

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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VOL. XI NO. 15

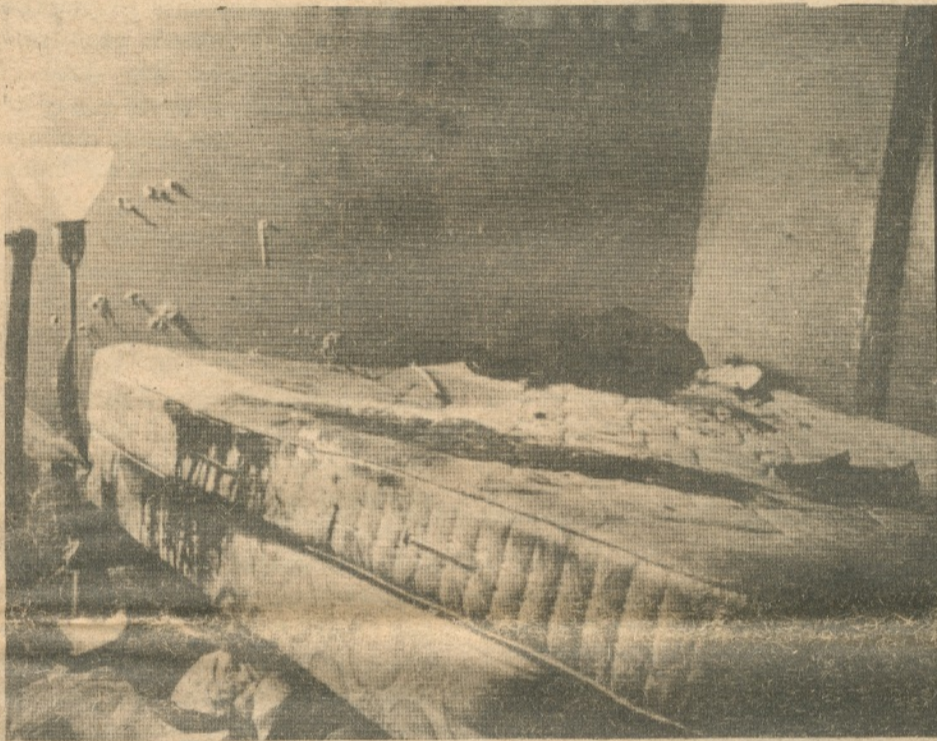
SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1974

25¢



F.B.I. DOCUMENTS REVEAL PLAN

S.N.C.



Bedroom in which Fred Hampton was murdered on Dec. 4, 1969.

"DISRUPT, MISDIRECT, DISCREDIT" BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE



Police raiding L.A. Panther Office on Dec. 8, 1969.



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.



MALCOLM X

SEE CENTERFOLD

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EDITORIAL

KENT STATE INDICTMENTS

The indictment last week of eight men who, as National Guardsmen, fired into demonstrating students at Kent State University on May 4, 1970, killing four and wounding nine, is one more demonstration of American injustice.

Neither the university officials who invited the guardsmen on to the campus nor the officers who commanded the guardsmen while on the campus are cited in the indictment. Neither are those in government who were responsible for creating the hysterical, anti demonstration atmosphere that was being promoted at the time.

So, once again, it is the victim that must be the scapegoat, in order to conceal and protect the forces actually to blame. The student victims are dead. Only the memory of them lives. The wounded are healed and thankful to be alive.

But the popular clamor for justice must be dealt with, or seem to be dealt with. So, the poorest, the most defenseless, the least protected and the most accessible are chosen to hush the clamor. The real criminals responsible for the Kent State deaths go scott free.

Does any but Black folks remember that only days after the Kent State killings, two Black Jackson State College students were killed by Mississippi police bullets poured into campus dormitories, and that 11 Jackson State students were wounded.

Because those killed and wounded at Jackson State were Black, hardly a ripple was made in the establishment media. Because they were Black, demands for damage claims and prosecution of the killer cops went unheeded.

The dead and wounded at Kent State and the dead and wounded at Jackson State were all victims of the power elite assault against the exercise of First Amendment rights. In addition, however, the dead and wounded at Jackson State were victims of Mississippi's and the country's racism.

That indictments, however inadequate and misdirected, can be issued to salve the wounds of Kent State, while the Jackson State murderers remain totally unidentified and free points up the continuing racism that dominates American life today. □



"America Deserves the Best Government Money Can Buy."

Letters to the Editor

Dear Brothers/Sisters,

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

An article that appeared in an earlier edition of THE BLACK PANTHER paper by Sister Burnetta Coles, on the D.C. Women's Detention Center, is totally correct and authentic.

Sister Burnetta Coles has brought much awareness to the many sisters, or neo-comrades that have come through that human warehouse of retribution.

The conditions and situations she depicted are definitely true. The fascist Federal Court in Washington, D.C., denied them everything. They have no educational programs, very limited legal assistance, poor medical facilities, racist and bourgeois classification and parole officials and no set disciplinary guidelines.

As an example, a sister was put in solitary confinement for a fight. She pleaded and cried for the basic personal hygiene articles that a woman must have. The pig wouldn't give her anything, as she had orders not to give anything unless prescribed by the pig doctor. She suffered.

The fault with the medical facility at the Women's Detention Center is that the medical officer — who is worse than a horse doctor — named Dr. Bullock, hardly ever makes daily appearances as he is supposed to.

Being a comrade and brother of hers, I ask the brothers and sisters of the Black Panther Party to aid Sister Coles. I hope the Central Headquarters of the Party will communicate with the D.C. Chapter and get something done there before a very possible death cry is heard — and felt.

In solidarity,
Nathaniel Wright III
Lorton Reformatory
Lorton, Virginia

Dear Editor,

As a concerned employee of General Motors Assembly Division, St. Louis, Missouri, I feel a need to bring several points to the attention of the public.

As you may know, the number of Black people employed by General Motors Assembly Division has been decreasing at a tremendous rate recently. The reasons given are reductions in shifts and various firings. Ever increasing expressions are being heard from within our ranks relative to the way these reductions are being made. As a result, we find ourselves distinctly out numbered in skilled trades and lower management type jobs, which is an unpleasured disadvantage to say the least.

It is disgraceful to think in the 20th century, as the U.S. prepares for her 200th Birthday, that Black people still have to fight like hell to keep jobs at the very bottom of the job ladder. Even more disgusting is the fact that the upper level jobs go unfilled.

When my employment began with G.M. in 1963, there was little or no participation of Blacks in the skilled trades, lower and upper management jobs. Today, March, 1974, there has been little, if any, change in the participation of Blacks at G.M.

You can blame it on the Energy Crisis, or any other type crisis you can think of, but the crisis is that the system—Federal, Local, and State—has failed to come up with a workable solution that will allow Blacks to participate, in numbers, in jobs throughout the ranks and files of General Motors Assembly Division.

Help,

Richard Dockett
University City, Mo.

P.S. - A Lilly White Plant in the Heart of the Ghetto. "75"

COMMENT

BAY AREA MEDIA: RACIST

The following article is a guest comment on the racist nature of the news media in the Bay Area, written by Sister Karen Howze, one of the few Black and committed news reporters in the San Francisco-Oakland area.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - There are over 200 Black people who work in one capacity or another within establishment broadcasting outlets in the Bay Area. A surprising fact — since many are not visible on television nor can be detected through their voices on the air waves.

But, the fact remains, there are scores of Blacks in the media. For too long the "brothers and sisters" have been silent at times when voices should be raised from the inside about the lack of coverage given to the Black community and the fact that the coverage given is blatantly racist in nature for the most part.

A movement toward organization of Black media workers here has begun. The name of the group is Blacks in the Media for Affirmative Action. One goal has been to affect the upcoming licensing of local stations that have failed to respond to us.

The Blacks in the media who are involved in the group have voiced much rhetoric but have been short on the action during the past few months.

The once every four years licensing process will be over August 1. So there is still time for the group to pull itself together on a long range basis and for real change.

However, it speaks to our survival as a people to make sure that some fire is put under the asses of these salaried concerned broadcasters, journalists et al who are Black and should be committed and Black.

It is time for all of us to force a continuing process of media monitoring by us and for us. That monitoring must include the people "fortunate" enough to be employed within the media and those of us who live without, in the Black community and reap the negativism of the local media outlets.

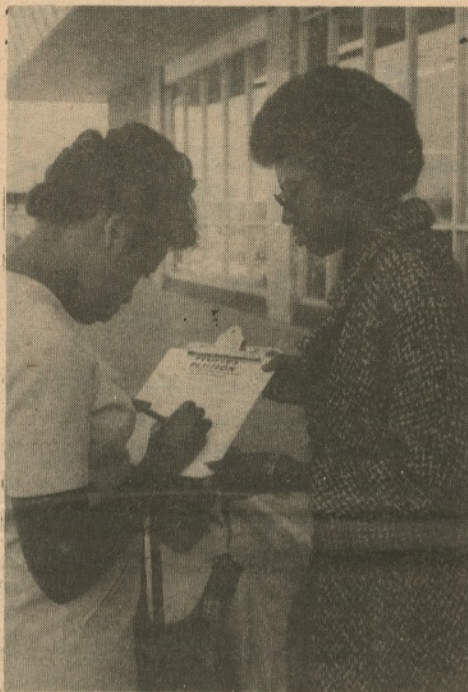
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THE BLACK PANTHER

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YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$8.75. APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

RACIST DALLAS POWER STRUCTURE LAUNCHES ATTACK ON BLACK PANTHER PARTY



One of the 10,000 people signing the bus fare petition in Houston.

HOUSTON B.P.P.

SENIOR CITIZENS SEEK REDUCED BUS FARE

(Houston, Texas) — The Anna Dupree Coalition for the Elderly and the Houston Chapter of the Black Panther Party have launched a petition campaign demanding that the forty-five cents city bus fare be reduced to fifteen cents for senior citizens.

"We have already acquired more than 10,000 signatures and are increasing that number at a very rapid rate," announced Stephen Edwards, Public Information Officer for the Black Panther Party Chapter here. "We've been working about four months on this particular project," he informed us.

The Anna Dupree Coalition for the Elderly (formerly the Senior Citizen's Task Force) has been fighting for lower bus fares since last summer. Mrs. Anniebell Fontano, the coalition's hard-working spokeswoman, has led the active group of elderly citizens to City Hall on three separate occasions and formally requested that the City Council order the fares reduced. The council has refused to act on the matter for almost a year.

Brother Edwards pointed out that a recent survey by the Party here revealed that approximately 38% of all crimes in the city are committed against people over 55 years of age. He explained that lower fares for seniors would allow them to ride the bus instead of walking through dangerous streets.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

(Dallas, Texas) - The racist city establishment of Dallas has launched an all-out attack on Brother Fred Bell, leading member of the Black Panther Party, Dallas Chapter and the Party's proposal to institute community control of police for the poor oppressed people of that city. The Black Panther Party has also developed a plan to bring about effective community supervision of police practices until the proposed ordinance becomes law.

Fred Bell has now been publicly attacked as a "militant" and a criminal in the Dallas press. An attempt is in progress to have him fired from his job with the Dallas Legal Services Project. The proposal, presented by Brother Fred at a community meeting, has been denounced as unnecessary, called "illegal," and an attempt has been made to weaken it. Nevertheless, the Black Panther Party is continuing the drive to channel the rising discontent of poor oppressed people, particularly Black and Mexican-American citizens, towards seizing community control of the police department.

The momentum behind the Black Panther Party proposal has developed from the community's pent-up indignation, and was released by the cold-blooded murder of an off-duty Black cop on February 15 (see THE BLACK PANTHER, March 30, 1974).



Brother FRED BELL.

Testimony concerning brutal and murderous police officers has been delivered to the Civil Service Board in a new tactic aimed at documenting and halting police repression; dangerous cops can be fired for violating Dallas civil service regulations.

The initial draft of the Black Panther Party's proposed ordinance to create a Citizens' District Police Board (CDPB) in each of the nine police districts which together cover the city of Dallas has been the subject of both praise from the oppressed communities and condemnation from the rich, racist elite.

The proposal says in part that: "Said board shall have the powers, duties and composition to

determine all policies, regulations and procedures of patrolmen within their respective districts or divisions.

It continues, "Each district board shall set policy...with respect to all affairs of the police in its district that insure the safety, justice and general welfare of the citizenry of each district. Each board shall have the power, by majority vote, to suspend or fire patrolmen on duty in their respective divisions."

The proposal also provides that all "records and files related to police matters...shall be available to CDPB members...as they deem necessary."

The document includes proposed election procedures for Board positions and the stipulation that all powers of the various city agencies and branches including the mayor's office, "as related to the Dallas Police Department," be transferred to the citizens of Dallas at large.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

On Monday, March 11, the first calculated effort to stop this movement for community control of police was made by City Councilman Charles Terrell. He counter-proposed that a new board be composed of City Council members, city management officials and certain police department representatives.

City Attorney Alex Bickley, the Dallas Police Association and the rest of the Dallas establishment predict doom for law and order if any change is made at all. Bickley explains that he interprets both Texas state law and the Dallas City Charter to leave grievances against the police force or its individual officers solely in the hands of the chief of police. He has the "exclusive" right to suspend his men. (The president of the police association was himself cleared of misconduct charges in 1960.)

The *Dallas Times Herald* and the federal OEO program are questioning Brother Fred's eligibility for his job with the OEO-funded Dallas Legal Services Project. In addition, the question of his trumped-up arrest and conviction record for bank robbery was suddenly raised after eight months of work.

The community campaign for Citizens' District Police Boards continues. □

FALLEN COMRADE

**BOBBY HUTTON
ASSASSINATED
April 6, 1968**



"Li'l" Bobby Hutton was the beginning. The first to join...the first to die. The first to set the example, an infinite example, of commitment, responsibility and courage...of selflessness, sacrifice and death.

Murdered by a squad of Oakland policemen the night of April 6, 1968, "Li'l" Bobby, only 17, gave of himself to serve his people. He gave all, asking nothing in return. "Li'l" Bobby Hutton lived for the people and died for the people. He was a beginning that knows no end...



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



YOUTH INSTITUTE

GROUP 2 AND 3: FROM THE PERCEPTUAL TO THE CONCEPTUAL

This week *THE BLACK PANTHER* continues its series on the eight skills groups at Oakland's model school, the Intercommunal Youth Institute. One of the major purposes of the series is to describe the progressive educational approaches in the Institute curriculum. This week we take a look at Group II, children of the ages three and four, and Group III, ages four and five.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Public school children usually learn mathematics through the conventional method of a teacher lecturing and using chalk and chalkboard for visual aids. But Group II instructor Donna Howell told us that the 16 children in her group may take a trip to the grocery store to buy something and count the change as a lesson in simple mathematics.

Instructors at the Intercommunal Youth Institute do not adhere to rigid or what are considered traditional teaching techniques. "The whole world is the children's classroom, and they know it, too," Group III instructor Patsie Brown explains.

BASIC CURRICULUM

Groups I, II, and III follow the same basic curriculum, which includes:

- (1) Language Arts (verbal expression, phonics);
- (2) Mathematics (geometric shapes, number conceptualization, increase and decrease, quantitative change);
- (3) Reading (letter recognition, name recognition, word recognition);
- (4) Writing (tracing, geometric shapes, letters, numbers, name, words);
- (5) Sensory Motor Skills (eye-hand coordination, eye-foot coordination, balance, directions, parts of the body, physical education).

Their progress in each of these areas is evaluated on the basis of rapid development, average development, needs additional help, and restricted development. Despite the same curriculum, learning is a different process in each of the three groups because of the difference in ages and the ability to comprehend phenomena.

Describing some differences between Group I and Group II, Donna noted that Group II children are more verbal, group interaction is more advanced, and



Youth Institute children playing a mathematical game.

their attention span is longer. Some Group II children can print some or all of the letters in their first and last names. Also some of them can print at least part of the alphabet and identify the letters.

The children teach each other, which is another unique feature of the Intercommunal Youth Institute. Donna explained that a child who can write his/her full name will help another child who can't.

When you walk into the Institute, you may well be stopped by a four-year-old who wants to know what your name is, where you are going, and has any of a number of additional questions. As Patsie puts it, "Our children are taught to be inquisitive."

Group II once had a discussion on what it means to die after one of the students said that her father was dead. "The children seemed satisfied with the discussion after it was over," Donna said, "but they didn't have any understanding of death. Who really understands death anyway?"

In mathematics, the major goal is for Group II children to learn to count to ten. In environmental studies, they often take long walks and discuss such things as the weather, pollution and the relationship between themselves and the world around them. Recently, a live cat was brought to the school, and the children discussed the parts of a cat. Simple cooking assignments can

be very educational, as Donna describes it. By cooking, the children learn qualitative and quantitative change and the sensory motor skill of eye-hand coordination.

The 20 children in Group III can all count to ten, and the goal is to count to 100. While Group II's writing and spelling ability is generally limited to their individual names, Group III children can read and spell some words. They can spell such words as "sitting," "live," "people" and "flower." They learned how to spell flower, Patsie said, because their science project is to diagram a flower.

Both groups perform yoga exercises. "The exercises create harmony in the group," Donna said, as well as develop the children's minds (they make phonic sounds while exercising) and bodies.

Patsie, Donna, Frank Kellum, and Deborah Ponder, Group I instructors, meet regularly to discuss the development of the children and to exchange ideas and suggestions. The children are transferred from group to group throughout the year depending on the rate of their development.

An integral part of the educational philosophy of the Institute was well put by Donna when she said, "The children are treated like little people, not babies. They are little people who lack the experience we (instructors) have. Our job is to help them gain that experience." □

BLACK HISTORY

APRIL 5, 1856

Booker T. Washington, was born a slave in Franklin County, Va., on April 5, 1856. The founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama at age 28, Washington was heavily criticized later in life for his acceptance of social inequalities for Blacks.

APRIL, 1867

In April, 1867, meeting secretly in Room 10 at the Maxwell House in Nashville, Tennessee, a small group of bitter and defeated Southerners plotted the Confederacy's revenge. The tactics to be employed were intimidation, terror and assassination. The name the group chose was soon-to-be branded onto America's soul — the Klu Klux Klan was born.

APRIL 6, 1909

Matthew H. Henson, a Black explorer and top assistant to Commander Robert E. Peary, became the first man to reach the North Pole by land on April 6, 1909.

APRIL 6, 1931

In a case that became the cause celebre throughout the world, the first of the so-called "Scottsboro Boys" trials opened in Scottsboro, Alabama. The "Scottsboro Boys" were nine Black youths charged with the rape of two White women on a freight train. Although the women's testimony was later thoroughly discredited, by April 9, 1931, all nine were found guilty — eight were condemned to death and one was given a life sentence.

APRIL 4, 1968

In Memphis, Tenn., to lead a protest march by striking sanitation workers, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated as he stood on his motel balcony on April 4, 1968.

APRIL 6, 1968

"Lil" Bobby Hutton, the National Treasurer of the Black Panther Party, was assassinated by Oakland policemen on April 6, 1968. (See memorial, page 3.)

MOTHER OF TYRONE GUYTON DEMANDS PROSECUTION OF POLICE

(Oakland, Calif.) - In a highly-charged and emotional press conference in front of Alameda County Courthouse last Wednesday, March 27, Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, the mother of slain 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton, let it be known that she and others are not giving up their attempts to have the Emeryville policemen who admittedly murdered her son prosecuted for their crime.

Before a battery of TV cameras and microphones and accompanied by Brother Bobby Seale and Ms. Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party, last year's Peo-

ple's Candidates for Mayor and Councilwoman of Oakland, Mrs. Shepherd said:

"First of all, I would like to thank you all for being here today.

"We, the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton (who was my son), have called this press conference to let the Alameda County Grand Jury know; to let Alameda County District Attorney Lowell Jensen know; and most importantly to let the people of Oakland know that, for us, the 'case is not closed.' That was what the District Attorney Lowell



Brother TYRONE GUYTON

Jensen said just recently. He said, 'The case is closed.'

"Let me assure you that he was—and is—very wrong!

"My son, Tyrone, was only 14 years old the night he was murdered. He was a good boy. I loved him dearly. And now he's gone. I don't want that to happen to anymore of my children, and I don't want that to happen to other children."

Stopping to dry her eyes, and receiving encouragement from Bobby and Elaine, Mrs. Shepherd continued:

12,000 SIGNATURES

"I, and all of the people here today, all the people in the Committee, and, the 12,000 people who have signed petitions, believe Tyrone was murdered.

"And we don't believe his murder was 'justifiable.' We don't believe it was 'justifiable homicide.'

"We do believe that his murderers should be prosecuted; prosecuted and put in jail before they kill other children, yours or mine.

"Judge Lionel Wilson (Alameda County Superior Court) wrote Jensen a letter asking him to prosecute. Eyewitnesses have testified that Tyrone was murdered. The police refuse to testify in open court. But the grand jury still refuses to indict the men who killed Tyrone and Jensen refuses to prosecute.

"We came here today to tell everyone that we demand justice; to tell the people that the Tyrone Guyton case is NOT closed. My son, just like yours, had a right to live."

Following Mrs. Shepherd, Ms. Brown explained more details in the long line of injustices in the case since the murder of young Tyrone on November 1, 1973.

Elaine also cited the arbitrary and unrepresentative Alameda County grand jury system as a factor in the case.

"We will continue to build up public support and sympathy,"

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



Coalition To Save Our Schools is working to improve Oakland public schools.

PLOT BARED TO LINK SCHOOL REFORM GROUP WITH S.L.A.

(Oakland, Calif.) - A community-based group of concerned parents, teachers and students have recently been confronted with harassment from the government and slander from the press in the wake of the murder of Oakland Superintendent of Schools Marcus Foster.

Members of the Coalition to Save Our Schools have been visited by FBI agents and Oakland police officers and harassed and questioned about the Foster murder. The cops visited their victims at their homes and accused the Coalition of involvement with the Symbionese Liberation Army. The agents questioned Coalition chairperson Darlene Lawson, co-chairperson Vera Silverman and another Coalition member about the organization, its membership and its connections with other groups.

The *Oakland Tribune* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* have also attempted to publicly link the Coalition to Save Our Schools to the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) and its terrorist tactics. In the wake of Doctor Foster's assassination, for which responsibility was claimed by the SLA, both newspapers drew imaginary links between the SLA and the Coalition. The only basis given by the press for manufacturing these supposed ties was the affiliation of one Coalition member with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). The VVAW/WSO

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

LEWISBURG WARDEN BARS B.P.P. PAPER TO INMATES

(Oakland, Calif.) - Two copies of a recent issue of THE BLACK PANTHER were returned to our offices here in a brown envelope recently, with an accompanying letter. The letterhead read: United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, United States Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania 17837.

The letter read as follows:

"Gentlemen: The attached copies of THE BLACK PANTHER addressed to the above named inmates are being returned to you. I find that this issue generally contains articles that tend to create unnatural tensions within the inmate population to a level that leads to disruption of good order within the institution under crisis conditions.

"For this reason I do not believe that this issue contributes to the general climate and therefore is prohibited within the institution. I trust that this explanation will be satisfactory."

Sincerely yours, M. R. Hogan, Warden.

This action by the warden of a federal penitentiary is a violation of the First Amendment rights of the two brothers, prison inmates at Lewisburg, who are subscribers to THE BLACK PANTHER. The Black Panther Party is currently investigating the filing of a suit against Warden Hogan and the Bureau of Prisons of the U.S. Department of Justice at Lewisburg, Pa.

3 PRISON STORIES

The returned issue, whose cover and lead story announced the decision of California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums to run for a third time for the U.S. House of Representatives, contained some 40 articles, three of which concerned prisons. One article described resistance among Leavenworth prisoners to the dehumanizing rectal searches common at Leavenworth. A second reported on how prison inmates at Huntingdon State Prison in Pennsylvania artfully turned a prison concert into a political statement.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

EARN MONEY

Sell THE BLACK PANTHER

Young brothers and sisters in the Bay Area can earn money after school and on weekends by selling THE BLACK PANTHER. Any young brother or sister at least nine years of age living in the Oakland-San Francisco-Berkeley area who would like to sell THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper should call Sherman Brewster at 638-0195 in Oakland for further information, or come to 8501 E. 14th St. at 10 a.m. on Saturdays.

CHILDREN'S T.V. SHOWS "DESTRUCTIVE"

Late last year the Federal Communications Commission concluded a study of television shows for children. It was promptly buried. Many such shows, the report revealed, are designed in the interests of U.S. monopoly capitalism—big business—and not in the interest of America's youth. In fact, the study concluded that many children's programs are "destructive to the child's development."

The following is a reprint of a column by syndicated reporter Jack Anderson, who uncovered the report.

An explosive Federal Communications Commission study which would reform the world of children's television, has been stuffed in a government safe. Meanwhile, its supporters on the commission have been replaced by bosom pals of big broadcasters.

The report demands an end to hard-sell ads to kids, cutbacks in witless cartoons and more decent children's shows scheduled at appropriate hours. Violators would risk loss of their licenses.

CUT COMMERCIALS

Had the study been accepted by the FCC, it would have cost the broadcast industry tens of millions of dollars a year. The broadcasters would have been compelled to produce more programs for children and to slice their 32 commercials per hour to no more than 18. This is the generous allotment currently allowed to adult shows.

These and other dramatic changes were envisioned by former FCC Chairman Dean Burch.

Outraged at what he had personally seen of children's programming, he set up a special Children's Television Unit in September, 1971. At its head was tough-minded Elizabeth Roberts, an ex-coordinator of the White House Conference on Children and Youth. For months, the Roberts team studied the puerile world of children's TV.

Four months ago, she delivered the sizzling document to Burch, who forthwith locked it up in his office. Since then, Burch has moved to the White House and his two staunchest allies in the matter, Commissioners Nick Johnson and Rex Lee, have left the FCC.

We have now obtained a bootleg copy of the suppressed document from under the nose of the new chairman, Richard Wiley. As general counsel and commissioner, Wiley, according to FCC sources, was kinder to network treasuries than to the children's welfare. The report's recommendations, therefore, are now in jeopardy.

The 45-page document condemns out of hand the "noise, violence, or frantic activity" that broadcasters use to keep children mesmerized before TV sets.

The FCC study is even tougher on advertising. Children are "inundated with numerous commercial messages that may be misleading or false to the literal and immature mind of a child." The broadcasters "manipulate his needs" in a manner "destructive to the child's development..."

Finally, the study would drastically cut back advertising on kid's shows from the present 16 minutes per hour to a still generous nine minutes and 30 seconds, the current voluntary maximum for adult shows.

At the FCC, Chairman Wiley gave us a ringing declaration of independence from the past. He insisted that children's programming was "on the front burner" with him and pointed out that he had only been chairman with power to change things for 10 days. □

REGISTER TO VOTE

africa, black history, music, poetry, drama, psychology fiction, biography, education, political science, essays & anthologies, science fiction, mysteries, occult, religion, mysticism, sociology, history, china & the far east, latin america & the caribbean, current events, women, children, juvenile & how-to (martial arts, games, cooking, health, language instruction, etc) books and a wide selection of jazz, r&b, & political records.

write for mail order brochure.

COMMUNITY DEMANDS FREE THE CHARLOTTE 3



Free all political prisoners.

LETTER CAMPAIGN BEGUN

(Charlotte, North Carolina) - The North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee has launched a mass letter writing campaign calling upon Governor James Holhouser, Jr., to commute the long prison sentences of Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy and Charles Parker, better known as the Charlotte 3. The three are activists in the Charlotte Black community who were sentenced to 25, 20 and 10 years, respectively, for allegedly burning down the Lazy "B" Riding Stables four years earlier.

The Committee is asking all those wanting to see justice for these three Black men to write, call or telegram Governor Holhouser and demand the total commutation of their prison sentences.

The three men were falsely convicted in 1972 on the false testimony of two men who were granted immunity for charges which could have brought them over 100 years in prison. The sentences were obviously punitive, far exceeding sentences given in some arson cases in which people were killed.

Since their conviction, a nationwide movement has grown in an effort to free these three Black men. Despite this support, a number of legal appeals have all been denied. Now, an appeal is being made to Governor Holhouser, asking him to have the community activists released immediately.

The N.C. Political Prisoners Committee is urging all who want to take part in freeing the three community leaders to call, send letters or telegrams to: The Honorable James E. Holhouser, Jr., Office of the Governor, State of North Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611. □

HOUSTON SENIORS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The proposal for reduced fares is endorsed by the Houston Area Urban League, state representative Mickey Leland, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rev. Bill Lawson, Women's Auxiliary of the Ninth Legislative District, City Controller Leonel Castillo and City Councilman Judson Robinson.

The newly elected mayor of Houston, Fred Hofheinz, has promised to aid the elderly during his new administration. Edwards said that the coalition is going to stay on top of the mayor's new city administration and will continue to rally community support for the proposal. □

SEIZE THE TIME

BOOKS & RECORDS

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OIL COMPANY ADS "TAX DEDUCTIBLE"

(Washington, D.C.) - We, the American people, are suffering under the same contrived "energy crisis" that we are paying the cost to advertise.

Millions of dollars of prime-time television messages and full-page advertisements in major newspapers and magazines have served to brainwash the country into accepting the oil industry's policies on the "energy crisis." The attempt, though it has not proved very successful, is to destroy the well-known and proven truth that oil companies conspired to start the "energy crisis" in order to maintain and increase high profit levels.

The oil companies themselves do not pay for the advertising; our tax dollars do. The cost of nearly all of the advertising, except that which advocates specific changes in legislation, can be deducted from taxable income as a "legitimate business expense" by the oil companies, says the Internal Revenue Service. The companies thus have an indirect public subsidy in their campaign to deceive the American people about their complicity in withholding much-needed energy.

TAX FAVORS

Although all American industries can deduct business expenses from taxable income, this provision in connection with other special tax favors gives the oil industry a percentage rate of tax on income far lower than the average for U.S. industry. And, of course, the companies pay a lower percentage of tax on income than does the average citizen.

The business deduction includes all of the costs of advertising, including fees to advertising agencies, preparation and purchase of expensive newspaper and magazine space, and radio and television time. A 60-second commercial carried coast-to-coast on the NBC evening news program costs \$27,000, and a full-page advertisement in the *Washington Post* on weekdays costs about \$4,670.

Such a television commercial reaches millions of homes (the 60-second spot during the NBC news program reaches about 9.5 million) and full page newspaper advertisements may reach hundreds of thousands. One full page newspaper ad in late January by Mobil Oil with the headline: "Don't read these ads if you've made up your mind about oil

profits," was placed in nine large newspapers with a total circulation of about six million.

A single ad in late January by Exxon headlined: "Exxon plans to spend nearly \$16 billion over the next four years to help get more energy to you," was run in newspapers in the top 50 advertising markets in the country with a combined circulation of over 30 million.

Electrical utilities have also jumped on the energy advertising bandwagon in recent months and these companies have a special public subsidy the oil companies do not have. Investor-owned public utilities, which are regulated by state public utility commissions, often have their customers pay for the "energy-crisis" advertising by including the costs in the rates consumers pay.

Customers pay for ads suggesting ways to meet the "energy crisis," criticizing environmental

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



Boston picketers protesting Rhodesian chrome imports and racist policies.

I.L.A. DOCKWORKERS BOYCOTT RHODESIAN GOODS

(Boston, Mass.) - More than 100 demonstrators protested the unloading of Rhodesian cargo at Pier 1 in East Boston on March 8. The demonstration was the first since the Executive Council of the

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), an AFL-CIO affiliate, approved a resolution last month to support dockworkers who refuse to unload or handle Rhodesian cargoes.

In solidarity with the protesters, ILA Local 1066 agreed not to unload cargo that could be proven to have originated in Rhodesia. Farrell Lines, however, owner of the vessel *African Sun*, told ILA officials that the ship's manifest (list of cargoes) did not list any cargoes from Rhodesia.

The vessel was therefore unloaded. But an *African Sun* crew member, contradicting Farrell lines, said he observed goods bearing Rhodesian labels "a number of times."

The *African Sun* is the same ship that demonstrators turned away from Baltimore docks in December. The vessel was forced to return to Mozambique with 56 crates of Rhodesian nickel ore because dockworkers refused to unload it.

The Boston protest was organized by the African Liberation Support Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the South African Coalition, the Black Caucus of the Massachusetts State Legislature, Black Survival Bookstore, October League, Revolutionary Union, Attica Brigade, Youth Against War and Fascism and the Boston Area Nonviolence groups.

Speeches were given by Eddison Zvoligo, a Zimbabwean freedom fighter, and Dinizulu Seitlu of the African Liberation Support Committee.

The resolution to back the dockworkers was introduced in Miami, Florida, by a Black ILA

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

SOARING FOOD PRICES

CAUSE THE POOR TO EAT LESS

(Miami, Florida) - A study conducted here last fall by a county agency has found that, soaring prices have created low income "disaster areas" in at least this part of the country.

The Dade County Community Action Agency, in a recently released report, says that 50,000 poor people included in its survey spend 90% of their income on food alone. The study also found that another 50,000 were spending 75% of their total incomes on food.

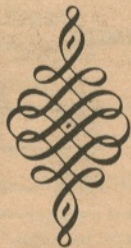
The result of rising food costs has been that "an

overwhelming majority of poor people are buying smaller quantities of food... and less of almost everything." The Agency also found that poor people are forced to pay higher prices for their food than those who live in wealthy or middle-income communities.

Poor people in most parts of America have probably found the same inadequate solution to rising food costs as those surveyed in Dade County—eating less. Food prices have continued to rise since this study was conducted.

□□□

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NIXON'S SECRET SWISS BANK ACCOUNT PROBED

The following special report contains recent findings which have prompted the Senate Watergate Committee to begin investigating links between Nixon and a Swiss bank.

THE BLACK PANTHER would like to thank veteran, organized crime investigator Lowell Bergman and Pacific News Service for this exclusive expose.

(Washington, D.C.) - The Senate Watergate Committee is investigating Cosmos, a Swiss bank suspected of being involved in the personal and campaign finances of President Nixon, Pacific News Service has learned.

Committee investigators have questioned William G. Dillon, a Cosmos Director and prominent New York attorney, and other Cosmos New York branch personnel, a Committee source has told Pacific News.

Columnist Jack Anderson reported on March 20 that a joint Congressional committee is also investigating the President's finances as well as looking for a Swiss connection.

QUESTIONABLE

Extensive investigation by Pacific News has shown that Cosmos Bank has been involved in questionable financial operations in the U.S. and abroad since its founding in 1959.

Cosmos loaned money to a company which built a bridge linking Paradise Island, site of Paradise Island Casino, to Nassau. It became a minority stockholder in the bridge company. The majority stockholder, James Crosby, is also Chairman of the Board of Resorts International (owner of Paradise Island Casino), to which Bebe Rebozo and his Key Biscayne bank are reputedly linked through fund transfers. Crosby reportedly donated \$300,000 to the 1968 Nixon election campaign.

The security head of the Paradise bridge company, Seymour Alter — identified in the New York Times as a "bag man" — has been seen after hours in Rebozo's bank handling money in large denominations in a safety deposit box. Alter claims the funds came from his gift shop at Paradise Island.

Up until 1968, Nixon is known to have often been in the company of both Alter and Crosby.

Cosmos has also loaned money to Penasquitos Corporation. The founder and owner-operator of Penasquitos, Irvin J. Kahn, who died in September, 1973, borrowed three and a half million Swiss francs (\$800,000 in U.S.) from Cosmos in 1963, securing the loan with a million dollar life insurance policy. The principals in the transaction were all related to financial circles of organized crime in the U.S.

Penasquitos has also received over \$100 million in loans from the Teamsters Union Central States Pension Fund, making it the largest recipient of such loans in the country. This year alone, the pension fund has been indicted twice as a major source of mob-linked money.

Informed sources indicate that the Cosmos loan and the insurance policy came under investigation by the California Department of Insurance in the 1960s. Files from this investigation have been destroyed. Documents on file in San Diego indicate that the loan to Kahn from Cosmos was never paid back. Yet Cosmos has failed to file on Kahn's probate.

Cosmos is also linked to numerous high-risk, unsecured loans to U.S. companies which have led to bankruptcies and fraud indictments.

In December, 1969, the New York Post reported that a bank which it called Dosmos, now known to be Cosmos, was one of several Swiss banks under investigation by then-U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau as part of his ongoing investigation of the laundering of U.S. mob-linked money in Swiss banks. Watergate has now revealed that massive transfers of unreported cash are



Nixon won re-election through illegal contributions.

made at the highest levels of political and corporate circles and not just in organized crime.

Morgenthau, a Republican kept in office under Johnson, was fired by Nixon when he became President in 1969, thereby ending the investigation.

Cosmos' Board of Directors at the time also included Robert B. Anderson, former Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of the Navy, and a director of numerous major corporate boards.

Nixon replaced Morgenthau with attorney Whitney North Seymour, a partner in the law firm of Simpson, Thatcher, and Bartlett. Another partner in the firm is William G. Dillon, long-time U.S. Director of Cosmos.

PHARMACIES FAIL TO COMPLY

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - More than 40 per cent of the pharmacies surveyed in Los Angeles and San Francisco have failed to comply with California's new drug price posting law which requires that they post the prices of the 100 most commonly used drugs.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

CITIZENS' RIGHTS CUT

(Washington, D.C.) - In violation of the U.S. Constitution, the Nixon Supreme Court has ruled that a policeman needs no search warrant to seize an individual's clothing, 10 hours after he has been arrested, for use as evidence against him. The decision was another in a series of moves to permit the prosecution to use illegally obtained evidence to obtain a conviction.

WELFARE PAYMENT RULING

(Washington, D.C.) Twisting further the meaning of the Constitution, the Supreme Court ruled last week that federal suits to recover illegally withheld welfare payments are forbidden by the 11th Amendment. This amendment reaffirms the power of the individual states to govern their own affairs.

OIL CONSPIRACY

(Washington, D.C.) - Senate investigators charged last week that American oil companies in the Middle East conspired to increase oil prices and profits. The charge was based on documents which indicated that the companies, worried about a possible oil surplus, made agreements years ago to limit production in order to raise prices.

CANCEROUS CHICKENS

(Forest, Miss.) - Health authorities have begun gassing to death five million chickens contaminated by a cancer-inducing insecticide. However, officials have allowed five million other contaminated chickens to be marketed—chickens you might eat.

DISABLED VETS PROTEST

(Washington, D.C.) - Police last week forced seven Vietnam veterans, including four in wheelchairs with American flags in their laps, to end a protest, atop the Washington Monument, over the deplorable conditions in VA hospitals.

CANCER EVERYWHERE

(St. Augustine, Fla.) - Be careful of what you eat and breathe. Researchers have warned that the recent discovery that vinyl chloride causes cancer in chemical workers suggests that other substances eaten and inhaled by humans may produce cancer.

THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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BLACK LAWYERS' COUNCIL TO DEFEND LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS

(Kansas City, Mo.) - In a major breakthrough in the struggle for justice for the Leavenworth Brothers, the National Council of Black Lawyers (NCBL) has "totally committed its resources" to the 26 men who have been illegally held in solitary confinement since a July 31, 1973, rebellion at Leavenworth (Kansas) Penitentiary.

Lennox S. Hinds, the national director of the NCBL, made the announcement in a press conference held March 18 in Kansas City, headquarters of the Leavenworth Brothers' Offense/Defense Committee (LBP/DC). Brother Hinds said that three NCBL attorneys — Howard Moore of California who headed the Angela Davis Legal Team, Ken Cockrel of Detroit, Michigan, who has successfully defended a number of Black activists and Margaret Burnham of Boston, Massachusetts, also of the Davis Defense Team—are strongly considering defending the Leavenworth Brothers.

Hinds, speaking for the LBO/DC noted that "contrary to prison administration statements, there is widespread support in the prison for the Leavenworth Brothers."

He produced a petition that was presented to him earlier in the day signed by 325 Leavenworth prison inmates. The petition states in part: "These men (the Leavenworth Brothers) have been singled out to justify the State's action since July 31st... We, the other captors of this terrorist regime, stand in solidarity with this pioneer force of our Brothers and urge you to save the Leavenworth Brothers."

Hinds said he expected to soon receive 300 more signatures.

The NCBL national director also said that it is the collective responsibility of the Black, White and Chicano communities to make certain that prison and government authorities do not railroad the Leavenworth Brothers and that they are guaranteed the fair trial they rightly deserve as U.S. citizens.

The Leavenworth Brothers need our help. Additional information can be obtained by writing the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5818, Kansas City, Missouri 64111. □

SEVEN-MONTH LONG SEARS STRIKE WINS TALKS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Negotiations between striking department store workers and the giant retail firm of Sears, Roebuck and Company are set to begin on April 10 in Washington, D.C. Three hundred workers at Sears' two San Francisco stores are challenging the might of the world's largest retail chain store. The negotiations have been arranged by the federal Mediation and Conciliation Service to settle the seven-month-old strike.

Members of Local 1100 of the Department Store Employees Union (DSEU) are seeking a comprehensive health plan to

Sears LAST 2 DAYS! Sears Sale Ends Saturday, Mo. Sears Custom Drapery Sale

FREE More Big Savings on Versatile Sheers
CHOOSE SAVE plus Special FROM \$10 BOB Sears Infer! 10% OFF fabrication labor charge
LUXURIOUS SADI or Spanish Style

Sears tries to overcome effects of strike with big sales.

cover Sears employees. Of the 6,000 unionized department store workers in the city only the 300 who work for Sears are not covered by such a plan.

Sears can readily afford to improve its workers' livelihoods and provide for their well being. The international conglomerate made sales approaching \$12 billion last year and is expanding. Nevertheless, only a fraction of the over 800 Sears stores across America are unionized and employee rights, job benefits and health plans are a low priority consideration.

Sears is attempting to break the strike and persists in its avaricious denial of basic medical care for its workers despite the effectiveness of the work-stoppage. Approximately 200 of the 300 strikers are long-time Sears employees and their absence has affected service. Although temporary personnel and nonunion strikebreakers are staffing the crippled stores, a company spokesman admits that sales are down 70 - 80%. In fact, sympathy along the West Coast for the Sears workers has drastically cut sales at other Sears stores that are not being struck by the union.

"Business west of the Rockies is way off," Sears' Board of Directors chairman Arthur Wood recently told a San Francisco audience. However, until now Sears has not been willing to settle the strike. The beginning of negotiations will open a passage for Sears workers to some of the "unalienable rights" of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" that are guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution.

Huge international conglomerates, however, do not have to be responsible in local areas, states or overseas territories and Sears may continue to stall. Profits made in other areas will cover the losses of a regional problem such as a strike. Holding out can break a strike and bigger profits can continue at the expense of the workers and their families.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

DELLUMS' CORNER

ON NIXON'S MESSAGE

(Washington, D.C.) - U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums has challenged President Nixon's claim of having led the U.S. to "unparalleled national prosperity and wealth."

In a continuing attack on Nixon's recent State of the Union Message, the Bay Area congressman said, "The lines in front of the few open gasoline stations say more about the state of this nation than all of the President's worn rhetoric."

Dellums said that instead of Nixon's visions and promises the American people believe what they see—little meat in the grocery store, tight mortgage money and rising unemployment. "The people want food that is affordable, gasoline at their local stations, honesty in government and a President who will make decisions and lead. They do not want, and they will not tolerate, more of Mr. Nixon's platitudes," he commented.

The congressman accused the President of hypocrisy for supporting a minimum wage increase in his State of the Union Message after vetoing legislation Congress sponsored for that purpose.

According to Dellums, the administration's proposed

subminimum for youth is a "not so subtle way of returning to the squalid and shameful days of child labor." He went on to further criticize Nixon for "...the same insensitivity and disdain for the nation's working poor that his administration's performance has shown during the past five years."

The Nixon administration is fond of claiming feats that in reality it has not accomplished and Dellums expressed his displeasure that the administration should take credit for a Manpower and Public Service Employment Act that Congress passed despite White House opposition.

In another Congressional matter, Dellums has urged the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Administration of Justice to support a general, unconditional amnesty for those who refused to serve in the Vietnam war.

Testifying before the subcommittee, Dellums who is a member of the House Armed Services Committee, pointed out that the people who need amnesty are not in a position to plea-bargain in return for suspended sentences.

"They could not claim 'privileges' of any kind or demand immunity from indictment. They have few votes and little influence, and nothing much politically will happen to members of Congress who made these powerless ones their enemy."

WARDEN BARS B.P.P. PAPER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

The third article concerning prisons was a review of the current, excellent film *Papillon*, under the title, "Prison, Where Is Thy Victory?" The articles on Leavenworth and Huntingdon State Prison were factual accounts provided by participants. The review of *Papillon* was very favorable.

Since when has accounts of inhumane and bestial treatment of human beings created "unnatural tensions"? What right

does Warden Hogan or the Department of Justice (sic) have to deny prison inmates at Lewisburg such information.

We are aware that such information might encourage resistance within Lewisburg to inhumane and bestial treatment on the part of Lewisburg inmates. But, such treatment is a violation of the human and civil rights of any person who suffers it. Resistance is not only a right but a duty, if a humane and democratic society is to be realized.

PLOT BARED TO LINK SCHOOL GROUP WITH S.L.A.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

is itself under attack because one of the two men indicted for the Foster murder was once a VVAW/WSO member.

These attempts to discredit, weaken and harass the Coalition are nothing more than attempts to discredit, weaken and destroy the many positive projects that the Coalition to Save Our Schools has undertaken, declares a statement issued by the Coalition recently. In the past three years the Coalition has worked to prevent teacher cutbacks, get smaller more effective class sizes and increase parent involvement in school budgetary decisions. The Coalition has also incurred the government's wrath by opposing the school board's illegal practice of conducting nonpublic secret meetings and by organizing a free breakfast program for Oakland's hungry school children.

None of the Coalition's projects has angered the police establishment and the Oakland Board of Education more than its opposition to the use of uniformed, armed police patrols inside the city schools. The Coalition collected 2,000 signatures opposing the police plan and supporting the Coalition's alternative proposal of hiring parents to patrol the halls and maintain order.

The Coalition has denounced all of these allegations and implications and declared that, "Our work speaks to mass issues...we do not condone terrorism—either by the state or by terrorist organizations." □

DOCKWORKERS BOYCOTT RHODESIAN GOODS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

member from Norfolk, Virginia. Supporting the resolution, Tony Scotto, president of Local 1814 in Brooklyn, New York, the largest local, said: "We believe in human dignity. The only real support that we as longshoremen can give the African majority in Rhodesia is the boycott."

The day of the Boston demonstration, ILA president Thomas Gleason authorized a boycott of Rhodesian goods at the Port of New York. But in the face of denials by Farrell Lines that its vessels carried Rhodesian cargo, Scotto called a meeting of boycott representatives to document charges against Farrell before proceeding with a boycott.

Forty separate violations by Farrell ships, including 12 by the African Sun, the most for one vessel, were found. The information came from United Nations quarterly reports to the U.S. government on Rhodesian cargo.

Following the meeting, another was held that was attended by

TYRONE GUYTON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Ms. Brown said, "until those responsible for the murder of Tyrone Guyton are indicted and prosecuted.

"We're not going for it year after year," Elaine, visibly angry, continued. "This is the same way it's been for Black people ever since we set foot in this country."

Meanwhile, the number of signatures continue to grow on

petitions calling for the prosecution of the Emeryville policemen, reports the broad-based Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton. At the last Committee meeting, held Thursday nights at the Community Learning Center on East 14th Street, plans were being made for an upcoming march and rally, probably to be held sometime in May. □

REGISTER TO VOTE

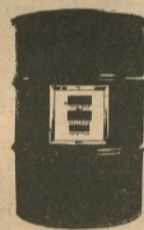
Scotto, other Local 1814 officials and delegates, boycott representatives, and the vice-president in charge of operations for Farrell Lines and his assistant. An examination of the entire African Sun manifest showed no listings from Rhodesia. Farrell officials claimed they never transported any Rhodesian cargo.

In response, it was decided to check the U.N. shipments lists against Farrell's records. Such an investigation would show that Farrell is either lying or smuggling, a violation of federal and state laws. In either case, the ILA said it would not "under any circumstances" unload Rhodesian cargo.

Rhodesian imports frequently enter U.S. ports. Most of the cargo is chrome which goes to the Port of Burnside, Louisiana, a port not worked by the ILA.

Further demonstrations against the African Sun have been scheduled in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Hampton Roads, Virginia. □

The oil companies have us over a barrel



The nation's oil companies control the nation's energy supply. And when they want something, they get it. All they have to do is claim that it's not profitable enough for them to produce the energy we need, and the government rushes to make all the concessions the industry wants. The government doesn't even have its own figures on the nation's oil supply—they get all their figures directly from the industry, and make no attempt to have them independently verified.

| Company | 1972 | 1973 |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Amoco | \$1,048 | \$1,018 |
| Exxon | \$715 | \$638 |
| Shell | \$375 | \$378 |
| Standard Oil | \$300 | \$278 |
| Texaco | \$250 | \$258 |
| Union Carbide | \$150 | \$158 |
| Other | \$100 | \$108 |
| Total | \$2,638 | \$2,558 |

Don't be left out in the cold—write your congressman and insist on public control of the public's resources.

Alaska pipeline, offshore drilling, more tax handouts, and less competition from independent dealers, they simply allow a shortage to occur, and hold our energy supply for ransom.

We think it's time energy policy was based on public need, not corporate greed.

ENERGY SHOULD BE EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Truthful advertising about oil is rare.

OIL ADS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

controls, promoting nuclear power, advocating rate increases and the suspension of clean air regulations. The ads deal with everything but the real problem—oil company profits and exploitation.

Energy company advertisements have been criticized for misrepresentation and deception. Calling the recent oil company and utility ads a "multimillion dollar propaganda blitz," six members of Congress petitioned the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in January to require proof of claims made by companies on energy and environmental issues. The FTC has not yet responded.

Companies cited in the complaint include Shell Oil, Tenneco, Mobil Oil, Exxon, Pacific Power and Light, General Electric, Amoco Oil and several investor-owned power and light companies. □

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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.

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H ERIKSON

AND HUEY P NEWTON

Why do people act as they do? What causes irrational or unstable individuals to be so? Huey P. Newton, Erik H. Erikson, Herman Blake, and Kai Erikson briefly discuss this subject in the following excerpt from In Search of Common Ground, the transcript of a series of conversations between Brother Huey, Professor Erikson and their guests.

E.ERIKSON: In the lives and struggles of revolutionaries, all kinds of unconscious motivations are obvious which, they must sooner or later recognize, have little to do with their professed rationales. In understanding such unconscious motivations, maybe one could avoid such destructive

developments as where old comrades fight each other as mortal enemies. But maybe this is just a necessary part of the history of all revolutions — all past ones, at any rate.

NEWTON: I remember we talked in New Haven about the necessity for contradictions, the reality of contradictions, in everything. It is the same with the social as it is with the physical and biological world. Old things clash and then new things emerge, showing characteristics of both the old and the new.

E.ERIKSON: Herman or Kai, would you want to say something about what I have said so far? How about psychoanalysis as a method, for example: can you accept it as enlightening?

BLAKE: Well, I can certainly accept it as enlightening, but I think the problem is that it is so often used as a tool to help people adjust to their circumstances when it is time to help them recognize that it is the circumstances, not the people, that are aberrant. A lot of what passes for illness, it seems to me, are the rational reactions of rational people to irrational conditions. A good part of sociological theory has the same basis — an implicit assumption that this is the best of all possible worlds, and that even though it may not be as good as it ought to be, somehow or other we have to adjust to it as it is. That is an unacceptable position to me.

K.ERIKSON: I'd agree with that.

E.ERIKSON: You know, what all of this leads to is the question of what is reality. Maybe materialism offers a simple solution to the problem of defining reality: in psychoanalysis and sociology, though, "reality" is often little more than those circumstances which a given elite can make appear real because they dominate the media of communication.

BLAKE: I would like to take another approach and define reality as the substance of the experiences of a group of people, even though they may not call it that. In many Black communities, for example, the experiences of the people are often summarized in a religious kind of panegyric, right? Now I am not ready to go so far as to say that these kinds of

religious convictions and commitments and expectations constitute reality, but I am willing to recognize that this is a way of coping with a kind of reality which has been seen as uncopyable before. The Black Panther Party put its office in West Oakland between two locales that are very familiar to the population there. One of them is the Mt. Zion Spiritual Temple, featuring a kind of folk catholicism, and the other is a dance hall called the Continental Club. These places have always represented two methods of escape from that reality. Now the Party is trying to deal with that reality in another manner...A colleague of mine, Leroy Bennett, once made a beautiful statement to the effect that what is ignored in historical research is the fact that George Washington and George Washington's slaves lived two different realities. People seem to think that because they live in the same geographical space and in the same period they must be living the same reality, but there are several realities and the official one is defined by power.

E.ERIKSON: O.K. That is what I meant...Now I wonder if I could turn to another topic entirely and ask you, Huey, to talk a little about the principle of inner contradiction. That is something that most people, including the students at Yale, do not get and are apparently not prepared to get. Where and how do we both use it? For example, I would say that a positive and a negative identity are a dialectical given in each person. But let's come to that later and see what contradiction means in your sense and how it could be clarified for people like the students. What has your kind of contradiction to do not only with the dialectical but also with relativity and complementarity? All this is hard for students. It's hard for everyone, really, but we have let the students stand for so many things in our conversations that they might as well represent "everyone" for the moment.

NEWTON: I don't think the students are taught dialectically, and one of the reasons they are not is that it would be detrimental to the bourgeois educational system to do so. I think it is a fair statement that the schools are



ERIK H. ERIKSON [left] and HUEY P. NEWTON at February 10, 1974, Book Party.

agencies of the status quo: the bourgeoisie needs to train technicians and to give students a conglomeration of facts, but it would be detrimental for them to give students the tools to show that the status quo cannot stand and so to analyze them out of existence. So I think it is more than just a question of students "having a hard time."

E.ERIKSON: I even have a feeling that some of them did not understand what you meant by "idealism." They weren't sure whether you were talking about ideas or ideals. So when you spoke of contradictions, my feeling was that some thought it was something one must avoid, not something that is intrinsically necessary. It is very difficult for students to be asked to believe that we all are living contradictions—and cannot help it.

K.ERIKSON: One difficulty here, it seems to me, is that Huey uses dialectics to deal with the emerging present, to discuss things that are in the process of becoming. Students and professors, on the other hand, more often use dialectical reasoning to explain what happened in the past—why Hannibal acted as he did, and so on. A lot of academics assume without really saying so that one is free from a dialectical process the moment one understands it, you see what I mean? So Huey comes and tells everyone that they are part of the very process they are talking about whether they want to be or not. That's pretty scary at twenty, you know. It's scary at forty. Now you may be comfortable seeing your own views as transitory or the truth as you see it now as temporary, but most people are not. Not in the universities, anyway.

NEWTON: I don't know how comfortable I am, either.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

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

Huey P. Newton

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

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

F.B.I. DOCUMENTS REVEAL PLAN

"DISRUPT, MISDIRECT, DISCREDIT" BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE

On March 7, seven Xeroxed memorandums detailing Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] plans to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" Black militant organizations—including the Black Panther Party—were released to NBC newsman Carl Stern, who had sued the Justice Department for them under the Freedom of Information Act.

Dating from 1961 to 1970, the memorandums, though still heavily censored, expose the counterintelligence program [COINTEL-PRO] designed by an anxious and ruthless federal government. Both unable and unwilling to meet the needs of the Black community or respond to our protests by adhering to the democratic ideals and laws of this country, illegal surveillance, brutal repression and political assassinations became the government's un-Constitutional and fascist means. The memos, of course, were never intended to be made public.

With a strong and outraged sense of community responsibility, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints below three of those seven memos; those dealing directly with the government's plot to crush the Black liberation movement in America.



FALLEN COMRADES

[Top row from left] ARTHUR MORRIS assassinated March, 1968; BOBBY HUTTON assassinated April 6, 1968; STEVE BARTHOLOMEW assassinated August 25, 1968. [Middle row from left] ROBERT LAWRENCE assassinated August 25, 1968; TOMMY LEWIS assassinated August 25, 1968; NATHANIEL CLARK assassinated September 12, 1969. [Bottom row from left] WELTON ARMSTEAD assassinated October 15, 1968; SIDNEY MILLER assassinated November 7, 1968; FRANK DIGGS assassinated December 30, 1968.

August 25, 1967
PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS INTERNAL SECURITY

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to Black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of Black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant.

The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing Black nationalist organizations.

When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize Black nationalist, hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized. Consideration should be given to techniques to preclude violence-prone or rabble-rouser leaders of hate groups from spreading their philosophy publicly or through various mass communication media.

Many individuals currently active in Black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity, and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds. Be alert to determine evidence of misappropriation of funds or other types of personal misconduct on the part of militant nationalist leaders so any practical or warranted counterintelligence may be instituted.

Intensified attention under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as [censored]. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as [censored].

At this time the Bureau is setting up no requirement for status letters to be periodically submitted under this program. It will be incumbent upon you to insure the program is being afforded necessary and continuing attention and that no opportunities will be overlooked for counterintelligence action.

This program should not be confused with the program entitled "Communist Party, USA Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C," [censored] which is directed against the Communist Party and related organizations, or the programs entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security, Disruption of Hate Groups," [censored], which is directed against Klan and hate-type groups primarily consisting of White memberships.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of Black nationalist hate-type organizations and their memberships should be alerted to our counterintelligence interest and each investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelli-

gence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program.

You are also cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded to sensitive operations and techniques considered under the program.

No counterintelligence action under this program may be initiated by the field without specific prior Bureau authorization.

You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

3/4/68
PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes. [Section covered over.]

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

[Section covered over.]

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant Black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, [censored] furnished information about a new [censored] grade school to appropriate authorities in [censored] who investigated to determine if the school conformed to [censored] for private schools. [Censored] obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The [censored] group, was active in [censored] in the summer of 1967. [Censored] alerted local police, who then put [censored] leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result [censored] leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to [censored] took place.



[Top row from left] WALTER POPE assassinated July 27, 1970; STERLING JONES assassinated February, 1970. [Bottom row from left] SYLVESTER BELL assassinated August 15, 1969; SPURGEON WINTERS assassinated November 7, 1970; CARL HAMPTON assassinated July 27, 1970.

**FALLEN
COMRADES**



[From left] January, 1968; December, 1968; August 25, 1968.

'SPECIAL OPERATION' AGAINST THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

5/11/70

SAC, San Francisco

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL OPERATIONS
[RESEARCH SECTION]

The Bureau would like to offer for your consideration a proposal for a disruptive-disinformation operation targeted against the national office of the Black Panther Party [BPP]. This proposal is not intended to be all inclusive or binding in any of its various phases, but only as a guide for the suggested action. You are encouraged to submit recommendations relating to revisions or innovations of the proposal.

1. The operation would be effected through close coordination on a high level with the Oakland or San Francisco Police Department.

2. 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. These documents would be on the stationery and in the form used by the police department or by the FBI in disseminating information to the police. FBI documents, when used, would contain police routing or date received notations, clearly indicating they had been pilfered from police files:

3. An attempt would be made to give the Panther recipient the impression the documents were stolen from police files by a disgruntled police employee sympathetic to the Panthers. After initial mailings, brief notes by the alleged disgruntled employee would be included with the mailed documents. These notes would indicate the motive and sympathy of the police employee, his bitterness against his department and possibly a request for money.

4. Depending on developments, at a propitious time, consideration would be given to establishing a post office box or other suitable "drop" address for the use of the alleged disgruntled employee to receive responses, funds, and/or specifications relating to the documents from the Panthers.

5. Although the operation may not require inclusion of a live source to represent the disgruntled employee, circumstances might warrant the use of such a source for face-to-face meetings with the Panthers. During early stages of the operation, an effort should be made to locate and brief a suitable police employee to play the role of the alleged disgruntled employee.

6. A wide variety of alleged authentic police or FBI material could be carefully selected or prepared for furnishing to the Panthers. Reports, blind memoranda, LHMs, and other alleged police or FBI documents could be prepared pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders through their ineptness or personal escapades; espousing personal philosophies and promoting factionalism among BPP members; indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions; revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation; etc. The nature of the disruptive material and disinformation "leaked" would only be limited by the collection ability of your sources and the need to insure the protection of their security.

Effective implementation of this proposal logically could not help but disrupt and confuse Panther activities. Even if they were to suspect FBI or police involvement, they would be unable to ignore factual material brought to their attention through this channel. The operation would afford us a continuing means to furnish the Panther leadership true information which is to our interest that they know and disinformation which, in their interest, they may not ignore.

Although this proposal is a relatively simple technique, it has been applied with exceptional results in another area of intelligence interest where the target was of far greater sophistication. The Bureau believes with careful planning this technique has excellent long-range potential to disrupt and curtail Panther activity.

San Francisco is requested to submit comments and/or recommendations relating to the implementation of this proposal.

Copies of this letter have been designated for Los Angeles for background and information purposes. Any suggestion Los Angeles may have for strengthening or further implementing the technique will be appreciated.



[left] ALPRENTICE CARTER assassinated January 17, 1969; JOHN HUGGINS assassinated 17, 1969; FRED HAMPTON assassinated December 4, 1969; MARK CLARK assassinated er 4, 1969; SAMUEL NAPIER assassinated April 17, 1971; GEORGE JACKSON assassinated 1, 1971; ALEX RACKLEY assassinated May 21, 1969.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include 41 offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with Black nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the COALITION of militant Black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of Black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true Black revolution.

2. Prevent the RISE OF A "MESSIAH" who could unify, and electrify, the militant Black nationalist movement. [Censored] might have been such a "Messiah"; he is the martyr of the movement today. [Censored] is less of a threat because of his age. [Censored] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" [nonviolence] and embrace Black nationalism. [Censored] has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent VIOLENCE on the part of Black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant Black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining RESPECTABILITY, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting Black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways.

You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the White community, both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant Black nationalists simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances Black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent long-range GROWTH of militant Black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members and followers of the:

[Section covered over.]

Offices handling these cases and those of [censored] should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

[Section covered over.]

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the Black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each Black nationalist group. Also, state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes.

Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant Black nationalists and any other militant Black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counter intelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize [censored] to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall Black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.



ed October 18, 1969; BABATUNDE OMARWALI assassinated December 25, 1969; FRED BENNETT [left] JOHN SAVAGE assassinated May 23, 1969; LARRY ROBERSON assassinated September 4, 1969; JONATHAN JACKSON assassinated July 28, 1970.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM

MARCH 29, 1972 PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

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

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

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

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

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

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

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

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

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

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

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Intercommunal News

P.A.I.G.C. WINNING LONG STRUGGLE WITH PORTUGAL

(Inside Guinea-Bissau) - On September 24, 1973, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) formally proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The proclamation told the world what the people of Guinea-Bissau had known for some time—that the African people have defeated the Portuguese government forces formerly in control of this West African country.

Portugal in recent weeks has experienced mutiny within the ranks of its army by those Portuguese soldiers who want an end to the war in Guinea-Bissau as well as the other battles being waged in the East African Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

Portugal claims it still controls Guinea-Bissau, but a recent trip to the countryside by Robert van Lierop reported in the *Guardian* reveals the contrary. The PAIGC has been fighting its war of liberation against the Portuguese oppressors since 1963. As a result of sound military leadership and effective political organization of the people, the PAIGC has

liberated four fifths of Guinea-Bissau's countryside.

Restricted to garrisoned enclaves which can only be supplied by air or boat, the Portuguese will soon be forced to publicly admit defeat by the PAIGC. Many peasants report that they have not seen a Portuguese soldier for five or six years. Others have scars from recent contacts with the soldiers. Most Portuguese attacks come from airplanes that drop bombs, napalm and herbicides on African villages. PAIGC guns daily engage in artillery duels with the big guns of the Portuguese.

The great strength of the PAIGC is demonstrated in the size of mass meetings in the countryside. Some meetings are attended by over 1,000 people, a remarkably high number considering the wartime conditions in the bush. One recent mass cultural event held at night under lights powered by portable generators was held at a base only 37 miles from the capital city of Bissau. The accuracy of PAIGC anti-aircraft weaponry needs no further proof.

The eleven years of the liberation struggle has revolutionized the role and state of Guinea-Bissau's woman. Unlike the past, women must hold two out of five seats on every local committee. They also participate in the military defense of local villages.

The people of Guinea-Bissau take great pride in their schools, which are simply built from branches, leaves and straw. Portugal, as a colonial power, did not want the African people to be liberated and therefore discouraged them from going to the handful of schools which were all located in the towns and cities. As a result, the illiteracy rate was 99 per cent prior to the onset of the armed struggle. Today, over 15,000 children sit in hidden classrooms under the trees, listening intently to the more than 300 teachers.

Not only has the liberation struggle brought the African people of Guinea-Bissau a better quality of education and a higher literacy rate, but there are now ten times more doctors in the country than there were in 1963. Forty doctors currently work with the PAIGC. Before the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



FRELIMO guerrillas inside liberated Mozambique.

WESTERN PRESS REPORTS ON FRELIMO VICTORIES

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - Now that it can no longer be ignored, even *Newsweek* reports on the war in Mozambique between the armed forces of the African people and the colonial army of Portugal, which threatens to mutiny in opposition to the war. (See April 1, *Newsweek*.)

What *Newsweek* does not say is that this war is being fought over the right of the 97.5 per cent of the 7,500,000 people of Mozambique, the African people, to rule themselves. At present Mozambique is ruled by less than 2.5 per cent of the population, White administrators and military, in the name of Portugal.

But *Newsweek* is not the only establishment publication beginning to recognize the scope of the war in Mozambique. Recently, the *Star Weekly* of the White settler regime of South Africa reported in depth on the activities of the African liberation movement in Mozambique.

A correspondent for this White supremacist publication, reporting from the town of Vila de Manica in Tete Province, Mozambique, wrote: "Even their most ardent detractors now grudgingly admit that the FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) guerrilla attacks on Mozambique are making formidable strides."

These are the developments that *Star Weekly* provides as evidence of the significant gains of FRELIMO guerrillas:

1) They have expanded the war from a remote frontier affair into a thrust at the very heart of Mozambique which shows every sign of continuing to expand.

2) They have penetrated through torrid wilderness in the northwest and a forest of troops to reach more than half way down this 1,965 kilometer long territory and catch the Portuguese from behind, completely by surprise.

3) They have posed a serious economic threat — which could well become a military one — to the city of Beira, Mozambique's second largest port and a vital gateway for Rhodesia and Malawi.

4) Their southward drive has extended potential access to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

**OFFICIAL BULLETINS:
LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS in
AFRICA**

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TANZANIAN PRESIDENT

NYERERE ON UNITY, LIBERATION STRUGGLES AND AFRO-AMERICANS

The following interview with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania is reprinted from Africa magazine. Known and respected as one of the most progressive African Heads of State on the continent, President Nyerere's insightful comments on African unity, the progress of the liberation struggles and the potential for cooperation between all people of African descent should be read by everyone concerned with African affairs and the struggle toward liberation.

AFRICA: It has been argued that the establishment of governments-in-exile for the African territories still under colonial domination or controlled by racial minority governments, will enhance the prestige of the freedom fighters in the eyes of the outside world; that it would make more tangible their claim to be the legitimate representatives of the people in the areas under what is virtually foreign occupation. Would Your Excellency support the idea of setting up such governments-in-exile and giving them full recognition as members of the O.A.U.?

PRESIDENT NYERERE: My experience is that in the liberation movements the commitment to the idea of establishing governments-in-exile exists in inverse proportion to the military or political achievements of the would-be-Presidents and Ministers! I have absolutely no doubt, but that, while such 'governments-in-exile' would enhance the prestige of the officebearers in their own eyes, it would do nothing of the kind in the eyes of the outside world. Indeed, I believe the contrary to be true; the world in general would openly or covertly—denigrate the pretensions of those claiming government office, and in their scorn overlook the very real achievements of the liberation movements.

The prestige of the freedom fighters will be gained on the battlefield, not in offices away from the fighting fronts. And it is interesting that the liberation movements which have success to show on the battlefield do not waste their time talking about establishment of governments-in-exile. For they are concerned about liberation, and they know how disruptive such talks would be to the struggle itself. They know also that when the time

comes for establishing governments, these will not be 'governments-in-exile,' but governments firmly based in the liberated areas of their respective countries—that is, effective governments.

AFRICA: The past decade has seen a change from civilian to military governments in a number of African countries. Given the opposing backgrounds of civilian rulers on the one hand, and the military on the other, would Your Excellency agree with the argument that the dichotomy in their separate visions of power, or approaches to government, has hampered progress towards greater cooperation on the continent?

PRESIDENT NYERERE: The problems of African unity and African progress do not arise from a dichotomy between civilian and military governments. I



African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde guerrillas on the march.

P.A.I.G.C. WINNING LONG STRUGGLE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE
revolution began, only four doctors served the 800,000 people of the country.

One major change the PAIGC has made in health and other essential services is to move them away from the urban areas—where the colonial administration concentrated them—to the countryside, where most of the people live. Each section (group of villages) has its own health station or clinic, and each region has its own hospital. The clinics and hospitals are built out of the same materials as the schools.

The people faced severe economic exploitation under Portuguese rule, but the establishment of People's Shops in liberated areas, beginning in 1964, has changed that. People's Shops are the foundation on

am a democrat, and believe that a government should represent its people, and that they should—ideally—be able to control it. At the very least, and as a stage towards the people's control, the government of a country should be responsive to the aspirations and needs of the people—the mass of people. So I naturally have a bias in favor of representative governments. Also, since a number of the most progressive of African leaders were overthrown by military regimes my reaction to a military takeover has been, at best, to wait and see.

But there is nothing inherently sacred about civilian governments, and nothing inherently evil about military governments. Nasser was a soldier; so is Siad Barre, and so is Yakubu Gowon. Some of the most corrupt and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

Africa In Focus

TUNISIA

At the press conference of Foreign Ministers of the 21-nation League of Arab States in Tunis, Tunisia, last week decisions were made to help African countries hurt by the increases in the price of crude oil. A development bank for Africa funded with Arab money has now reached \$231 million in capitalization and a separate fund of \$200 million has been created to help African countries absorb crude price increases. In addition, a \$15 million fund for technical assistance to African countries is being established.

MOZAMBIQUE

Sixty people were believed to have been burned to death last week in a head-on collision between two trains near the Mozambique capital of Lourenco Marques. Two trains, one carrying passengers from Rhodesia and the other, a Mozambique freight train, collided 31 miles north of Lourenco Marques. Reports said that petroleum products aboard the freight train exploded, throwing burning oil over the passenger coaches of the Rhodesian train. More than 50 people were reported to have been injured.

UNITED NATIONS

A resolution demanding that Portugal "cease forthwith its colonial wars" in Africa was submitted in the United Nations Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization by 13 sponsoring countries on March 14. One provision would have the Committee urge countries closely linked to Portugal to make concerted efforts to obtain its compliance with United Nations resolutions directed towards the self-determination and independence of the territories under its domination. Other provisions include a condemnation of "the brutal massacre of villagers" and a request to the International Committee of the Red Cross to remain in close contact with liberation movements on the treatment of war prisoners.

U.N. OBSERVES DAY TO ELIMINATE RACISM

(United Nations, New York) - The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid (racial segregation) held a special meeting on March 21, in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The day was celebrated by governments throughout the world.

The day commemorates the 1960 massacre in Sharpeville, South Africa, during which 69 peaceful demonstrators against pass laws were killed and 180 wounded.

The entire United Nations membership was invited to attend the special meeting, and representatives of the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were also present.

Brother Potlako Leballo, acting President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and Brother Mazwandile Piliso, member of the National Executive of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), were welcomed by the Committee chairman, Edwin O. Ogbu of Nigeria.

Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, President of the U.N. General Assembly, said that apartheid violated the letter and spirit of the U.N. Charter, and that South Africa had remained impervious to all the appeals and condemnations of the world organization.

U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said there should be no illusions about the task of ridding the world of racism, but that there were some encouraging signs — "the development of a new international conscience" and "the realization that injustice and discrimination, wherever it occurs and whatever form it takes, is the concern of all."

Dramane Quattara, representing the OAU, said the United Nations measures against apartheid had been ineffective so far because certain powers were not observing the arms embargo against South Africa and were continuing their diplomatic, economic and other ties with that country.

Mr. Leballo of the PAC said that "a fight to the finish" was now on, and he urged the United Nations to give concrete support

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

ETHIOPIAN PEASANTS JOIN POPULAR UPRISING

THOUSANDS OF WOMEN DEMONSTRATE FOR BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) - In the continuing popular uprising in Ethiopia, first-ever reports of peasant resistance have reached this capital. In the Langano area, about 16 miles southeast of here, groups of peasants are burning property on their tenant farms and protesting exploitation by landlords.

PEASANTS KILLED

Some reports said a number of peasants were killed when troops were sent into quell the uprisings. The peasant actions came amid reports that the rebellious troop occupation of Asmara, Ethiopia's second largest city, had apparently ended. But at the Air Force base at Debre Zeit, enlisted men were reportedly in control.

An informant told reporters: "There is no question the military realize they can take over the country if they want to. Dissident enlisted men are calling the shots at most military bases...It's a potentially explosive situation."

FRELIMO VICTORIES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) for guerrillas of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) along fully half of Rhodesia's long border with Mozambique.

5) So swiftly are FRELIMO guerrillas moving that suddenly South Africa is taking worried notice because the Transvaal is not much further south, and African liberation movement guerrillas within South Africa could tie up with FRELIMO guerrillas in Mozambique and Zimbabwe guerrillas in Rhodesia.

6) By intensifying the war with frequent and widely separated attacks, plus a profusion of land mines, FRELIMO is tying up some 60,000 Portuguese troops in a huge area. "The strain on both the military and administrative manpower is heavy," writes the correspondent.

"Mozambique bureaucrats," writes the *Weekly*, "officially admit only mild concern about the quick spread of the FRELIMO attacks right down to the important road and railway from Beira to Rhodesia. But privately many are extremely worried."

"Now, for the first time, one finds responsible Portuguese

Another first occurred last Sunday, in Addis Ababa, when several thousand women demonstrated demanding better working conditions and equal salaries with men. Although they were dispersed by the police, they were able to send a delegation to Emperor Haile Selassie to present their grievances.

At the same time 15,000 prostitutes in Addis Ababa demanded the right to unionize. They distributed pamphlets stating their needs, which included stabilized tax deductions and free medical examinations.

Student demonstrations are continuing sporadically and are being ruthlessly put down by police. However, the government is permitting continued studies and allowing students to form their own unions and publish their newspapers. These student activities were formerly forbidden.

The Ethiopian civil aviation employees continue to strike and the nine international airlines



A "street" in Addis Ababa reveals Ethiopia's poverty.

represented in Ethiopia have not been able to land one airplane since March 11. Only Ethiopian Airlines, which can guarantee personnel for all flights, has been functioning normally.

In the north three Americans and two Canadians were captured by guerrillas of the Eritrean Liberation Front, and as of this writing are still being held. The five were allegedly part of a team prospecting for oil.

Last week, the newly appointed Premier Endalkachew Makonnen announced that 30 experts would take part in a conference to revise the 1955 Constitution as a result of a recent decision by Emperor Selassie. The decision was in response to demands for fundamental changes in his feudal monarchy initiated by a military mutiny last month.

The constitutional conferees have six months to present a complete revision of the 1955 charter, giving Parliament greater power to control government action.

Meanwhile, a massive bottleneck at the three seaports serving Ethiopia is preventing the distribution of badly needed foods and goods to famine areas of the country. So overcrowded are facilities at these ports, reports *The Christian Science Monitor* correspondent from Addis, Ababa, that vitally needed relief supplies which cannot be moved promptly are stored in the open. The advent of the rains will ruin some of these consignments, in the opinion of experts.

Inadequate rail links and inefficient private transport facilities have urged relief personnel to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

POLYNESIAN PANTHERS SERVE THE PEOPLE THROUGH SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

(Auckland, New Zealand) - In last week's issue we carried an article about the Polynesian Panther Party (PPP) of New Zealand based on information received from the PPP in a successful attempt to correspond with THE BLACK PANTHER after the interception of earlier letters. This week we deal specifically with the survival programs of the PPP. The organization was formed in 1971 by six Polynesian street brothers who used THE BLACK PANTHER and *Seize The Time* by Bobby Seale for guidance.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTERS

The Polynesian Panther Party operates several Community Education Centers to aid young Polynesian students in their schoolwork or with problems they may have in the European-cultured schools. Political discussion classes are held to aid young people in understanding their situation in the racist New Zealand society.

LEGAL AID PROGRAM

The Legal Aid Program of the PPP has printed and distributed a legal aid booklet which gives advice to Polynesians on their legal rights in dealing with the courts, police brutalization and tenant evictions. The program provides legal advisers and lawyers to handle court cases. Legal advice is given free and a list of volunteers willing to bail people out of jail is maintained.

PRISONER AID PROGRAM

The PPP's Prisoners' Aid Program organizes visits to brothers and sisters in the isolated prisons in New Zealand. As part of the program, athletic teams are sent into the prisons to play prison teams and debating teams are also sent to engage in meaningful verbal exchange with prison teams. The program also aids prison inmates after they are released, helping them to find employment and housing.

TENANTS AID BRIGADE

The PPP has organized a Tenants Aid Brigade (TAB), comprised of community volunteers and Party members who protect tenants from physical harassment by landlords and their vicious "heavies." Land-

lords hire men called "heavies" to physically evict, harass and often attack tenants. "Heavies" are particularly used against tenants who collectively organize rent strikes.

POLICE INVESTIGATIVE GROUP

The PPP has also organized a Police Investigation Group (PIG) to patrol the Polynesian community.

DAY TO ELIMINATE RACISM

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

to the struggle, as there could be no compromise, no dialogue, no turning back.

Mr. Piliso of the ANC said that the people of South Africa, with the support of democratic forces, were confident that they would finally rid their country of racism and make it a "haven of peace and progress."

The Committee chairman, Mr. Ogbu, announced that 31 coun-

tries had made contributions or pledges to United Nations funds helping apartheid victims on the occasion of the International Day. The total was about \$1,768,745.

A minute of silence was observed at the end of the meeting in honor of all the victims of apartheid and racial discrimination, and all those martyrs who have given their lives in the struggle against these evils.

□□□



P.P.P.'s full time community worker AMA RAUHIHI.

WORLD SCOPE

NORTH KOREA

(Hong Kong) - North Korea has announced that it has sent a letter to the U.S. Congress proposing talks between the two countries on a peace accord to replace the Korean armistice agreement signed in 1953.

The North Korean press agency reported on the proposal for the talks, from which South Korea would be excluded. North Korea has reportedly called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea, troops which have illegally been in South Korea under the United Nations flag since the Korean War.

AUSTRALIA

(Sydney, Australia) - Australia has asked the U.S. and Russia to "exercise mutual restraint" in the Indian Ocean.

Prime Minister Gough Whitlam made the appeal in messages delivered through the Australian embassies in Washington and Moscow. The appeal reflects Australia's growing concern over U.S. plans to expand militarily on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia

SPAIN

(Madrid, Spain) - The most powerful political leader in the Spanish Roman Catholic Church, Cardinal Archbishop Vicente Enrique y Tarancon, has defended the church's right to speak out against social injustice, even if such statements offend government leaders.

This was Tarancon's first public declaration since the bishop of Bilbao, Antonio Anoveros, last month caused a serious church-state crisis by demanding greater rights for the Basques people of northern Spain.

LIBYA

(Tripoli, Libya) The Libyan Minister of petroleum has revealed that other Arab oil-producing nations had planned to maintain their embargo against the U.S., but decided to lift it only after receiving a threat from Washington.

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ENTERTAINMENT



CHARLES MOFFETT directing the exciting Intercommunal Youth Band.

YOUTH BAND REVIEWED

"SWINGING WITH A BIG BAND SOUND" AT LANEY COLLEGE

The following article is a review of a performance of the Intercommunal Youth Band at Laney College on February 26. Written by a Laney student, the review captures one person's thrilling first introduction to the Intercommunal Youth Band, which is organized and directed by Brother Charles Moffett as an after-school program at the Community Learning Center.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Charles Moffett's Intercommunal Youth Band really turned the Laney College Music Department onto an exciting musical adventure.

Moffett's youthful musicians, ranging in age from 5 to 15, field a 38-piece band of 3 flutes, 6 clarinets, 8 trumpets, 5 trombones, 9 saxophones, 2 guitars, 2 drums, piano, organ and bass. The band opened with a free jazz original by Mondre Moffett, featuring a quartet doing *Preparation*. Then, Charnette Moffett, 6-year-old drummer/trumpeter highlighted his quartet's performance with *Get Down*. Five-year-old poetess Mai Huggins read original works written when she was four; accompanied by the big band playing *Sunny* in the background. Mai drew loud and delighted applause from the audience of students.

As Moffett introduced *Watermelon Man*, the band jumped right into it, swinging with a big band sound which brought the house down. Then, when Mondre conducted the band into a light, swinging *Satin Doll*, another side of the band's ability was displayed to its enthusiastic audience.

The concluding number opened with a double drum intro,

followed by organ bass and guitar. Then, with the whole band playing and smiling proudly, the excited applause by the audience proved this musical event was a tremendous success.

Ed Kelly, a pianist and teacher at Laney, was coordinator for the program, presented in the Laney College Music Department. The Black Studies Program sponsored a second concert, an hour later.

It was two hours of exciting music performed by 38 energetic, youthful musicians under the leadership of their renowned mentor, Charles Moffett — educator, musician, humanitarian—who has taught school bands from Texas to New York to California with a new direction concept in teaching and performing.

FREE FILMS

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

- APR. 11: BLACK ORPHEUS
- APR. 18: THE LEARNING TREE
- APR. 23: JACK JOHNSON
- MAY 9: SOUNDER
- MAY 16: MALCOLM X
- MAY 23: SWEET SWEETBACK
- MAY 30: SABA SABA
- JUNE 6: BLACK GIRL
- JUNE 13: THE MURDER OF FRED HAMPTON

7 P.M.
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As invited guests of the Black Student Union, in support of its project to organize a day care center on campus, Charles Moffett's Intercommunal Youth Band did its thing sauntering through their ballads and swinging up tempos which delighted the crowded hall immensely; everywhere people are astounded by the youngest band-in-the-land.

Charles Moffett has done it again with the dynamic and exciting Intercommunal Youth Band. □

WITHOUT NO BLACK

BACK HOME

I saw your eyes roll
like a cat-pupilled marble
across the blood sand
over there then here
in mortar and marred
land and remembered
how you can look now—
I remember
that you do not know
where your eyes are
the box they send bent bones
home in had your nothings in it
and they buried the thought
of you anyway with a flag and
an artificially colored heart
your last lost breath tries to slip
through the red white and blue
to hear who came to look at you

T.J. Reddy

Charlotte, No. Carolina
(See story, page 6.)


SEARS STRIKE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Sears, Roebuck and Co. has such a powerful voice in the U.S. government, American advertising and news media that the Department Store Employees Union, Local 1100, goes virtually unnoticed. Nevertheless, the striking workers and boycotting consumers have determinedly brought Sears to the bargaining table. Only five of the 300 strikers have gone back to work during the seven long months of struggle for basic family health.

The company's operations will soon be directed from the world's largest building, the 110-story Sears Tower in Chicago. Hopefully, the human need of medical care will be met for the people whose time, energy and sweat make the multibillion dollar Sears, Roebuck empire possible.

□□□



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NYERERE ON AFRICAN UNITY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16
 reactionary regimes in Africa are, or have been, headed by civilians. It was noticeable too that when there was a great deal of talk about 'Dialogue' with South Africa, it was not headed by the military governments. Indeed, I do not remember that a single military regime took a leading role in the propaganda for South Africa.

So we must not take an oversimplified or automatic view about the merits or demerits of civilian and military governments in Africa. It does not necessarily follow that a civilian government will serve the people better, or serve Africa better — was Tshombe better than Mobutu? Given our present stage of development, the thing which should guide our judgement in this matter is the extent to which an African government (whether civilian or military) is genuinely

working in the interests of Africa and the peoples of Africa.

As regards inter-African cooperation — I have never found the mere fact that another country has a military regime is an obstacle to cooperation between that state and Tanzania — bilaterally or in the wider African context. Indeed, the truth is that some of the regimes with which we have the most cordial relations are headed by military leaders.

The real problem arises when an African regime — whether it is civilian or military — cooperates with the enemies of Africa against the interests of Africa. Or when an African regime treats African people no better — and in practice often worse — than the colonialists and racists treat our brethren in Southern Africa.

Evil committed by African leaders against the people of Africa is, and must be, a real obstacle to inter-African cooperation.



Tanzanian President JULIUS NYERERE

tion. Quite apart from the principles of humanity which are outraged — and which African countries should care about — the whole liberation struggle is affected when the principles of justice and human dignity are mocked in independent Africa.

AFRICA: Finally we come to our brothers and sisters overseas. The concept of African unity presupposes active cooperation and

sympathy among all peoples of African descent. In the Americas — the United States, Brazil and the West Indies — we have nearly 100 million people with whom we share a common African origin. How does Your Excellency see the role of these people in the scheme of African unity?

PRESIDENT NYERERE: I am not quite sure that when we talk of African unity we necessarily include the idea of active cooperation among all people of African descent. I think it is primarily a geographical concept, and that we usually limit the vision to the African continent.

NOT INDIFFERENT

But the fate of the peoples of African descent in other parts of the world is not, and cannot be, a matter of indifference to the peoples of Africa — at least where their color is a factor in determining their fate. So I am not one of those Africans who dismiss the problem by saying that these people may be Black (and some of them not too Black at that), but they are not African. I believe the problem is more complicated than that, and cannot be so easily dismissed. Nor do I believe that I can do justice to this problem in what is, necessarily, a short answer to your question.

Naturally we must take an interest in peoples of African descent who are outside Africa. But the nature of this interest will vary in accordance with the circumstances under which they live. In countries like Brazil, where I understand that they have equal rights with their fellow-citizens of European or Indian descent, our interest will be more or less academic!

In the United States, where such people continue to suffer indignities because of their color and descent, their humiliations are our humiliations too. Our support for their struggle is therefore likely to have an emotional content which was lacking in our support for the Vietnamese. I think that is a fact, whether it is ideally good or not.

This concern of ours we will probably share with our brethren of the independent states of the

ST. LOUIS FIRE DEPARTMENT DISCRIMINATION

(Washington, D.C.) - A federal suit has been filed against the St. Louis Fire Department charging it with job discrimination against Black persons. The department has only 103 Black firemen among the total 1,058 uniformed firefighters and fire inspectors in St. Louis and only two Blacks among the 71 civilian employees.

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SPORTS

"THE BATTLE OVER RACISM IN SPORTS"

BLACK ATHLETES GETTING THE MESSAGE

PART 5

"The Battle Over Racism in Sports" is a chapter from *Rip Off the Big Game*, written by Paul Hoch, a professor in the sociology of sports at Dawson College in Canada.

In the athletic world of the last few years, times are changing, and Black athletes are getting the message. In 1965, Black members of the American Football League All-Star teams banded together and refused to play the game in racially biased New Orleans, Louisiana. The AFL's Commissioner had to move the game to another city. (Unfortunately, as a direct result of this incident, the AFL's two top Black running backs, Abner Haynes and Cookie Gilchrist, were promptly traded and were soon seen riding the bench on their new teams.)

Two years later the season's opening football game between San Jose State College and UTEP had to be cancelled when Black San Jose student activists threatened they would break it up as a protest against racism on their campus. (There were also rumors that if the game were played SJS's stadium would be "burned to the ground.")

November, 1967, brought the start of the Olympic boycott campaign. It was strongly supported by Lew Alcindor:

"Everybody knows me. I'm the big basketball star, the weekend hero, everybody's All-American. Well, last summer I was almost killed by a racist cop shooting at a Black cat in Harlem. He was shooting on the street—where masses of Black people were standing around or just taking a walk. But he didn't care. After all we were just niggers ("Doc" Ellis and Willis Reed would have similar experiences)...Somewhere each of us has got to make a stand against this kind of thing."

February, 1968, brought a Black boycott of the New York Athletic Club's games in protest against the club's membership bar against Blacks:

"The intransigence of the N.Y.A.C. in its refusal to even admit the problem of racism in its ranks, much less take

steps to rectify it, is, we believe, indicative of the present demeanor of White America toward taking real steps to deal with racism in this society. We see, through this protest, that it isn't just racist individuals we are up against. It's a racist conspiracy involving many of the would-be-great institutions of the Society." (From the boycotters' press release.)

The same month Black athletes at the University of California's Berkeley campus threatened to boycott, picket, and disrupt all the school's athletic competitions unless the athletic director and the basketball coach were replaced, Black coaches were hired, more Black students were recruited, more Black studies courses included in the curriculum, and the treatment of Blacks on campus was greatly improved. They won all of their demands including the replacement of the athletic director and football coach. (Similar boycott threats or protests were made at, among other places, Michigan State University, Western Michigan University, Marquette, Kansas, San Francisco State, Washington,

and Princeton. (Some token Negro coaches were promptly hired to cool things down.) All in all, there were racial revolts on the teams of no less than thirty-seven major college campuses in the year 1967-68 alone.

There were also serious racial flare-ups on the St. Louis Cardinals and Cleveland Browns pro football teams. In St. Louis, a lot of the dissension was caused by the attitude of White players and coaches toward interracial dating. "They won't have our respect," one White Cardinal said about his Black teammates, "as long as they keep getting caught with White women. To me that's the worst offense there is—dating White girls."

Roy Shivers tells about the time he ran into the fiancée of a White friend from his college days. A couple of Cardinal coaches promptly came up "and gave us the funny look." Then there was some advice from an older Negro player: "The coach wants you to cool it, be a bit more discreet." According to running back Johnny Roland, the coaches "set a tone that the White racist guys just follow. Some of the coaches treat us like animals, so why

shouldn't the players do the same."

Bernie Parrish writes that to Cincinnati Bengals and former Cleveland Browns head coach Paul Brown the players were just his "animals." "When Jim Brown ripped off a good gain or two early in a game," says Parrish, "Paul would rub his hands together and whisper to John Wooten, one of his messenger guards (and Black), 'The animal's runnin' today — the animal's ready today.'" And Paul Brown was no fly-by-night fill-in coach. For more than twenty-five years he has been at the very top of the professional football coaching profession.

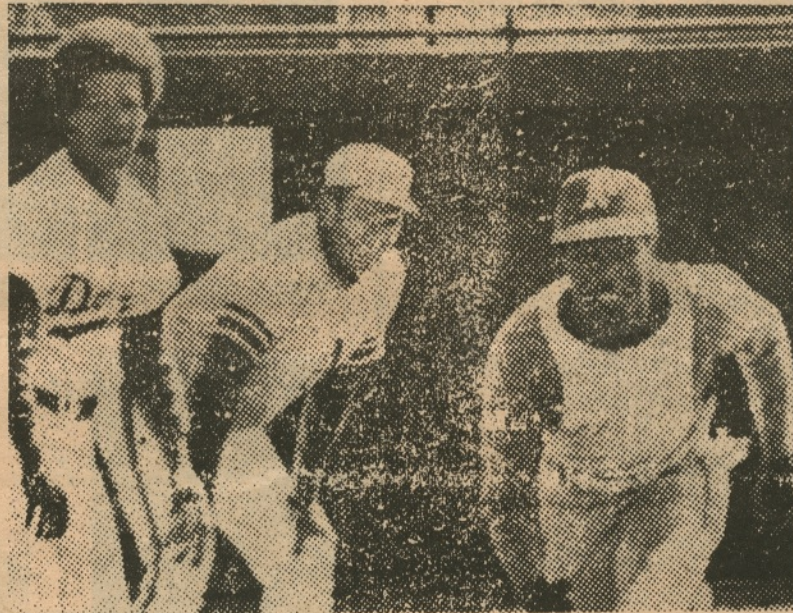
Similarly, with Alvin Dark. It's now about ten years since he made his famous remarks about Black and Latin American baseball players being not as bright as Whites, lazy and lacking in team spirit to boot. Although Dark was fired that year (for getting on the wrong side of his owner), he returned to the majors and soon had one of the longest managerial careers in baseball.

"There are definite signs of quotas and definite signs that Black players are stacked at certain positions," continued the Cardinals' Johnny Roland. "It isn't enough for a Negro to be good to make this team. He's got to be better than good." Similarly in baseball. Aaron Rosenblatt's statistical survey in *Trans-Action* showed that in the seasons 1962-65 inclusive, the average Black major leaguer hit 21.2 points higher than the average White, and that approximately the same percentage held for the preceding nine years.

"It's a sad thing to face," said Cardinal fullback Prentice Gautt, "but racial prejudice is almost a tradition in sports." He remarks that Black athletes could be telling other Blacks that there is no need to rebel. "But what kind of hypocrites would we be to go back and tell them a better day is coming, when that day isn't even in sight on the playing field?"

Carl Brettschneider, a former player and front-office man with the Detroit Lions told Bernie Parrish, "The Lions, while I was personnel director, they practically ordered me to draft more colored guys than White guys. You know why? Cheaper, they sign cheaper." When Parrish asked him if it was correct that Black players are paid less than White players of comparable ability, he replied, "Oh, I think so, sure, sure."

TO BE CONTINUED



OAKLAND A'S EXPERIMENT

[Mesa, Ariz.] In an unusual—and hopefully crowd-attracting—experiment, the Oakland Athletics have hired former L.A. Dodger great MAURY WILLS [left, in Dodger uniform], to teach sprinter HERB WASHINGTON [right], the art of base stealing. If Washington can master base running techniques in spring training, the A's plan to use him as a pinch runner supreme during the regular season, and extend their two year reign as world champs.



Ethiopian Emperor HAILE SELASSIE.

ETHIOPIAN PEASANTS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17
 appeal to the government to use its many military trucks and vehicles as well as personnel to help move the goods. The government, however, has steadfastly refused, fearing the tie up of military troops and equipment in the event they are needed to put down a serious popular threat. □

NYERERE ON AFRICAN UNITY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20
 West Indies, with whom we need to strengthen cultural and political cooperation on such matters of mutual concern.

There was a time when people in the United States with some African ancestry were almost ashamed to be reminded that their forefathers came from Africa. I do not blame them. First, the reminder was irrelevant, since they wanted their rights as Americans. Secondly, colonial Africa was not a place to be particularly proud of.

Since independence this situation has changed. Many Afro-Americans (and the change of name is significant) look to independent Africa for inspiration and identity. Africa must not underestimate the Afro-American's psychological need for this source of inspiration and identity. It has a potential strength because it contains an emotional commitment to Africa's success.

How Africa uses — or could use — such 'kinetic energy' I

BAY AREA MEDIA: RACIST

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2
 As a community, we can write letters to the stations we listen to and know what has been missing in programming.

We can call and find out exactly what these stations promised the federal government four years ago when the licensing process was in full swing. Then, we can evaluate whether those promises have been kept.

POLYNESIAN PANTHERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

munity and protect residents against police harassment and brutalization. Members of the PIG patrol are trained to give legal assistance to those who often fall victim to police harassment because of ignorance of their rights.

COMMUNITY WORKERS

The PPP has organized many community workers who function on both a full-time and part-time basis. They handle cases relating to landlord exploitation, visit institutions such as prisons, mental hospitals and welfare homes, investigate complaints of racism and racial discrimination, provide legal aid, and give people advice concerning personal problems. □

INTERPRETER'S PROGRAM

The PPP's Interpreter's Program helps those who have problems understanding or speaking English. There are several different Polynesian languages and dialects, although the "official" language in New Zealand is English.

GROUP AID PROGRAM

The Party's Group Aid Program provides aid to people and groups who need guidance or assistance within their specific interests.

The PPP is earnestly working to begin publishing a newspaper. Auckland, where the central office is located, is the largest Polynesian city in the world, yet there are presently no newspapers which serve to inform the special interests of the Polynesian people.

In what it calls its Intercommunal Program, the Polynesian Panther Party supports and stands in solidarity with all the other oppressed people of the world in their fight for freedom and self-determination. □

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GUARDS PAY DAMAGES

(Baltimore, Maryland) - Two Baltimore jail guards have been ordered to pay \$8,000 in damages to four former prison inmates who were stripped, handcuffed to overhead pipes and unmercifully beaten because they were "noisy" during sleeping hours.

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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.



PEOPLE'S FREE FOOD PROGRAM

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

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

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

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

"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



MEDIA: INDIAN INK, FELT PEN AND PENCIL BUFF