P. Williams, Donald E. Brookins, Edilberto Felix, Stanley W. Walton, Edward Percy, Gary V. English, David M. Pryor, Earl Jessie and Newell Jackson.

The 11 Black sailors need your support in their just struggle against racism in the Navy and to see that they receive justice. U.S. congressman Ronald V. Dellums and John Conyers of Michigan are also following the cases. Any interested persons may write them or to any of the defendants in care of: Lawyers Military Defense Committee, c/o Captain Ed Welch, Naval Law Center, Box 8, FPO New York, New York 09521. □

N.PERALTA COLLEGE TO BE CLOSED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

and put a lock on the gates. We have to stop looking for scapegoats and start to deal with real issues."

The BSU student then told the excited audience, "If you want to do something about it, be at the District Board meeting Monday March 18, 1974, at Merritt College, 8 p.m."

Shortly afterwards, Black Students Alliance (BSA) members (a group of Black Student Union members from all Bay Area community colleges) met with the BSU members from North Peralta Community College to draw up a plan of strategy.

The BSA members decided that as representatives of their colleges, they were obligated to take a fully committed stand with NPCC.

They agreed to make media contacts, design picket signs, write up leaflets, and arrange transportation to the Monday, March 18 Peralta board meeting that night.

Rallies are to be held on the various campuses to inform the students and the general community. □

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SPORTS

"THE BATTLE OVER RACISM IN SPORTS"

PART 3

A professor of sociology of sports at Dawson College in Canada, Brother Paul Hoch added a new dimension to sports analysis with the publication of his book *Rip Off the Big Game*. In the following selection, excerpted from the chapter entitled "The Battle Over Racism in Sports", Brother Hoch continues his study of racism and hypocrisy at the Olympic Games, comparing the jeers hurled at Tommy Smith and John Carlos for their Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympics with the "Nazi Olympics" in 1936.

It is interesting to review the records of some of the men who accused the Blacks of playing politics. Once before these men had been confronted with a boycott threat. The incident is described by Richard D. Mandell in his book on *The Nazi Olympics* in Berlin in 1936.

At that time the issue was that Hitler's German team discriminated against Jews. The Olympic establishment repeatedly claimed that this wasn't so, or if it was, it was irrelevant. Eventually, as the movement to boycott the Olympics gathered momentum in America, they sent General Charles Sherrill (a member of the American and International Olympic committees) to Berlin to negotiate with the Nazis. Sherrill vigorously opposed the boycott and upon his return, discussed the reasons for his mission:

"I went to Germany for the purpose of getting at least one Jew on the German Olympic team and I feel that my job is finished. As for obstacles placed in the way of Jewish athletes or any others in trying to reach Olympic ability, I would have no more business discussing that in Germany than if the Germans attempted to discuss the Negro situation in the

American South or the treatment of the Japanese in California." (*New York Times*, October 22, 1935.)

He also claimed that he knew many Jews who opposed a boycott and who feared that "it would be overplaying the Jewish hand in America as it was overplayed in Germany before the present suppression and expulsion of the Jews were undertaken."

The next day, Frederick Rubin, then Secretary of the American Olympic Committee announced his position: "Germans are not discriminating against Jews in their Olympic tryouts. The Jews are eliminated because they are not good enough as athletes. Why there are not a dozen Jews in the world of Olympic caliber." (*New York Times*, October 23, 1935.) General Sherrill later appeared before the Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York and



Brothers VINCE MATTHEWS [left] and WAYNE COLLETT refused to stand at attention on the winners' podium at 1972 Olympics.

posed as being far above petty chauvinism—a position that did not prevent them from occasionally praising the visible accomplishments of the Nazis and from slurring the adherents of (the boycott) Committee on Fair Play as being Reds or even Communists."

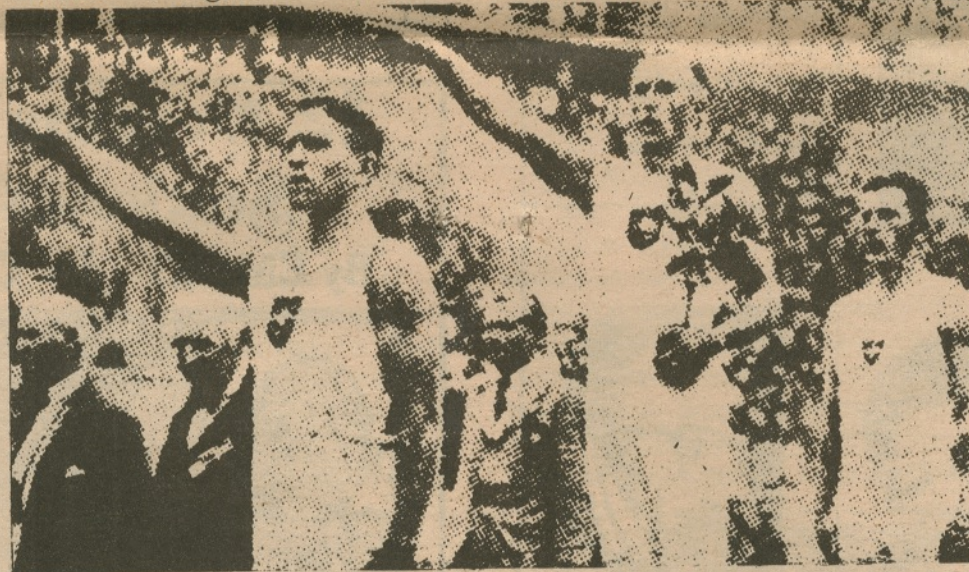
In May, 1968, *Ramparts* reported that Brundage had told an AAU National Convention that the German Jews were "satisfied" with their treatment under the Nazis. Was this just a hastily thought-out view based largely on ignorance?

NAZIS PRAISED

Apparently not. For even after Brundage made the trip to Nazi Germany with the 1936 Olympic team, he returned to a packed rally of 20,000 at Madison Square Garden with heady praise for the Nazi establishment. According to the October 3, 1936, *New York Times*, Avery Brundage "brought his audience to their feet cheering in an outburst of enthusiasm when he paid tribute to the Reich under Adolph Hitler." He told them, "We can learn much from Germany. We, too, if we wish to preserve our institutions, must stamp out communism. We, too, must take steps to arrest the decline of patriotism."

"As recently as August, 1940", *Ramparts* reported, "Brundage was serving as head of Citizens to Keep America Out of War, a group now known to have been Nazi-supported."

It came as no great surprise that the only two Jews on the American track and field team, Sam Stoller and Marty Glickman, were mysteriously dropped from the 400-meter relay team just before the start of the Berlin Games. □



German athletes "Heil Hitler" at 1936 Olympic games in Munich

praised Mussolini as "a man of courage in a world of pussyfooters," adding, "I wish to God he'd come over here and have a chance to do that same thing." (*New York Times*, November 27, 1935.)

The President of the American Olympic Committee (and close colleague of Sherrill and Rubin) was Avery Brundage. He has remained at the top of the Olympic establishment ever since, and until 1972 was head of the International Olympic Committee. He opposed the anti-Nazi boycott just as he was later to oppose the Black boycott. He opposed exclusion of Germany in 1936, of Japan in 1940, and of Rhodesia and South Africa in 1968.

In 1936, according to Mandell, "Brundage and his supporters

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BUY FROM JO-NEL'S

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

E. ERIKSON: Well, as to that last point, I probably should have stressed earlier that the very fact of my being a psychoanalyst makes me hold back with criticism or critique. I've seen psychoanalytic explanations used as weapons—either of offense or defense—only too often, and I have tried to learn not to do that. I want to first understand the whole situation and then see where any psychoanalytic explanations might fit in. So I guess I held back exactly in that area where, from your previous experience, you thought I might let go.

BLAKE: Yes.

E. ERIKSON: No wonder the students felt that neither of us really let go. They felt, I would imagine—and, Kai, you correct

me if I am wrong—they felt that you, Huey, were so theoretical that they could barely recognize the man with the gun and wondered if you were holding back for reasons of academic environment. At the same time, they half-expected that I would light into you, asking about your background, your personality, in an effort to figure out the unconscious determinants of your revolutionary leanings— which, come to think of it, is what I did do in the case of Luther and Gandhi, but only after long study of their voluminous confessional utterances. So maybe the students felt a little betrayed: they came to a spectacle in which Huey was going to be aggressive and I was going to be psychoanalytic and the sparks would fly.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

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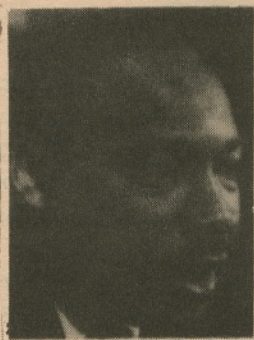
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"FIVE ON THE BLACK HAND SIDE"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Meanwhile, it looks very bad for the daughter's wedding the next day. That is, until the fiance arrives and explains to the combatants that love and respect should be used to overcome the family squabbles and that the other tactics should be used on the real enemy, the White power structure.

At the wedding, an African one, the entire family except Mr. Booker is dressed in African clothing. When a crucial point arrives in the ceremony and the families must drink from a common cup, Mr. Booker does so only after some hesitation and visible strain. After the ceremony is performed, Mr. Booker leaves.

When he returns, quiet overcomes the assemblage. For Mr. Booker is decked out in a dashiki. He approaches the crowd and says, "Somebody give me five — on the Black hand side". When Mrs. Booker complies, the family is one.

Casting in the movie is excellent. Leonard Jackson is superb as Mr. Booker. Clarice Taylor as Mrs. Booker, Glynn Turman as Gideon, Durville Martin as Book-

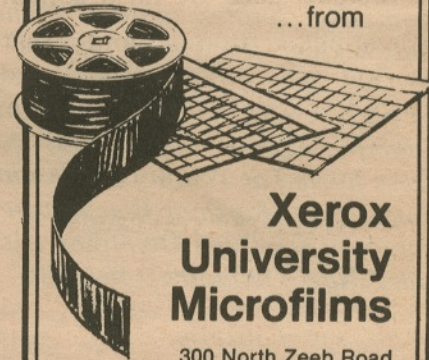
er T and all other actors must be applauded for their fine performances. □

(THE BLACK PANTHER thanks Eastmont 4 Theatres for the graphics to go with the review.) □

B.B.

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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.

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.



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

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.

"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

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE BENEFIT

OSCAR BROWN, JR.

MARCH 16 and 17, 1974

