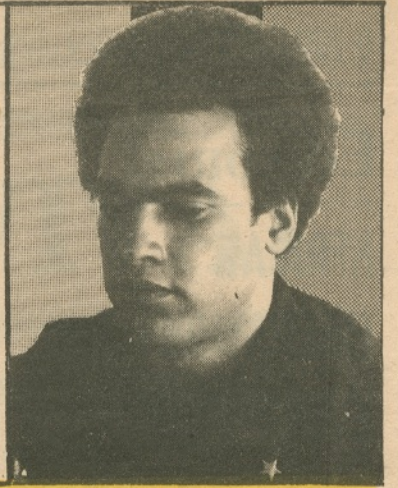


# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE



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25¢

3,000 DEMAND COPS' PROSECUTION

# OAKLAND MAYOR REJECTS TYRONE GUYTON PLEA



Mrs. MATTIE SHEPHERD addressing crowd of 3,000 at Rally for Justice for Tyrone Guyton at Bobby Hutton Memorial Park in Oakland on May 18, 1974

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# EDITORIAL

## AFRICAN LIBERATION EVERY DAY

African Liberation Day was proclaimed with the birth of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on May 25, 1963. On that historic occasion, the then 32 independent African nations declared their determination to work for the total and complete liberation of Africa from European, White racist rule.

In harmony with that declaration, peoples of African descent outside continental Africa, and particularly in the U.S.A., join with the African peoples in celebrating May 25, and in rededicating ourselves to the struggle for African liberation.

Black Americans have a special responsibility in this struggle. We are in the belly of the monster that is U.S. imperialism. It is busy plotting, financing equipping and encouraging neo-colonialism in Africa. We are most strategically placed to frustrate U.S. power elite plans for the re-enslavement of the African peoples.

At the head of the rank-and-file movements in the factories across this country, Black workers can spearhead the exposure of the trade union bureaucrats in partnership with industrial interests, engaged in the ruthless exploitation of the wealth and labor of Africa.

Black legislators on all levels can expose legislative proposals that shore up neo-colonialism and White racist rule in Africa and spearhead the development of popular movements to defeat such moves.

Black students, in high schools and colleges, can spearhead country-wide campus movements for the inclusion and expansion of relevant African studies that accurately reflect the African people's history and culture and destroy racist concepts that still fill our institutions of learning.

And, each of us, in our communities and on our jobs, in ever increasing and uncompromising determination, can confront the racist, exploitive and repressive forms of our oppression, so frustrating and preoccupying the U.S. power elite monster as to make increasingly more difficult its ability to carry out its goals in Africa.

In these ways we can make every day African Liberation Day and bring its realization ever nearer. □



"My goodness! Still hungry, big fella?... But what else could you possibly... Down boy... Sit!..."

## COMMENT BLACK POLITICAL PROGRESS FORECAST

(Atlanta, Ga.) Political victories by Black candidates in the May, 1974, primary and general elections in five southern states is indicative of rapid progress for southern Black communities, states John Lewis, head of the nonpartisan Voter Education Project, Inc. (VEP) of Atlanta.

Surveying the positive results of primary elections in Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas, and the general municipal elections of Virginia, VEP has concluded that Black candidates will win many major posts in state governments this year despite low turnout by Black and White voters in the South.

Lewis stated, "Several factors may have contributed to the low voter turnout in the five states where elections were held, but the lack of financial resources in the Black community to mount and sustain successful citizenship education efforts continues to be a problem. Additional Black candidates might have sought public office in Tennessee, for instance, had there not been a high filing fee requirement.

"We have been successful in registering millions of Black voters over the past decade, but there has to be a similar push — a similar commitment — to follow through to educate and stimulate voters to vote after they have registered," continued Lewis. "The VEP hopes to have some resources to make available to local groups so that low voter turnout rates are not repeated in the remainder of 1974 elections in the South.

"Blacks in the South can make historic political strides this year," predicted Lewis. "The May elections point up some of the potential, but there are other reasons for hope. Blacks may be elected for the first time to the county commission in Fulton County (Atlanta), Georgia. An additional ten or twelve Blacks may be added to the Georgia House of Representatives because of redistricting. The South Carolina house may see its Black

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

## Letters to the Editor

Revolutionary Greeting:

My Dearest Comrade,

I send my Revolutionary greetings to all my Comrades there. All people in the Struggle are my Revolutionary Brothers and Sisters. I am a revolutionary servant of the people and for the people. My life is not my own, my body is not my own; it's to serve the people. I give my life to the people and the vanguard servants of the people: the one and only Black Panther Party.

I am revolutionary minded and ready to do my part in the struggle against this imperialist, capitalist system. I am trying to arm myself mentally while doing time here in the Alabama Concentration camps. I would appreciate having my name added to your free subscription list, because I am unable to pay for anything. I would also like to get any material you have or can get. Rush them to me because we, the Comrades here, have no books at all.

I live Liberation, eat Liberation, sleep Liberation, dream Liberation. I am Liberation. I love all my fellow Comrades. Well, I'll close now. But I'll leave you with this: There are millions of poor and oppressed people throughout the world. We have to keep the struggle in our hearts. The Revolution is now. The Struggle for Liberation is universal. It's for you and me. The Panel Truck is coming and Brother, it's coming fast, fast, fast.

Love for the Struggle  
Happiness for the Liberation  
All Power to the Revolutionary War  
Slave Name: Brother Leland Burroughs (Kwame Masia)

□□□□

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 22

## AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

*"The hour of history which has brought us to this assembly is a revolutionary hour... Our people call for unity..."*

So spoke Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the late president of Ghana, at the convening of the Summit Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963. History's glow did, indeed, shine on that great assembly of 32 African Heads of State and Government; the dawning of the revolutionary hour had arrived. After centuries of colonialism, the masses of peoples on the majestic continent of Africa stepped forth from the shadows of foreign rule and spoke out in a single voice, in their own interests and in their own name.

May 25, 1963, marks more than the formal signing of the Charter of the Organization of African and Malagasy States. In the words of Frantz Fanon, it signified:

*"...the transformation of spectators, crushed by their own inessentiality, into privileged actors, with the grandiose glare of history's floodlights upon them..."*

On May 25, 1963, the Organization of African Unity was born—the goal of the total liberation of the continent of Africa and of peoples of African descent throughout the world was proclaimed and the first African Liberation Day was celebrated.

### THE BLACK PANTHER

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Black Panther Party co-founder and chief theoretician, HUEY P. NEWTON.

**MIDDLE EAST**

**B.P.P. POSITION PAPER SENT TO WORLD LEADERS**

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party's Position Paper on the Middle East Conflict, published in last week's edition of THE BLACK PANTHER, has been forwarded to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity to the U.N., the President of the American Jewish Congress, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States at the U.N. and the Secretary-General of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Position Paper has also been sent to leading periodicals in the U.S., Europe and the Middle East.

In a covering letter, Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party wrote:

"In the interest of the search for a humane and just solution to the intricate and emotion-packed Middle East problem, the Black Panther Party offers the attached 'Position Paper on the Middle East Conflict' for your consideration.

"We would appreciate your response and welcome any criticism or counter-proposals the implementation of which would, in your opinion, contribute to the resolution of a conflict that threatens world peace and human progress. All Power to the People, (signed), Huey P. Newton."

Last week, Nayef Hawatmeh, leader of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of

**3,000 DEMAND COPS' PROSECUTION**

**OAKLAND MAYOR REJECTS TYRONE GUYTON PLEA**

(Oakland, Calif.) - In a blatant slap in the face of this city's Black and poor communities, Mayor John Reading, using an arbitrary decision by City Attorney David Self, has rejected a request by Mrs. Mattie Shepherd to address the Oakland City Council regarding the murder of her son, 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton.

News of the Mayor's decision came only one day before the Tuesday, May 21, Council meeting she had requested in writing to address.

Highlighting the racist, heartless nature of Reading's decision is that only two days before, on Saturday, May 18, 3,000 people, predominantly Black West Oakland residents, rallied in Bobby Hutton Memorial Park to demand the prosecution of the three White Emeryville policemen who cold-bloodedly murdered young Tyrone last November 1. In addition, over 15,000 persons from throughout Alameda County and the Bay Area have signed petitions with this same demand.

In a telephone conversation with the secretary for the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, the City Attorney ad-



Brother BOBBY SEALE addressed a crowd of 3,000 at Tyrone Guyton rally held May 18 in Oakland's Bobby Hutton Memorial Park.

mitted having told Reading that, in his judgement, it would be "improper" for Mrs. Shepherd to address the City Council.

In explanation, Self put forward the ludicrous reasons that: (1) the City Council had no information about the Tyrone Guyton case; and, (2) if the policemen were ever indicted, having Mrs. Shepherd address the Council might create unfavorable pretrial publicity.

When questioned if it were not part of the City Council's responsibilities to obtain the needed information concerning the legality of his futuristic assump-

tions, Self stated that he had merely given Reading his opinions on Reading's request. It is the Mayor who makes the final decisions concerning the City Council agenda.

Neither the Mayor's office nor the City Attorney's office will send Mrs. Shepherd or the Committee for Justice a written explanation of their reasons for not allowing her to speak, although they have been repeatedly asked to provide one.

**SHOT IN BACK**

Tyrone Guyton was shot and killed by the pursuing plainclothes policemen on suspicion he was driving a stolen car. At the Saturday, May 18 rally, the large crowd was shocked and outraged when it was disclosed that young Tyrone was shot twice in the back after having tripped and while sprawled on the ground; not in the act of running as had previously been thought. In addition, the recently fired Emeryville chief of police has admitted to a KRON-TV reporter that it was over two hours after Tyrone was murdered that the car he was driving was discovered to have been stolen.

When told of the Mayor's decision, Mrs. Shepherd responded bitterly. "Is it proper for Dale Phillips, William Matthews and Thomas Mierkey (the three Emeryville policemen) to murder my son?" she said angrily. "Is it proper for Lowell Jensen to refuse to prosecute? Is it proper that I can get no justice?"

"Tyrone had a right to live... I don't care what the Mayor or Lowell Jensen have to say, the case is not closed! We'll be back." □

**FALLEN COMRADE**

**JOHN SAVAGE**

**ASSASSINATED:**

**MAY 23, 1969**



John Savage, 24, was a member of the San Diego Branch of the Black Panther Party. It was there that he chose to dedicate his life to the liberation of his people. In the aftermath of the Ron Karenga-led US organization's assassination of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins in January, 1969, relations between that group and the Black Panther Party grew increasingly tense, particularly in the city of San Diego.

On Friday, May 23, 1969, John Savage and another Party member were walking toward their office when they passed an US organization member named "Tambozi." As they walked by, Tambozi swung around, jammed a .38 automatic into the back of John Savage's neck and pulled the trigger. John Savage died instantly...the spirit of John Savage will live forever.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**



**YOUTH INSTITUTE**

**POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASS STUDIES AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS**

In our continuing series on the many aspects of instruction at the Intercommunal Youth Institute in East Oakland, THE BLACK PANTHER presents this week an article on the Political Education classes at the Institute, written by Amar Casey, instructor of Political Education at the Institute.

(Oakland, Calif.) "Gold, diamonds, coffee, sugar and salt"; students in the political education class at the Intercommunal Youth Institute recited. "No wonder the Portuguese want to keep Angola and the other countries; so they can keep all the riches!"

The subject that day was the African liberation movements: the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO); the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA); and, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

This was the culmination of a series of studies in Political Education on the continent of Africa. In conjunction with this series the students had visited museums and seen several examples of African art and culture.

The students are also shown films on African history. They



Political education instructor AMAR CASEY showing map of Africa to (from left) students DONNA WILLIAMS, TERESA WILLIAMS and ALLEROY KENNON.

study maps of Africa to enhance their understanding of African geography and topography (the study of place and location). They study African coins, try on African clothes and learn African dances.

However, intercommunal world studies is only a part of the several areas of study in political education at the Intercommunal Youth Institute. Toussaint L'Ouverture, Malcolm X, W.E.B. Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, Nat Turner, Martin Luther King, Huey P. Newton, Mao Tse-Tung, Cesar Chavez are just a few of the many historical and contemporary figures the students study.

Class discussions, skits, drawings and readings are some of the methods used in the study of the oppression and genocide of Third World peoples. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *Sieze the Time*, *Lady Sings the Blues* and *Black Boy*, are currently being read by the students, as Political Education and Language Arts are integrated. In this way the children advance both their reading ability and their political consciousness.

The eight, nine, ten and eleven year-olds are able to relate conceptually to various abstract ideas. For example, a discussion was recently held on contradiction and its many types: natural and social, antagonistic and non-antagonistic, negative and positive.

The students were asked to give an example of a positive/negative contradiction. After some thought a youngster said: "The chalk in my hand will even-

tually be used up (negative) as I continue writing on the black board, but this is positive because we learn from the things written on the board."

Capitalism and monopolies are consistently examined in political education classes. The games "Monopoly," "Billionaire" and "Anti-Monopoly" are used to introduce some of the basic concepts of economic organization. The students visit factories, stores and other places where ideas discussed in class may be seen in practice.

**TYRONE GUYTON**

To demonstrate their support and active participation, the students passed out leaflets, posters and circulated petitions in the community after the brutal murder of Tyrone Guyton, the 14-year-old youngster killed by three White Emeryville policemen last November. Tyrone was not much older than some of the students and they conceived of Tyrone as their peer and comrade.

Writing letters to political prisoners and attending local trials are also an integral part of the political education curriculum.

*Superman*, *Batman* and *True Romance* magazines are types of literature that have little or no audience at the Intercommunal Youth Institute. The youth are advancing to the point where they understand that awareness of the real world can be more interesting and rewarding than any fantasy Disneyland may create.

As one of the six-year-olds has written: "I see things as they really are in the real world." □

**BLACK HISTORY**

**MAY 30, 1822**

Denmark Vesey's bid for freedom, one of the most elaborate and best organized slave conspiracy plots on record, involving upwards of 9,000 slaves in the vicinity of Charleston, S.C., was betrayed by a house servant on May 30, 1822. Authorities were soon to arrest 131 slaves and four Whites. Thirty-seven slaves were eventually hanged.

**JUNE 1, 1843**

The fabled Sojourner Truth, the first Black woman to take the platform as an antislavery lecturer, left New York and began her work as an abolitionist on June 1, 1843. From that date until her death, she walked the land, preaching, teaching and lecturing for the freedom of her people.

**MAY 30, 1854**

As the dark shadow of the upcoming Civil War passed over America, reactionary Southern congressmen, in a bitter floor fight in Congress, won passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act on May 30, 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise and opening the Northern territory to slavery.

**MAY 31, 1870**

On May 31, 1870, the U.S. Congress passed the first of the so-called Enforcement Acts (also called Ku Klux Klan Acts), putting federal elections in the hands of federal rather than state officials. The legislation, intended to guarantee the civil and political rights of freedmen, was ineffective.

**MAY 31, 1955**

Following by a year their famous Brown vs. Topeka decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered nationwide school desegregation, "with all deliberate speed," on May 31, 1955.



**"Until We're Free"**

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

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621.

Also available at major record stores near you.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY ELAINE BROWN

Album produced and distributed by MOTOWN RECORD CORP.



**LEAVENWORTH BROTHER****ODELL****BENNETT****CONVICTED**

(Topeka, Kansas) - Brother Odell Bennett, a prisoner at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary has been convicted of one count of forcibly resisting, opposing, impeding, intimidating and interfering with a federal officer. Community support for Odell's case was demonstrated by a citizen's march and rally outside the court, on the streets of this state capital.

Brother Odell faces a possible sentence of three additional years for the incident, which occurred on August 22, 1973, at Leavenworth prison. He is appealing the May 10 conviction on the basis of the deep-seated and easily apparent racist biases that marked the court proceedings.

The prosecution had to dismiss mutiny charges against Brother Bennett because the government was unable to produce a bill of particulars on the charge. (The prosecution had no witnesses or evidence to present that would support its case.)

**LYING**

Odell was found innocent on a second count of forcibly resisting, opposing, impeding, etc., and a mistrial was declared on two other counts. Sister Lillian Moore, the only Black juror, said after the trial was over that, "Most of us agreed that the government witnesses were lying."

It was hard to believe that Brother Odell could have assaulted two guards while he was shackled in handcuffs, leg irons and additional chains fixed around his waist. It was also difficult for the jury to believe that Odell assaulted guard Lt. Edmonds, when Edmonds himself testified that he could not remember ever being hit at all.

The conviction resulted from testimony that Odell went limp when submitting to a degrading "finger wave," rectal search by the guards. He was charged with

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## PHILLY PRETRIAL DETAINEES WIN RIGHT TO VOTE

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - Procedures have been adopted to enable Philadelphia pretrial detainees to register to vote in all federal, state and local elections. The consent decree, issued on April 17, 1974, in U.S. District Court here, includes a document entitled, "Procedure for Registration and Voting by Pretrial Detainees in Philadelphia County Prisons."

The document sets forth specific procedures to be utilized by the Philadelphia County Board of Elections. The procedures include the posting of notices describing the voting procedure in both the English and Spanish languages, as well as notices stating the date voter registrars will be at each prison.

The voter registrars are required to stay at each prison until all who wish to register are registered. In addition, the regularly scheduled traveling registration program will be increased.

The registrars will give each registered pretrial detainee a request for an application for an absentee ballot and the application and the absentee ballot will be provided.

Postage required by any pretrial detainee who cannot afford the cost to mail his ballot, application or registration request, will be paid out of the Inmate Welfare Fund.

Counsel and representatives of political parties may be present at the prisons on registration and voting days for consultation and supervision.

The election team will make provisions for qualified voters who are absent from prison due to court appearances to participate in the election.

Meanwhile, THE BLACK PANTHER has received several documents from the Unconvicted Residents Rights Council, a group of pretrial detainees at the Philadelphia Detention Center.



Now pretrial detainees in Philadelphia can vote in federal, state and local elections by using absentee ballots.

Included in the material was a letter from the Council to Philadelphia Superintendent of Schools, Matthew W. Costanzo.

The letter states that the Council "is very concerned about the lack of educational facilities at the Detention Center, especially since a large percentage of the inmates there are held for months at a time, occasionally even a year or more."

The Pennsylvania Legislature in one of its bills, "requires a school district to provide free extension education upon written application of fifteen or more residents of the district," the letter says. Sent along with the letter were petitions signed by Detention Center inmates.

Stating that such an educational program "would benefit the entire population," the letter concludes, "The group would appreciate a meeting with you or your representative to discuss the implementation of such a program."

Also received by THE BLACK PANTHER was a "List of Standards which are being violated at the Detention Center." One of these standards is that "No prisoner shall be punished unless he has been informed of the offense alleged against him and given the opportunity to present his defense." Additional standards being violated are:

"a) The hearing must be staffed by an impartial tribune:

"b) The hearing must be preceded by notice to the prisoner, in writing, of the charges against him;

"c) The decision reached must be based upon evidence raised at the hearing." □

## SUPREME COURT REFUSES TO REVIEW WANSLEY CASE

(Norfolk, Va.) - The U.S. Supreme Court recently refused to review the conviction of Thomas C. Wansley, a 28-year-old Black man who was reincarcerated late last year to serve a life sentence on a framed-up rape charge.

The court decision closes all legal channels for Wansley's freedom until he becomes eligible for parole in three and a half years.

Wansley's appeal was based on evidence showing that he had not been able to receive a fair trial because of the adverse publicity in the area press and the prejudice against his case by the White people of Lynchburg, Virginia, during his trial. It was on this basis that a federal judge overturned Wansley's original conviction and ordered him released early in 1973. But, an appeal by the state of Virginia to a higher court resulted in his reincarceration last November.

Wansley is now serving a life sentence at Virginia State Farm, Northside. He was sentenced to death more than eleven years ago, when he was seventeen years old, for the alleged rape of a 56-year-old White woman.

During his ten years in prison, Wansley has been active in the struggle for improved prison conditions and humane treatment. The November, 1973, court decision that returned him to prison produced a new flood of protest throughout the state. Several marches and rallies were organized by the Prisoners Solidarity committee of Richmond, Lynchburg, Norfolk and other Virginia cities.

Delegations of community leaders from Virginia and across the country presented petitions with more than 15,000 signatures to former Governor Linwood Holton asking him to pardon and free Wansley in the last days of his term in office. Holton rejected the request days before he left office.

**REGISTER TO  
VOTE**



## FIVE OF HOUSTON 12 RE-INDICTED FOR ATTEMPTED MURDER

(Houston, Texas) - Less than 48 hours after felony charges had been dismissed against five members of the Houston 12 here last week, they were re-indicted on the original charges of "attempted murder of a police officer."

On May 20, in an almost unprecedented move, Judge Andrew Jefferson of the 208th District Court dismissed grand jury indictments against the five on grounds of prejudiced selection of the grand jury. The ruling followed weeks of pretrial testimony during which attorneys and witnesses for the Houston 12, eight of whom are Chicanos, proved that most Harris County grand juries are composed of affluent, White businessmen and professionals and that less than 3 per cent of grand jury members are Chicano.

### RE-INDICTED

However, two days later, on May 22, the five were re-indicted by another, rubber stamp, Harris County grand jury, including one Chicano, for the same alleged offense.

The case of the Houston 12 stems from a picket line in October called by Houston Youth Against War & Fascism to protest U.S. Israeli aggression in the Middle East. As the protest was drawing to a close, the Houston police viciously attacked with clubs, blackjacks and drawn guns. In addition to the felony charges against the five, charges of "aggravated assault" were levied against all 12.

In an angry statement issued by the Houston 12 Defense Committee, the Harris County grand jury system is exposed. "...We are not surprised by this swift retaliation by (District Attorney) Carrol Vance and the behind-the-scenes businessmen for whom he works. These corrupt individuals have much to protect: such things as their racist grand jury system which we exposed earlier this week; their brutal police department; and, their scheme to grab the oil in the Middle East through another disastrous war."

The Houston 12 Defense Committee has announced plans to continue in its campaign for the dropping of all charges against the 12. "Re-indictment does not



Eleven members of the Houston 12 pose for a group picture. Standing, rear: DAVID GARZA and GEORGE CARDENAS; Seated center: MIGUEL TREYILLO, TIM RODGERS, RICARDO AQUIRRE and JOSE BARIGA; Front: WILLIAM CHRISTIANSEN, BARTEE HAILE, ALEX RODRIGUEZ, ROLANDO RIVERA and EGENIO TRIYILLO.

surprise us," said Alex Rodriguez, one of the five. "The fact that the D.A. found a grand jury with one Chicano does not mean it is at all representative of the community.

"This is just a gross form of tokenism and doesn't even conform with Judge Jefferson's

ruling. Our defense is not based on faith in the court system. It is only national support that is daily gaining momentum that will free the Houston 12."

Show your support with letters and contributions to the Houston 12 Defense Committee, 2401 San Jacinto, Houston, Texas 77002. □

## ODELL BENNETT CONVICTED

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

going limp and thus not fully cooperating with federal marshals as they stuck their fingers into his rectum to search him before he went to a court appearance. In the opinion of the court, this was resisting the federal officers.

Brother Odell objected to the dehumanizing search because it was not necessary.

Odell was scheduled to appear in federal court in connection with

six civil suits he already had pending against racist Warden Loren E. Daggett for past abuses suffered under his administration.

It is ironic that Brother Odell has been convicted of a criminal act for demanding his dignity in the minutes before he was to go court: a court date he arranged in a peaceful effort to correct a system that has criminally violated the civil and human rights of so many for so long. □

## JO-NEL'S LIQUOR STORES SUPPORT THE COMMUNITY

### Jo-Nel's #1

AT 7940 E. 14th ST., OAKLAND  
OPEN 6AM -2AM MONDAYS  
THRU FRIDAYS 8AM -2AM  
SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS  
EVERYTHING: ALCOHOL,  
LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY PRO-  
DUCTS. HOT AND COLD SAND-  
WICHES.

### Jo-Nel's #2

AT 6504 E. 14th ST., OAKLAND  
EVERYTHING: ALCOHOL,  
LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY  
PRODUCTS. HOT AND COLD  
SANDWICHES [NO DELIVERIES]



BUY FROM JO-NEL'S

## 3RD WORLD COALITION WINS LANEY COLLEGE ELECTIONS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The overwhelming victory of the entire Unity slate in the recent student government elections at Laney Community College here brightens hopes of making that school and the Peralta Junior College School Board as well more responsive to the needs and desires of this city's poor and minority communities.

In fact, it was to fulfill that goal—to more closely tie in campus activities to the surrounding community—that Laney's Black Student Union and its Third World Caucus brought together the victorious Black, Brown and Asian student candidates on the appropriately named "Unity" slate.

All of the Unity slate's candidates have been involved in many pressing issues, both on the campus and in the community. These issues have ranged from demanding the prosecution of the murderers of Tyrone Guyton to organizing for adequate campus child care. The newly elected student body president, Austin Allen, is both a member of the Black Panther Party and the coordinator of the Black Student Alliance, a progressive coalition drawing its membership from a number of Bay Area schools. □

## BLACK POLITICAL

## PROGRESS FORECAST

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

members increase from three to over fifteen. Minorities in the South have some momentum in increasing political representation. We have to see that this momentum continues in 1974 and beyond."

The Voter Education Project works to advance minority political participation in the eleven southern states through nonpartisan programs of registration, education, and get-out-the vote activities. The publicly supported organization is sustained by tax-deductible contributions. □



## SIGMAS' PLAN FOR BLACK

### SURVIVAL

(New York, N.Y.) - Concerned at the "rapid deterioration of minority rights under this present suspect Watergate administration," Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc., has called for the creation of a united front for the "survival of the Black race."

The call is significant because it can mean the direct participation of college and university-based Black Greek letter organizations (fraternities and sororities) in the Black liberation struggle.

The call, issued at the 1974 Pan Hellenic Council Conclave (a national meeting of Greek letter organizations) in New Orleans, Louisiana, on March 30, included a proposal for a workshop to be held in August to formalize a workable national program for Black survival.

The plan proposed by the Sigmas consists of refining eight areas of concern for the survival of minorities. They are: "1) elementary and secondary educational opportunities; 2) higher educational opportunities; 3) employment opportunities; 4) welfare; 5) business opportunities; 6) housing; 7) drugs; and 8) political involvement."

The program, passed at the 61st National Convention of Phi Beta Sigma, "is necessary because Sigma men were more than overly concerned at the rapid deterioration of minority rights begun during the first four years of the Nixon administration and further continued under this present suspect Watergate administration," a Sigma release reads.

In presenting the plan to the Pan Hellenic Conference, Gilbert Francis, Director of the Civil Rights Department of the State of New Jersey and National Director of Social Actions for Phi Beta Sigma, said: "Sigma men look with alarm at the impounding of federal funds which were used for human advancement by the Nixon administration.

"They are horrified by the phasing out of those federal projects which had enhanced the livelihood and lifestyle of the minorities of this country. And Sigma men are appalled at the seemingly planned steady removal of Blacks from high federal

## BLACK FOUNDRY WORKERS FIGHT UNION, RACISM AND SEXISM

(Birmingham, Ala.) Efforts of workers at the Stove and Range iron foundry here, who are predominantly Black women, to organize a militant rank-and-file struggle are being undermined by union bureaucracy, racism and sexism.

The Committee for a Better Contract is a small group of mostly young Black women who came together in a loosely knit organization in order to try to build support in the Stove and Range plant here for a better contract. They attended numerous union meetings to push for discussion on the old contract and the need for higher wages and improved benefits in the new contract.

The Committee successfully built support for a strike, which, according to one of the workers, "(kept) the union president moving in the right direction." However, the union, the United Steel Workers (AFL-CIO), proved to be the workers' biggest enemy, by selling out the strike.

The major demands of the workers were a \$2 across-the-board wage increase over a three year period, voluntary overtime, the ending of "merit" increases and a comprehensive pregnancy clause. The union, which sought to avoid a strike, influenced some of the workers to press for irrelevant demands that didn't speak to the actual needs of the workers.

### NIGHT SHIFT

Believing that the night shift was the weak link in the chain, in terms of support for the strike, the union decided to have the night shift vote first. The union assumed that if the night shift voted against the strike, the other workers would be convinced that they should stay on the job, too. However, the union's scheming backfired because the night shift voted to go on strike. The final vote was 94-92 to go on strike.

During the strike the union consistently told the workers one thing, and company officials another. Explained one worker,

"When the negotiating committee met, the international rep would say, 'We're going to stick to all our demands. But when they met with the company, he'd say, 'We don't want this or that.

"In union meetings he would read out only what the company gave us, not what they turned down. He did this even though we did a petition asking him to read it all. Also, he wouldn't let people speak if he didn't like them," the worker said.

Further treachery of the union included visiting a local radio station and asking the manager not to publicize the strike. Publicity in the campaign of these Black women was crucial if they were to win relief from their backbreaking, almost slave labor jobs in the iron foundry, including handling molten iron.

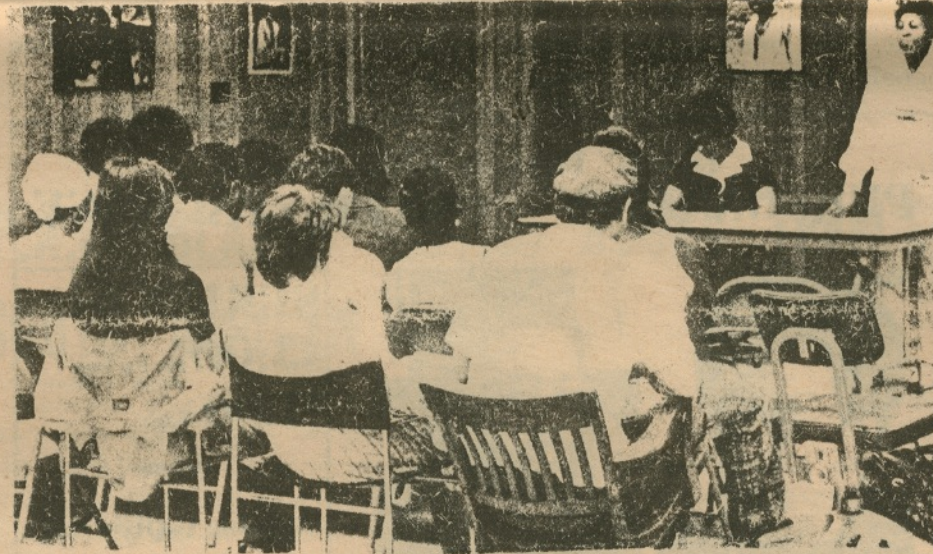
As a result of union sabotage, the new contract turned out to be a weak one. Workers received only a \$.25 raise the first year, \$.20 the second year, and \$.15 the third year. The average wage is \$2 an hour, and overtime is not on a voluntary basis.

Workers are continuing to fight the merit increase, a clause in the contract that allows the company to give a raise to "whomever they want whenever they feel like it," according to one worker. She added, "What it boils down to is that the company uses it to reward traitors and sellouts, and to keep people divided.

The workers are also dissatisfied with the pregnancy clause. If a worker becomes ill while she is pregnant on the job, the company sends her to a doctor. If the doctor says she is able to work, then she must return to work. If the doctor says she is unable to work, she is then given \$25 a week during her pregnancy.

A disgruntled worker explained, "The local union leadership sold us out as much as the international, but there won't be new elections until 1976. We wanted to put new officers in last year, but the situation was so bad that no one ever came to meetings. And, according to the Steel Workers' constitution, the only way you're eligible to run is if you come to half the meetings.

"That's going to change next time, because a hell of a lot of folks will be eligible... Because of a move by a lot of us to bring about some change, a lot go to meetings now." □



An organizing workshop conducted by the Mississippi Poultry Workers Union.

## COMPENSATION FOR POULTRY WORKERS MAY SET PRECEDENT

(Forest, Miss.) - More than 1,100 poultry workers in four poultry plants in Scott County, Mississippi, who were laid off due to lack of work may be compensated by the federal government for their wage loss. Although government subsidies for industries that have lost money are common, this will be the first time that workers are paid for wages lost through no fault of their own.

Millions of broiler chickens were destroyed by order of the

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency when it was found that they contained harmful levels of dieldrin, a deadly pesticide. As a result, local chicken farmers complained that their multi-million dollar industry was facing major financial difficulties.

At first the poultrymen attempted to persuade the government to lower its standards so that the poisonous chickens could be found acceptable. Proposals were even made that the contam-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



# B.P.P. POSITION PAPER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Palestine, the guerrilla group which claimed responsibility for the action in Maalot two weeks ago that resulted in the death of 28 persons, called upon Israel to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people.

At a press conference held in Beirut, Lebanon, Mr. Hawatmeh said that at this stage Israel must agree to the following:

1. Complete withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 Middle East War.
2. The Palestinian people's right to "self-determination in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank of the Jordan River" and the creation in that territory of a "national, independent state."
3. The carrying out of all United Nations resolutions that concern Palestine, starting from 1947.

## RIGHTS

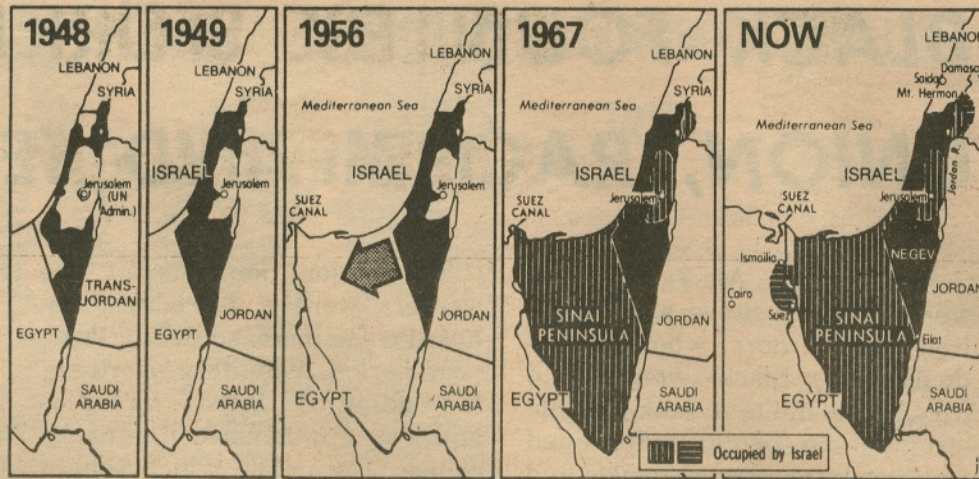
"If these rights are recognized," Mr. Hawatmeh said, "then the Palestinian resistance will be able to discuss them with all parties and in all international conferences, including Geneva."

The reference to Geneva suggests that acceptance of the above demands were the condition upon which the Palestinian liberation movement could agree to participate in a conference sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, and involving Israel, Egypt, Syria and Jordan, on the Middle East conflict.

The pronouncements of Mr. Hawatmeh on the creation of a Palestinian state is understood to represent an agreement reached by the top guerrilla leaders in secret meetings two weeks ago. This common position is scheduled to be presented to a meeting in Cairo on June 1 for ratification of the Palestinian National Council, a broadly based assembly with 150 representatives from all Palestinian communities.

The position outlined by Mr. Hawatmeh is in complete agreement with the principled position presented in the Black Panther Party's Position Paper on the Middle East Conflict.

Emphasizing that the issue in the Middle East is not territory, but an issue of human rights, the Black Panther Party Position Paper declares:



Map above shows how Israel has expanded her borders into surrounding Arab territories during succeeding conflicts.

"Though we insist that the ultimate survival of Jews and Palestinians, as of all peoples, depends on the revolutionary overthrow of world imperialism and capitalism, we call upon Jews and Arabs in the Middle east to recognize the national rights of their opponents: upon the government of Israel to recognize the claims of the Palestinian people for independent national institutions as originally provided by the United Nations, and of the Arab states and the Palestinian liberation movement to recognize the existence of the State of Israel as the national sovereignty of the Jewish people.

"We believe," asserts the Position Paper, "that Arabs and Jews throughout the Middle East, the masses of Semitic people, must themselves resolve

the conflict and stop the senseless warfare, waged in their names but not in their interests.

"We believe that the real issues are internal to each territory: the fact of the existence of the State of Israel will prove no real hardship to the Arab peoples, if the Jews and their 400,000 Arab comrades living in Israel will throw off their mutual yoke of oppression, and build a people's government serving the human interests of all.

"In like fashion, the peoples of the Arab nations need only turn their attention and energies away from the so-called Holy War over what is now called Israel to their own oil-rich countries, and throw off the yoke of their oppressive regimes, claiming for themselves the wealth beneath their own national soils." □

# PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

## PSYCHIATRIST'S ROLE

(Detroit, Mich.) - Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, speaking at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Society here recently, proposed that instead of changing people's brains to conform to society, psychiatrists should work to change society. "The problem is not what's inside our heads but what's inside the heads of our oppressors," he said.

## N.Y. COP FOUND DEAD

(New York, N.Y.) - Detective David J. Cody, who was scheduled to make his initial appearance before a federal grand jury investigating new aspects of police narcotics graft here last week, has been found dead. He is reported to have taken his own life.

## S.U. MURDERS PROBED

(Baton Rouge, La.) - A federal grand jury visited Southern University last week to look at the site of the confrontation that led to the murders of two Black students in 1972. The panel is investigating to determine if there were civil rights violations in the deaths of Denver Smith and Leonard Brown, who were shot to death by sheriff's deputies allegedly trying to clear protesters out of the administration building of the predominantly Black school.

## FEW JOBS FOR BLACKS

(Washington, D.C.) - Twenty-six and nine tenths per cent of all businesses with 15 or more employees in 1973 had no Black employees, according to a study published recently by Andrew F. Brimmer, a former Black governor of the Federal Reserve Board. The report also stated that more than half of all securities and commodities brokers did not employ a single Black person last year.

## HOUSEHOLD WORKERS

(Princeton, N.Y.) - Domestic household workers here have organized a civil rights group aimed at combatting their poor working conditions and improving their wages and benefits. Josephine Hubitt, chairperson of the National Committee on Household Employment, addressed a group of Princeton domestic workers recently. Her appearance was sponsored by the Princeton Joint Commission on Civil Rights. After the meeting, the workers formed a chapter of the Joint Commission.

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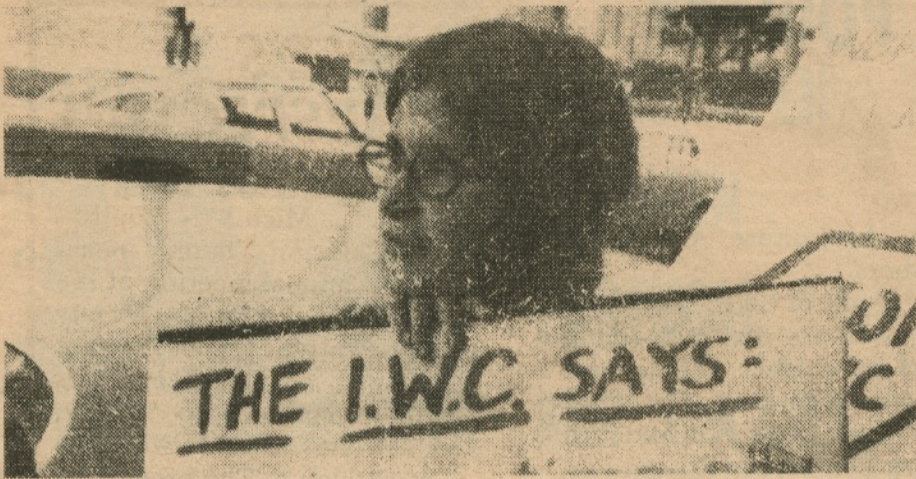
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A woman demonstrator carried sign protesting the California Industrial Welfare Commission's new changes in worker protective regulations.

## WORKERS PROTEST CHANGES IN I.W.C. RULES

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Protest among labor groups is mounting here against the California Industrial Welfare Commission's new changes in worker "protective" regulations, scheduled to go into effect June 1. The regulations, which destroy such longtime labor rights as the eight hour day, will bring about equal oppression for men and women under the law. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, April 20, 1974.)

The Committee for Better Working Conditions (CBWC) was formed after the IWC proposed its new orders at a "public" hearing in February, a hearing held at a time during which most working people could not attend. The CBWC is made up of rank-and-file union members, caucuses and community groups, 150 of whom managed to push back the effective date of the orders from April 1 to June 1.

The CBWC was also instrumental in organizing another public hearing on April 24, when delegates from different industries joined with the CBWC in presenting the IWC with a petition with over 2,000 signatures opposing the new orders and calling for more hearings. Twenty-seven other groups also filed petitions.

After the IWC arbitrarily denied all the petitions without any explanation, the CBWC took the meeting over, and several rank-and-file workers testified on the existing deplorable working conditions and the effect the new orders will have. The IWC cut discussion off and adjourned the meeting.

Under the proposed IWC regulations, hotel and restaurant workers and small retail shop workers who are now exempted from federal minimum hours and overtime standards would be exempted from any hours and overtime regulations. Among the other unjust regulations is that of allowing employers to make

working over ten hours a day mandatory by contract in emergencies to prevent spoilage or destruction of property in any

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## COLLEGE SEEKS FREEDOM FOR RAPE FRAME-UP VICTIM

(Huntsville, Alabama) Brother Dave Mack Humphrey may get a new trial in his frame-up rape cases following his convictions by all-White juries. However, it is doubtful that the Huntsville Police Department will ever allow him to live in peace again.

The students and administration of Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University where Brother Humphrey was a student have been spearheading the drive to free him. He is serving a 70-year sentence in Atmore prison. Concerned students at other nearby colleges have also taken up the banner, demanding a new trial to overturn the convictions

by juries that were all-White and all-male.

Brother Humphrey was a full-time day student at Alabama A & M and a full-time night laborer in Huntsville at the time of his arrest on June 8, 1972. On that day he was walking home when police officers in hot pursuit of an alleged attempted rapist detained him in connection with the crime.

He told them that another man had run past him just a few minutes before and that perhaps he was their suspect. Nevertheless, they did not investigate any further and charged Brother Humphrey with the ridiculous crime of attempting to rape a policewoman on the patio of the police station.

After Dave Humphrey won bail and was released his problems only worsened. Huntsville police spokesmen have admitted the police kept him under constant surveillance. This attention often led to unprovoked brutality and harassment inflicted upon Brother Humphrey by racist Huntsville policemen. This harassment has been so serious as to include several additional arrests and convictions on trumped-up charges and denial of Brother Dave's basic Constitutional rights.

When arrested for drunken driving in December, 1972, he was not allowed to take an alcohol test. On February 12, 1973, he was threatened, beaten and cursed. When he was picked up on February 28, 1973, he was refused access to an attorney and physically forced to confess to two more rapes and a burglary. On March 9, 1973, he avoided being arrested again when officers came to his mother's home only by already being in jail.

For information and expressions of support write: The Dave Mack Humphrey Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 36, Normal, Alabama 35762. □

### DELLUMS' CORNER



## TELEVISION IMPEACHMENT HEARINGS

(Washington, D.C.) - U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums has joined those of his colleagues who are supporting legislation to televise the Nixon impeachment hearings before the House Judiciary Committee. The resolution would amend the House rules to allow electronic media to cover open meetings along with the print media.

"As the Judiciary Committee enters the crucial stage of the impeachment inquiry, it is imperative that the public receive more than a filtered version of the historic proceedings," the Bay Area congressman said. He added, "It is of the utmost importance for the public to understand what impeachment is all about by watching and listening to the investigation as it unfolds."

Pointing out that full coverage of the Judiciary Committee meetings would provide a significant educational service to the American public, Dellums noted, "A nation that is divided and cynical about politics is a compelling reason to promote greater public understanding of the legislative process—especially with respect to the impeachment inquiry."

In other Congressional matters, Dellums is co-sponsoring a bill that would establish a federally funded low interest loan program to assist low and moderate income homeowners in the maintenance and improvement of their homes.

The loan program, which would be funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, would provide up to \$10,000 in home maintenance loans for families earning less than \$6,000 a year and up to \$5,000 for families earning up to \$15,000 a year. All of the loans would be made at three per cent interest.

### U.S. TROOP

### STRENGTH ABROAD

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. House of Representatives last week rejected a 100,000-man reduction in American forces abroad, but approved a \$474 million cutback in military aid to South Vietnam. The Nixon administration had vehemently opposed the troop reduction. □



# CATHOLIC TEENAGER

## ASKS B.P.P.:

## "HELP ME, TOO"

[Editor's Note: The following letter, received unsigned by the editorial staff of THE BLACK PANTHER last week, speaks for itself. It needs no introduction and certainly no additional comment. Accompanying the letter, the child writer sent an article clipped from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer newspaper, headlined "Catholics To Scan Teenage Nuptials." In the margin, in scrawled red ink, the young girl wrote, "See what we mean."]

"I am a young, Catholic girl who found one of your Panther papers in a public place. I had to read it and I find that I too am used and a person who has no freedom. I hate all my school classes and work that is half religion and old rituals of the past. It is most boring when you know that it is all lies.

### BRAINWASH

I feel that the nuns and priests who are working so hard to brainwash us are wrong. They are only hustling for the Pope of Rome. The priests don't know the front end of a woman from the back. And yet they tell us what and how to do things.

"We can only go to dances that they tell us to go to. And, that's only more Catholic boys. I know a Jewish girl who said it is the same at their doings too. How can the priests and nuns be so expert. We are not free. Please help us too!

"All they care about is to make more and more money to send to the Pope.

"With Love,  
????

"The F.B.I. is always coming to our schools to talk and lots of our girls who have left are given good jobs in Washington, D.C., with the F.B.I.

"I wish for you to be Free."  
□□□

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# COMPENSATION FOR POULTRY WORKERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

inated birds be shipped to India or Africa. Finally, the chicken men realized that their best hope of recovering the losses was to push for the passage of a federal bill repaying them for the dead fowl.

Racist Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland, Representative David Bowen and the Senate Agriculture Committee set about the task of drawing up a bill to compensate the Mississippi poultry industry. No mention was made of making payments to the poultry workers.

### BLACK WORKERS

The mostly Black workers saw the results of the poison chicken crisis not only in their bank accounts but in the food on their dinner tables and in the clothing on their backs. One thousand and one hundred workers in four poultry plants in Scott County, Mississippi, were affected by the nine-week layoff.

The Mississippi Poultry Workers Union (MPWU) went several representatives to the state capital. From there the union spokesmen went to Washington, D.C., and met with members of the

Senate Agriculture Committee and others.

As a result of the two trips the poultry workers won widespread support from labor unions, welfare rights organizers, the Mississippi River Delta Ministry, the Southern Conference Educational Fund and several liberal congressmen as well as the Congressional Black Caucus. It was clear that the compensatory bill would lack support and might not pass if no aid to the unemployed poultry workers was provided for. So, the bill was rewritten to include full workers' compensation.

If the compensation bill passes it will set a precedent, not only for



Union meeting of rank-and-file poultry workers.

these workers, but for all workers: the government should guarantee wages lost by workers if the loss is through no fault of their own. □

## 5 U.S. MARINES MUST GO

(Hong Kong) - All five U.S. Marines in the People's Republic of China are being ousted for carousing. The Marines, who arrived in Peking last year to guard the new U.S. liaison office there, will be leaving in the next two or three weeks at the request of the Chinese authorities. The Chinese objected to, among other

things, a clubhouse the Marines opened, which had become extremely noisy and had been selling liquor without a license. They will be replaced by civilian security guards. □

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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.

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# IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON

AND HUEY P. NEWTON

In Search of Common Ground is a book of the transcripts of conversations between Huey P. Newton, chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, and Professor Erik H. Erikson, famed psychoanalyst and Harvard professor. Last week, Brother Huey and Professor Erikson discussed American identity and the emerging counteridentity of the new man and woman in the United States. This week, Brother Huey discusses how his early life led him to his present role and the development of his ideas, and how he came to discover the advanced philosophical concept

of revolutionary intercommunalism.

E. ERIKSON: O.K. I didn't invent identity crisis either—although come to think of it, some of my friends seemed to think that I *did* invent it, and out of my own conflicts too. I had to try to show them that if this were so, at least my own conflicts were in the right place at the right time, historically speaking.

NEWTON: A scientist, if he is also an activist, will necessarily go about changing things in a different way than a laborer, let's say, or someone else who does not have any particular discipline, you see. So I went into activism with a scientific method, and...

E. ERIKSON: But why? That's the point. There must have been something in your background, in your choice of parents, in the place where you grew up, which made you that independent. If you consider only how many of your brothers just accepted what they were taught, or accepted being excluded from what was being taught, while you always insisted on your right to study and your right to teach. There's always a personal quality to a man which cannot be reduced to explanations. That's obvious. But you must have some idea what...

NEWTON: Well, I don't know how important it is. I seldom discuss my own personal life except as it relates to the movement.

E. ERIKSON: I seldom do either. In fact, I only talk about myself in relation to the identity concept, as you will see when you read that paper. I think one has the right—maybe even the duty—to restrict oneself to that: otherwise everything becomes a kind of self-indulgence.

NEWTON: I think one of the things that would naturally make me somewhat freer to take an objective approach to situations rather than just follow what has been traditional is the fact that I am the seventh sibling in my family. I am the youngest and my family is very tightly knit; my father and mother have been married almost fifty years now, I guess. I was protected, you know, taken care of; and in a situation like that one is usually a little rebellious. In order to assert myself, I would act somewhat aggressive.



Brother HUEY P. NEWTON with his father, WALTER NEWTON. Huey explains that the influence of his strong family life was largely responsible for his development as a revolutionary and theoretician establishing strong concepts of unity and love early in his life.

E. ERIKSON: How many brothers and how many sisters?

NEWTON: Three brothers and three sisters. And, as I say, I was the youngest. It is almost a book in itself to tell you how I was torn between my brothers and my sisters. I took on the characteristics of all of them, in a way, and by doing that I was bound to be transformed, you see, because how could I identify with all of them and at the same time maintain the thing that was characteristic of the family? I could see, let's say, identifying with my father or my mother and coming out with the kind of personality that is either just the opposite or very much the same as either of them. But I developed a relationship with all of them and appreciated all of their personalities—and that made me different from them. It made me a stranger in a way.

E. ERIKSON: But don't you think that as the youngest you were also very important to all of them and that they made you feel important? I would assume that this was so, in spite of the fact that the youngest always feels oppressed because the others are so big.

NEWTON: Well, I felt loved by everyone in the family. Not necessarily important, but loved.

E. ERIKSON: Was it clear from the outset—obviously it became clear later—that you were going to be the last child also? How old was your mother when you were born?

NEWTON: Well, she was fourteen when she was married. She must have been around twenty-nine when I was born. Maybe thirty or thirty-two.

E. ERIKSON: And how about that move west to Oakland? Oakland seems important to me somehow, but I can't figure out why.

NEWTON: You know, I didn't leave Oakland until after I got out of prison except for two trips to Los Angeles. I didn't leave for the whole twenty-five years. I came here when I was one or two years old.

E. ERIKSON: Do you think Oakland has something to do with all of this? Oakland and the west?

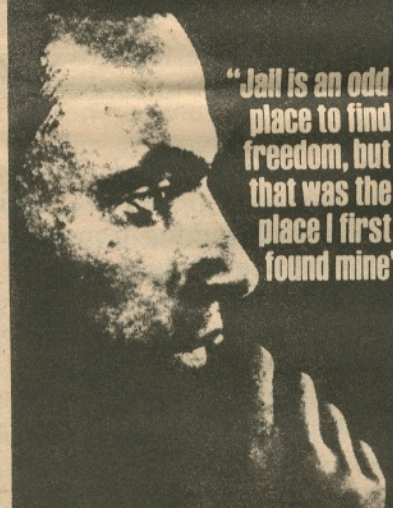
NEWTON: As a social scientist, I would say that wherever we are has a definite influence on us, and what we have to do is find out the difference between one area and another.

E. ERIKSON: Well, you probably know what I am driving at. I have been impressed, as I said more than once, that there seems to be a strong western influence in the Black Panther image.

BLAKE: I was just thinking about the time the idea of intercommunalism came into the picture. I remember coming over to your place, Huey, the day that you started talking about intercommunalism, and I can say very honestly that I have rarely seen you as excited as you were then. You told us that it was a vision. But if you look at it in terms of its

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



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

### Huey P. Newton

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

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

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

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

"Revolutionary Suicide" is now available in paperback at \$1.95, from Ballantine Books, New York City.



# THERE IS ONLY ONE PEOPLE'S FIELD MARSHAL - GEORGE JACKSON

## TOWARD THE UNITED FRONT



Concluding our five-part series, "There Is Only One People's Field Marshal—George Jackson," this week *THE BLACK PANTHER* reprints "Toward the United Front," taken from Comrade George Jackson's last book, *Blood In My Eye*.

As this article indicates, George Jackson was acutely aware and gravely concerned about the need for unity among all progressive peoples within the U.S. Contrary to those who use his writings to justify their own arbitrary activities, Comrade George was opposed to that arrogant, cultist attitude that alienates people from participation in the movement.

Rather, understanding that the transformation of society is a process, Comrade George did not make the mistake of placing the cart before the horse. In this article he writes, "The goal is always the same: creation of an infrastructure (foundation) capable of fielding a people's army."

Unity, discipline, structure—Comrade George understood the importance of the "unglamorous" aspects of the revolutionary process. Toward the implementation of these ideas, George Lester Jackson, the Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, dedicated his life.

A new unitarian and progressive current has sprung up in the movement centering on political prisoners. How can this unitarian conduct be developed further in the face of determined resistance from the establishment? How can it be used to isolate reactionary elements?

Unitary conduct implies a "search" for those elements in our present situation which can become the basis for joint action. It

involves a conscious reaching for the relevant, the entente, and especially, in our case, the reconcilable.

Throughout the centralizing authoritarian process of American history, the ruling classes have found it necessary to discourage and punish any genuine opposition to hierarchy. But there have always been individuals and groups who rejected the ideal of two unequal societies, existing one on top of the other. The men who placed themselves above the rest of society through guile, fortuitous outcome of circumstance and sheer brutality have developed two principal institutions to deal with any and all serious disobedience—the prison and institutionalized racism.

There are more prisons of all categories in the United States than in all other countries of the world combined. At all times there are two-thirds of a million people or more confined to these prisons. Hundreds are destined to be legally executed, thousands more quasi-legally. Other thousands will never again have any freedom of movement barring a revolutionary change in all the institutions that combine to make up the order of things.

One-third of a million people may not seem like a great number compared with the total population of two hundred million. However, compared with the one million who are responsible for all the affairs of men within the extended state, it constitutes a striking contrast. What I want to explore now are a few of the subtle elements that I have observed to be standing in the path of a much needed united front (nonsectarian) to effectively reverse this legitimized rip-off.

Prisons were not institutionalized on such a massive scale by the people. Most people realize that crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations. There are no wealthy men on death row, and so few in the general prison population that we can discount them altogether. Imprisonment is an aspect of class struggle from the outset. It is the creation of a closed society which attempts to isolate those individuals who disregard the structures of a hypocritical establishment as well as those who attempt to challenge it on a mass basis.

Throughout its history, the United States has used its prisons to suppress any organized efforts to challenge its legitimacy—from its attempts to break up the early Working Men's Benevolent Association to the banning of the Communist Party during what I regard as the fascist takeover of this country, to the attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party.

The hypocrisy of American fascism forces it to conceal its attack on political offenders by the legal fiction of conspiracy laws and highly sophisticated frame-ups. The masses must be taught to understand the true function of prisons. Why do they exist in such numbers? What is the real underlying economic motive of crime and the official definition of types of offenders or victims? The people must learn

that when one "offends" the totalitarian state it is patently not an offense against the people of that state, but an assault upon the privilege of the privileged few.

Could anything be more ridiculous than the language of blatantly political indictments: "The People of the State...vs. Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee" or "The People of the State...vs. Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins." What people? Clearly the hierarchy, the armed minority.

We must educate the people in the real causes of economic crimes. They must be made to realize that even crimes of passion are the psycho-social effects of an economic order that was decadent a hundred years ago. All crime can be traced to objective socio-economic conditions—socially productive or counterproductive activity. In all cases, it is determined by the economic system, the method of economic organization. "The People of the State...vs. John Doe" is as tenuous as the clearly political frame-ups. It's like stating "The People vs. The People." Man against himself. Official definitions of crime are simply attempts by the establishment to suppress the forces of progress.

Prisoners must be reached and made to understand that they are victims of social injustice. This is my task working from within (while I'm here, my persuasion is that the war goes on no matter where one may find himself on bourgeois-dominated soil). The sheer numbers of the prisoner class and the terms of their existence make them a mighty reservoir of revolutionary potential. Working along and from within a steel-enclosed society, there is





very little that people like myself can do to awake the restrained potential revolutionary outside the walls. That is part of the task of the "Prison Movement." The "Prison Movement," the August 7th movement and all similar efforts educate the people in the illegitimacy of establishment power and hint at the ultimate goal of revolutionary consciousness at every level of struggle. The goal is always the same: the creation of an infrastructure capable of fielding a people's army.

Each of us should understand that revolution is aggressive. The manipulators of the system cannot or will not meet our legitimate demands. Eventually this will move us all into a violent encounter with the system. These are the terminal years of capitalism, and as we move into more and more basic challenges to its rule, history clearly forewarns us that when the prestige of power fails a violent episode precedes its transformation.

We can attempt to limit the scope and range of violence in revolution by mobilizing as many partisans as possible at every level of socio-economic life. But given the hold that the ruling class has on this country, and its history of violence, nothing could be more certain than civil disorders, perhaps even civil war. I don't dread either. There are no good aspects of monopoly capital, so no reservations need be recognized in its destruction. Monopoly capital is the enemy. It crushes the life force of all of the people. It must be completely destroyed, as quickly as possible, utterly, totally, ruthlessly, relentlessly destroyed.

With this as a common major goal, it would seem that anti-establishment forces would find little difficulty in developing common initiatives and methods consistent with the goals of mass society. Regretfully, this has not been the case. Only the prison movement has shown any promise of cutting across the ideological, racial and cultural barricades that have blocked the natural coalition of left-wing forces at all times in the past.

So this movement must be used to provide an example for the partisans engaged at other levels of struggle. The issues involved and the dialectic which flows from an understanding of the clear objective existence of overt oppression could be the springboard for our entry into the tide of increasing world-wide socialist consciousness.

In order to create a united left, whose aim is the defense of political prisoners and prisoners in general, we must renounce the idea that all participants must be of one mind, and should work at the problem from a single party line or with a single party line or with a single method. The reverse of this is actually desirable. "From all according to ability."

Each partisan, outside the vanguard elements, should work at radicalizing in the area of their natural environment, the places where they pursue their normal lives when not attending the rallies and demonstrations. The vanguard elements (organized party workers of all ideological persuasions) should go among the people concentrated at the rallying point with consciousness-raising strategy, promoting commitment and providing concrete, clearly defined activity. The vanguard elements must search out people who can and will contribute to the building of the commune, the infrastructure, with pen and clipboard in hand. For those who aren't ready to take that step, a "packet" of pamphlets should be provided for their education.

All of this, of course, means that we are moving, and on a mass level: Not all in our



separate directions—but firmly under the disciplined and principled leadership of the Vanguard Black Panther Communist Party. "One simply cannot act without a head." Democratic centralism is the only way to deal effectively with the American ordeal. The central committee of the people's vanguard party must make its presence felt throughout the various levels of the overall movement.

With the example of unity in the prison movement, we can begin to break the old behavioral patterns that have repeatedly allowed bourgeois capitalism, its imperialism and fascism, to triumph over the last several decades. We tap a massive potential reservoir of partisans for cadre work. We make it possible to begin to address one of the most complex psycho-social by-products that economic man with his private enterprise has manufactured—Racism.

I've saved this most critical barrier to our needs of unity for last. Racism is a matter of



ingrained traditional attitudes conditioned through institutions. For some, it is as natural a reflex as breathing. The psycho-social effects of segregated environments compounded by bitter class repression have served in the past to render the progressive movement almost totally impotent.

The major obstacle to a united left in this country is White racism. There are three categories of White racists: the overt, self-satisfied racist who doesn't attempt to hide his antipathy; the self-interdicting racist who harbors and nurtures racism in spite of his best efforts; and the unconscious racist, who has no awareness of his racist preconceptions.

I deny the existence of Black racism outright, by fiat I deny it. Too much Black blood has flowed between the chasm that separates the races. It's fundamentally unfair to expect the Black man to differentiate at a glance between the various kinds of White racists. What the apologists term Black racism is either a healthy defense reflex on the part of the sincere Black partisan who is attempting to deal with the realistic problems of survival and elevation, or the racism of the government stooge organs.

As Black partisans, we must recognize and allow for the existence of all three types of racists. We must understand their presence as an effect of the system. It is the system that must be crushed, for it continues to manufacture new and deeper contradictions of both class and race. Once it is destroyed, we may be able to address the problems of racism at an even more basic level. But we must also combat racism while we are in the process of destroying the system.

The self-interdicting racist, no matter what his acquired conviction or ideology, will seldom be able to contribute with his actions in any really concrete way. His role in revolution, barring a change of basic character, will be minimal throughout. Whether the basic character of a man can be changed at all is still a question. But...we have in the immediacy of the "Issues in Question" the perfect opportunity to test the validity of materialist philosophy again, because we don't have to guess, we have the means of proof.

The need for unitarian conduct goes much deeper than the liberation of Angela, Bobby, Ericka, Magee, Los Siete, Tijerina, White draft-resisters, and now the indomitable and faithful James Carr. We have fundamental strategy to be proved—tested and proved. The activity surrounding the protection and liberation of people who fight for us is an important aspect of the struggle. But it is important only if it provides new initiatives that redirect and advance the revolution under new progressive methods.

There must be a collective redirection of the old guard—the factory and union agitator—with the campus activist who can counter the ill-effects of fascism at its training site, and with the lumpenproletariat intellectuals who possess revolutionary scientific-socialist attitudes to deal with the masses of street people already living outside the system. They must work toward developing the unity of the pamphlet and the silenced pistol. Black, brown and white are all victims together.

At the end of this massive collective struggle, we will uncover our new man, the unpredictable culmination of the revolutionary process. He will be better equipped to wage the real struggle, the permanent struggle after the revolution—the one for new relationships between men. □



# 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 persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

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

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political 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

## GUINEA-BISSAU LEADERS: "SPINOLA A FASCIST"

The present and prior leaders of the liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau have stated that recent Portuguese coup leader, General Antonio de Spino-la is no less a fascist than deposed dictator Marcello Caetano and that the only difference between the two lies in Spino-la's realization of the impossibility of a Portuguese military victory in Guinea-Bissau.

In a March 28, 1974, interview in *Revolution Africaine*, Aristides Pereira, current General-Secretary of the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), said that although Spino-la realizes the impossibility of a military victory, "any alternative Spino-la chooses could not further our cause, but only serve the interest of the Portuguese."

Spino-la led his coup on a proposed formula for "peace" in Portugal's African colonies, consisting of the creation of a federation in which Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau would have "equal status with metropolitan Portugal."

Understanding the futility of seeking a military victory, Spino-la, while he was governor of Guinea-Bissau, attempted to implement his own "nonmilitary" solution to the Portuguese dilemma in Guinea-Bissau: the assassination in January, 1973, of PAIGC founder and leader Amilcar Cabral.

An interview with Brother Cabral published in *Tricontinental* in January, 1973, just before his death, reveals the fascism of General de Spino-la. Said Cabral:

"Spino-la was trained in Nazi military schools during the Hitlerian period in Germany.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



GENERAL ANTONIO DE SPINO-LA.

## TALKS OPEN BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND P.A.I.G.C.

### FREEDOM FIGHTERS MAINTAIN DEMAND FOR TOTAL INDEPENDENCE

(London, England) - Talks opened last week here between official representatives of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) and a delegation representing the new regime in Portugal.

Officially the talks aim at agreement on a cease-fire in the 11-year-old war of independence waged by the PAIGC against Portuguese colonialism. However, the PAIGC has officially declared that any contact with the Portuguese government must be on the basis of the total and complete independence of Guinea-Bissau.

Only days after the coup in Portugal that overthrew the fascist regime of Marcello Caetano and placed General Antonio de Spino-la in command, the PAIGC issued a statement from Conakry, Republic of Guinea, declaring:

"We will continue our struggle for the complete and total independence of the republic of Guinea-Bissau." In secret contacts between representatives of Spino-la and of the PAIGC last week, agreement was reached to hold the talks that began here last week on the ceasefire.

Such an agreement must mean that the Spino-la government representatives have accepted, at least in principle, the immediate independence of Guinea-Bissau



Leading members of the National Assembly at the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau last September. ARISTIDES PEREIRA, leader of the P.A.I.G.C., is third from the left. Mr. Pereira heads the Guinea-Bissau delegation in the current talks with Portugal.

and recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed last September by representatives of regions covering some four fifths of the territory of Guinea-Bissau. Eighty-five countries of the world have recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and several recently exchanged diplomatic representation with the newest African independent country.

Guinea-Bissau is the smallest (14,000 square miles) of the three African territories claimed by Portugal, which include Angola and Mozambique. Guinea-Bissau is inhabited by only 600,000 Blacks and some 20,000 Whites. The Whites live in the coastal town of Bissau, still occupied by Portuguese troops and administered by the dwindling Portuguese administration.

Guinea-Bissau is also the poorest of the Portuguese possessions in Africa, containing little in the way of natural resources and sustaining itself on its agricultural production, oils and hides.

Consequently, the granting of independence to Guinea-Bissau

by Portugal will represent little or no loss to the Portuguese empire, but is probably going to be made to appear a great and generous act by the new regime in order to becloud and delay the granting of complete independence to the giants, Mozambique and Angola.

Mozambique has some 8,300,000 inhabitants and covers an area of 302,458 square miles. In addition to producing a great variety of agricultural products, Mozambique has major deposits of gold, coal, graphite, mica and timber.

#### 6,000,000 PEOPLE

Angola has some six million people and covers an area of 481,560 square miles. Its agricultural products include coffee, cotton, corn, rice, sisal, sugar cane and palm oils. Its mineral deposits include large reserves of diamonds, iron ore and crude oil. In addition, manufacturing is carried out in Angola of tobacco, textiles, food processing and fish meal.

The liberation movements of both Mozambique and Angola have demanded immediate, total and complete independence and have pledged to continue their wars of liberation until victory. □

### ROSENBERG CASE REOPENED

(New York, N.Y.) - A committee to reopen the Rosenberg case, composed of persons who charge that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were unjustly convicted and executed for Soviet espionage in 1953, is being formed in New York. The committee has branches in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and Ann Arbor, Michigan, said its organizer, Ms. Margery Rosenthal. □

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# ZAMBIA'S KAUNDA DISCUSSES RECENT TRIP TO CHINA

*Zambia's growing ties with the East are indicative of a bright future for this progressive country in East Africa. In the following interview, reprinted from Africa magazine, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda describes some of the implications and results of his recent trip to the People's Republic of China and a number of other Asian countries. Part one of the interview follows.*

AFRICA: Your Excellency, you have just come back from China and we have been following in the press how you were received by the Chinese leaders and your meeting with Chairman Mao. Would you like to say something about this?

KAUNDA: Well, really, this was a fantastic reception. It shows clearly how deeply the Chinese leaders and people feel about Zambia and the role you people in this country are playing in the revolutionary movement in the whole of southern Africa.

I think this is the reason why the Chinese feel so warm towards Zambians. And also, of course, in terms of our own policies at home. I think the Chinese appreciate what we are trying to do within the country, especially for the masses of our peasants and workers alike. I would say this is what moves them.

AFRICA: If we now come to the trip itself, how do you think the trip is going to benefit Zambia?

KAUNDA: Well, there is no doubt at all, this trip is going to benefit the country. To begin with, there is the question of the loan, interest-free, that the Chinese government has given the Zambian government and people. This is \$50 million (US). It is not a small amount of money. We don't start repaying this loan until after ten years, and even after that, if we are not ready, our Chinese friends are still willing to extend the time when we should start repaying it.

So it is a very favorable loan indeed. Man shall not live by bread alone applies here as well. One is not appreciating the loans that the Chinese government and people are giving to Zambia and other countries only, but one also very much appreciates the depth of Chinese commitment to our cause in Africa, which is the cause of the masses on the continent.

Further, one learns from the Chinese people their system of bringing up everybody through their people's own efforts. In other words, through the spirit of self-reliance on the part of each and every Chinese, Chinese leaders are bringing up the masses of the people in terms of standards of living.

I think this is a very important lesson for all of us on this continent of Africa. Therefore, from that side alone, the fact that the exploitation of man by man is absent in China, or at least the fight against it, as you know, has progressed so much, is a very, very good lesson for us on the African continent. This is how I see it.

AFRICA: Your Excellency, when you left for China you had a high powered delegation of 52 besides yourself. When you returned some of them remained behind. What was the purpose of those who remained and what has been the outcome of their stay-over?

KAUNDA: Well, of those who remained behind some are back already and others have not as yet returned. They were in different groups. Mrs. Kaunda led the group of mothers from the women's wing of our movement at Freedom House. What they did



Zambia's President KENNETH KAUNDA being received by Chinese Prime Minister CHOU EN LAI, on his recent visit to China. During the visit the Chinese government pledged a \$50 million loan to Kaunda's government. China has been a generous source of financial and political aid to this developing African nation.

was to look at the women's organizations as well as the youth organizations. This they have done.

They have reported to me already as well as to the Central Committee, and now they are preparing written reports of their experiences. The other teams that remained behind were those led by the Honorable Minister of Rural Development, Comrade Paul Lusaka, and the other one by the Honorable Minister of Commerce, Comrade Rajah Kunda.

They had two different functions. The one led by Comrade Lusaka was obviously looking at the rural reconstruction program and the other one was dealing with trade matters.

There was still another group from our Party Headquarters led by Comrade Dr. Meebelo. Dr. Meebelo is our research man. They were looking at the Party organization as a whole. Now it is, I think important for all to remember that we Zambians have always said we are ready to learn from anyone who has something to offer, provided what we are learning is based on our philosophy of humanism, and I believe there is a lot to learn from other people. There is a lot that we have in common with the Chinese people in so far as the fight against the exploitation of man by man is concerned.

AFRICA: We in the press have already been asking what are perhaps inconvenient questions, whether when the delegations come back there will be specific programs of implementing what the various groups have learned so far that the Party, the government and agencies can have something specific to do as a follow-up.

KAUNDA: Under our developed democratic system it is both important and understandable that you comrades in the press should be restless about this. But on the other hand we want to be as thorough as possible. Whatever we learn from other people we want first of all to digest and only after that do we come out and make use of it—make it our own in line with our own life. So I am afraid it takes a bit of time.

AFRICA: Your Excellency, if we may now come to the question of the Chinese themselves. One hears much comment from certain quarters, including some of the press, about Zambia being too friendly with the Chinese and maybe Zambia becoming a replica of China. To what extent have

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



## AFRICA LIBERATION DAY Special

Liberation Support Movement INTERVIEWS IN DEPTH with leaders and middle cadre from revolutions in **MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA,**

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## Africa In Focus

### ZANZIBAR

Africa's first color television service is now on the air in earnest in Zanzibar. This island republic, unified with Tanzania, decided that since it was beginning in television, it would skip over monochrome (black and white) television and go directly into color, avoiding what would have become a necessary changeover in time if black and white television had originally been installed. Zanzibar TV concentrates on education and social study programming. The government bought TV sets in bulk and is now selling them to the public on a nonprofit-making basis through interest free loans.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The *Tanzanian Daily News* reports that the government of South Africa may censor domestic press reports about South African military operations in neighboring countries. Deputy Justice Minister James Kruger said in an interview that if newspapers carried reports which the government believed should have been better left unpublished, the government would have to act.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Students Organization (SASO) has taken a decision to establish a Black Workers Council (BWC) to fill the gap brought about by legislative enactment and color prejudice, to establish and to belong to trade unions. The creation of the BWC is designed to give the Black workers the possibility of speaking in a united voice in respect to those matters they regard as essential to their survival and salvation.

### TAN/ZAM RAILWAY

The Tanzania/Zambia railway, built with Chinese financial assistance and expert and labor cooperation, will be completed by September, two years ahead of schedule, Timothy Kankasa, Zambian Minister of State for Power, Transport and Works, predicted recently.

# CONGRESS ASKED TO END U.S. SUGAR QUOTA TO S. AFRICA

(New York, N.Y.) - The American Committee on Africa (ACOA) has called on Congress to defeat the House of Representatives Sugar Act Extension Bill of 1974. This bill, according to an ACOA

report, "allots a guaranteed and preferred U.S. market to South Africa, the only nation in the world which legally sanctions and strongly enforces racial discrimination and persecution..."

The ACOA report declares that the bill violates Section 2151 of Title 22 of the U.S. Code, which states: "Congress...declares that any distinction made by foreign nations between American citizens because of race, color, or religion in the granting of, or the exercise of, personal, or other rights available to American citizens is repugnant to our principles."

South Africa has been receiving a guaranteed sugar quota market from the U.S. since 1962 and is asking for both an extension and increase of its quota—59,539 tons in 1973 and not less than 75,000 requested for 1974.

Sugar is South Africa's second largest industry; and involves more than 130,000 people in the growing and refining of sugar cane. About 98 per cent of the 131,370 agricultural workers are Black or Indian. Figures provided by the South African Sugar Association show that the average cash wage for field workers in 1974 is \$2.64 a day.

#### FACT SHEET

An ACOA fact sheet, entitled "U.S. Quota for South Africa's Sugar—A Bittersweet Connection," states that countries which are granted quotas under the U.S. Sugar Act are supposed to meet a set of criteria, three of which do not apply to South Africa. These three criteria are:

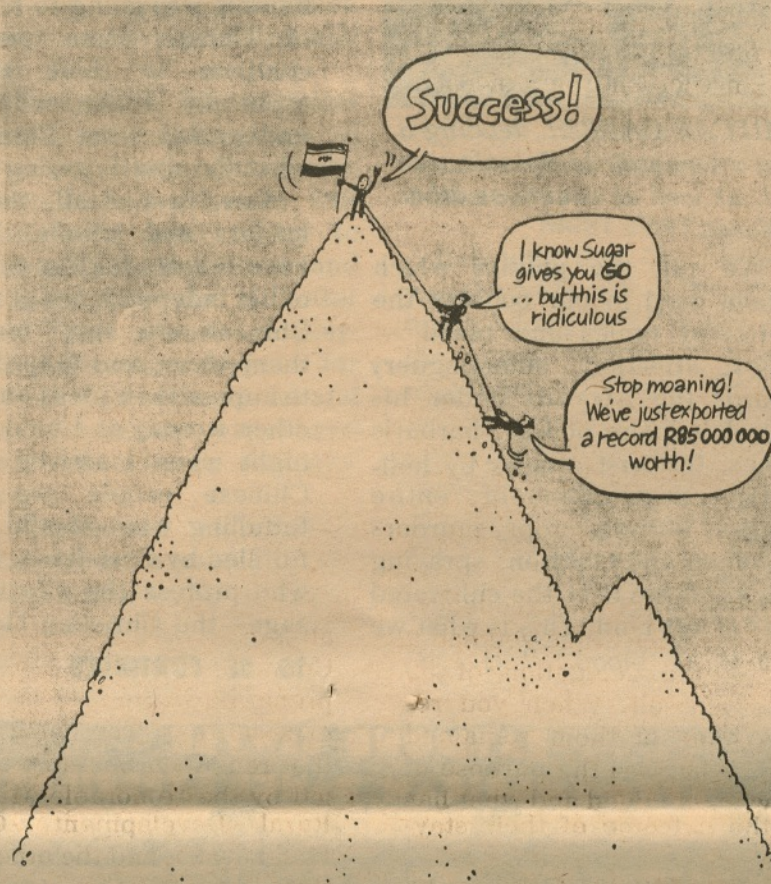
(1) "Friendly government to government relations, including non-discrimination against U.S. citizens in the quota country and indemnification [compensation for loss] for property owned by U.S. citizens in cases of expropriation."

South Africa clearly violates this just criteria. Visas have been repeatedly denied to Congressman Charles Diggs, Black legislator from Michigan, and until recently, Black tennis star Arthur Ashe. Black American visitors do not enjoy free movement within the country.

(2) "Need in the country for a premium priced market in the U.S...including present stage of and need for economic development."

The U.S. market's actual share in the total export of South African sugar is only a little more than seven per cent. The value of this trade is less than one tenth of the foreign exchange earned from the sale of sugar overseas.

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Published with a grain of pride by the South African Sugar Association.

## P.A.C. BLASTS BRITISH RUGBY TEAM'S SOUTH AFRICAN TOUR

(London, England) Warning the Lions rugby team of Britain that it endangers itself by going on tour of the apartheid republic of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania in a recent statement said that those who choose to place themselves within firing range of declared targets of the oppressed African masses, "must bear the full consequences of their decisions."

The statement, issued on May 7 by David M. Sibeko, head of the PAC Mission in Europe and the Americas, said: "A state of war exists between the South African apartheid regime and the oppressed African masses in Azania. The police detailed to guard the Lions and other visiting teams and individuals have committed hundreds of crimes against the African people and their national liberation movement..."

"In the war between the African people and the apartheid oppressors the people and their Freedom Fighters have resolved to avenge the victims of apartheid

atrocities and all South African police and the rest of the regime's armed forces are declared legitimate targets for attack."

The statement recalls that the British rugby authorities have ignored protests of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and the "majority of justice loving people of the world" in sending the Lions team on the tour.

The statement further points out that in his reply to a protest cable from the Supreme Council of African Sport, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, had reaffirmed his government's opposition to the British rugby team's visit on invitation from South Africa's apartheid authorities.

However, the statement points out, Prime Minister Wilson "implies in his cable to the Supreme Council that British tradition has prevented him and his colleagues from taking positive action to prevent the British Lions' tour." □





Assassinated leader of the P.A.I.G.C., AMILCAR CABRAL, leading a squad of Guinean revolutionaries. Portugal's General de Spino-la was responsible for the assassination of Cabral, as well as countless other atrocities against the people of Guinea-Bissau.

## "SPINOLA A FASCIST"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

Even in Portugal, Spino-la was the prime mover behind the National Republican Guard, probably the most savage instrument of fascist repression that Salazar (Portuguese dictator from 1926 to 1966) invented for use against the workers, and especially the peasants.

"Spinola is responsible for the death of many Portuguese workers — both in the cities and in nonurban areas. Later he became chief of the motorized calvary, a post in which he proved to be a champion for colonialism, committing crimes in northern Angola where his tanks destroyed hundreds of villages.

"After General Schuly failed to wipe out our renowned army (the PAIGC armed forces), the military governorship of Guinea-Bissau was offered to Spino-la, who promised to finish us off within six months. He then spoke of two years, and when four years had gone by, Spino-la declared that the battle was over. Meanwhile, we had attacked all of the cities in the country, finally even reaching the capital, Bissau, and its airport. Our ambushes had become more and more destructive wherever Portuguese vehicles were still circulating...

"There is not a single military leader in Portugal who wants Spino-la's job... This explains why a second term as governor of Guinea-Bissau was given to Spino-la, who now plans to physically wipe out the leaders of our party, and in particular myself, and to sabotage the party from the inside...

"Spinola is part of a group of extreme right-wing Portuguese officers, racist and fascist officers, with designs on the leadership of Portugal...

"We call the politics which Spino-la used in our country the politics of smiles and blood — smiles, affection, demagoguery towards the Africans under his control; napalm bombs, barbaric crimes, terrorist attacks by helicopter, destruction of entire villages, burning crops, murders of women and children, spraying toxic products over the cultivated parts of our land. This is what we refer to as 'blood.' " □

## KAUNDA DISCUSSES TRIP

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

the Chinese influenced the thinking of the Zambian government and the programs of the Zambian people?

KAUNDA: I am not surprised at all. People are saying that Zambia was going to be a replica of China. Some people will continue to think that way, especially those who do not understand what Zambia is or what Zambia is trying to do.

Now, first of all, the Chinese leaders and people, I believe, have respect for Zambia because of her independence of mind. The Chinese are very independent themselves, and they do not like to impose their ideas on others. In other words, as I said the other night when I arrived here, the Chinese people are ironically fulfilling what should really be fulfilled by Christians, the people who profess the Christian message—the Christian Gospel.

TO BE CONTINUED



The RAYMOND SAWYER AFRO-AMERICAN DANCE EXPERIENCE will be performing at the African American Historical & Cultural Society at 680 McAllister St., S.F., Calif. Dates are June 1 at 2:35 p.m., June 2 at 8:30 p.m. The company will be featuring Halifu, Raymond Johnson, Ed Mack, Paula Moss, Sandra McPherson and Dan C. Strayhorn.

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## WORLD SCOPE

### SOUTH VIETNAM

(Paris, France) - The economic depression crippling the Saigon-controlled areas of South Vietnam has reached critical proportions, according to Patrice De Beer, correspondent for the French daily *Le Monde*. De Beer said that there are reports of widespread starvation and malnutrition, especially in the central highlands, and unemployment and inflation—which officials say caused 65 per cent increases in prices last year—have driven desperate people to robbery and suicide.

### ARGENTINA

(Buenos Aires, Argentina) Thousands of people attended the funeral on May 13 of the nation's leading radical priest, Carlos Mujica, who was murdered two days earlier by machinegun fire. The Monteneros, the Peronist Youth, and other left organizations denounced the murder of Mujica as the work of right-wing terrorists who have killed several other prominent leftist leaders in the past few months.

### PUERTO RICO

(Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico) Puerto Rico's Governor Rafael Hernandez Colon is pressing the Nixon administration for "needed revisions" in the Caribbean island's Commonwealth status, but Congress reportedly is not very receptive to the idea. In testimony last month before the President's Advisory Committee on Puerto Rico, the governor proposed that all federal legislation should automatically exclude Puerto Ricans unless it is specifically written into the bill. At present, it works the other way.

### DIEGO GARCIA

(United Nations, N.Y.) U.S. plans to expand the air and naval facilities on Diego Garcia Island will almost certainly prompt the Soviet Union to seek a similar installation in the area, according to a United Nations panel of experts.



ENTERTAINMENT

FILM REVIEW

"CLAUDINE":  
ROLLICKING,  
TENDER  
PORTRAYAL OF  
BLACK  
STRUGGLE



Claudine stars DIAHANN CARROLL [center] and JAMES EARL JONES [far right] seen here with the youngsters who deliver outstanding performances as members of Claudine's family.

*Claudine*, starring Diahann Carroll and James Earl Jones, is a rollicking, tender and, on the whole, real portrayal of Black struggle for survival in the urban ghetto, of a welfare mother of six and a garbage man of overconfident appeal.

It is a love story, fraught with the heartaches and frustrations common to large numbers of Black people, told like it is. *Claudine* is mercifully free of the moralizing common in attempts to portray the dispossessed, the struggling. On the other hand, it is full of the passion of caring that characterizes Black life in America.

It is equally full of the lack of concern built into this society's institutions, in this case the welfare department as it confronts and deals with Black people.

*Claudine* tells the story of Roop's (the garbageman played by James Earl Jones) pursuit of the affections of Claudine, (played by Diahann Carroll), the mother of six who is receiving AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) assistance from the welfare department and "illegally" working on the side as a maid in order to make ends meet.

The humiliating and degrading demands of the welfare department on both Roop, who has prior family obligations, and Claudine, in order for them to carry on their romance threatens that romance with dissolution. But, in the end, Roop's need and desire for the love and affection Claudine and her energetic brood offer him overcomes his pride in confrontation with "the system."

Uneven direction and moments of overacting interrupt the natural flow of this otherwise at once funny and moving film. But a very fine soundtrack, composed by Curtis Mayfield and soulfully sung by Gladys Knight and the Pips, is right on time, falling into

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

EMERYVILLE

1973

EMERYVILLE 1973, THE NIGHT AFTER HALLOWEEN. TYRONE GUYTON WAS WALKING HOME. HE WAS JUST FOURTEEN.

THREE WHITEMEN IN BUSINESS SUITS CAME CRUISING SLOWLY BY. AIN'T THAT STRANGE. THEY THOUGHT: A BLACK BOY STARTING UP A CAR.

TYRONE CUT DOWN 33rd STREET; THEY SPED UP FROM BEHIND, RAMMED HIM HARD. HE JUMPED THE CURB & SMASHEED INTO A WALL.

TYRONE SCRAMBLED OUT THE DOOR, HE SAW THEIR 38s; HE WASN'T FAR FROM HOME, HE TRIED TO MAKE A BREAK; TYRONE FELT A BLAZING FLASH & FELL FLAT ON HIS FACE.

IT DIDN'T TAKE THAT JUDGE & GRAND JURY LONG TO DECIDE IT WASN'T MURDER BUT JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE: THOSE COPS WERE JUST DOING THEIR JOB, PROTECTING PRIVATE PROPERTY FROM THOSE WHO HAVEN'T GOT ANY, & KEEPING THE PEOPLE SCARED.

NOW, THIS TOWN'S FULL OF KIDS HANGING OUT ON THE STREET, & THE BIG CARS ARE PASSING & THE MONEY FLASHING & DADDY NEEDS NEW PANTS & MAMA'S OUT OF WORK, & EVEN WHEN YOU GOT A JOB THERE'S JUST ENOUGH TO EAT, & THE STORES OWN THE CLOTHES & FOOD & BOSSES OWN THE STORES & POLITICIANS WRITE THE LAWS & MONEY OWNS THE POLITICIANS, & EVERY 14-YEAR-OLD KNOWS IT'S THE BANKERS THAT REALLY OWN MOSTLY ALL THOSE SHINY CARS, JUST LIKE THEY OWN OUR HOUSES & APARTMENTS, & THEY KEEP THE COPS & COURTS AS THEIR ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT.

AND EVERY 14-YEAR-OLD KNOWS THAT TO BREAK THE LAW IS TO STRIKE BACK AT THE CRIMINALS WHO DICTATE THE LAWS.

AND SO THE COPS KEEP ON KILLING, THE GRAND JURIES KEEP ACQUITTING THEM, & THE KIDS KEEP FILLING UP THE JAILS & THE MORGUES.

AND THE ONLY WAY IT'S EVER GOING TO STOP IS BY THE PEOPLE ACTING TO LOCK THOSE HIRED GUNS & LICENSED CROOKS IN JAIL, & OPENING THE JAILS TO RELEASE OUR OWN.

AND WE CAN START RIGHT NOW & HERE:

JUSTICE FOR TYRONE

N.J.  
BERKELEY, CALIF.

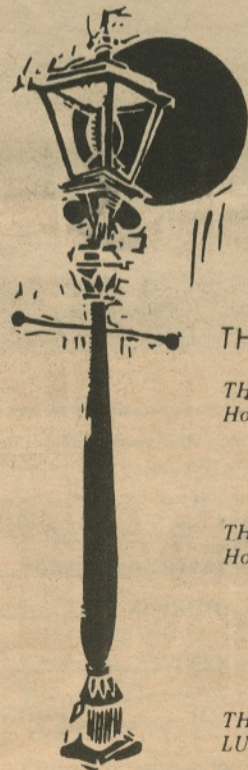
DUKE ELLINGTON:  
JAZZ IMMORTAL

DIED: MAY 24, 1974



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## WORKERS PROTEST

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9  
work connected with transportation.

CBWC demands include: (1) More and better protective laws for all workers; (2) an eight-hour day in all industries; (3) no mandatory overtime; (4) hiring of the unemployed; (5) strict enforcement of health and safety regulations; (6) equal opportunity and equal pay for women and minority workers; (7) no welfare forced-work projects [forcing people on welfare to work for their welfare checks]; and, (8) public hearings to be held at night and future hearings to be held before June 1.

For additional information, write or call the Committee for Better Working Conditions, 846 Kearny Street, San Francisco, California 94108. (415) 397-0629.

□□□

## SIGMAS' PLAN FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7  
government employment which transcends more than partisan political rights."

The Sigmas' survival plan was accepted by delegates representing the total membership of the following Black Greek letter organizations at the conference: Alpha Phi Alpha; Kappa Alpha Psi; Omega Psi Phi; Phi Beta Sigma Fraternities; and, Alpha Kappa Alpha; Delta Sigma Theta;

### FILM REVIEW

## "CLAUDINE"

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE  
those moments of reflection and emotion with an irresistible blues/gospel beat.

What *Time* magazine's Richard Schickel calls "obnoxious stereotypes" of Diahann Carroll and a "single-line stereotype" of James Earl Jones, in a viciously racist review of *Claudine* (*Time*, May 20, 1974), are in fact, the elements of this film which give it its guts, its strength.

Mr. Schickel's annoyance with *Claudine* arises out of his resentment at the portrayal of poor Black people on welfare, "cheating," laughing, giving parties and making love on what he fools himself into believing is his money.

A brilliant touch was the heartbreaking admission of the

youngest son of Claudine that he wanted to be invisible when he grew up, a devastating expression of the effects of growing up Black on Black children in America.

On the other hand, the act of the eldest son of Claudine, the organized and dedicated militant, of having himself sterilized, is a particularly insidious association of militancy with willful self (Black) destruction. It suggests acceptance by the 18-year-old of the racist stereotype of the Black stud who cannot control his desire to lay with a woman. Roop had earlier and forcibly in conversations with Claudine and the social worker from the welfare department, destroyed this stereotype. So drastic and unreal a repetition of the castration symbolism was unnecessary.

It appears that this episode was included to compensate for Clau-

dine's six children and her 16-year-old daughter's accidental pregnancy. But the act violates the deep and abiding love, affection and desire for children characteristic of Black life.

*Claudine* is the first effort of Third World Cinema, a group that describes itself as "a minority-owned and operated company with the dual purpose of making feature films that combine broad commercial appeal with pertinence to minority groups, and training minority group members for jobs in the communications industries."

On the whole it is a successful first effort. Go see *Claudine*. You'll enjoy it, but you'll also see, and maybe more correctly, feel its flaws. Perhaps some of these flaws were inevitable in a first such effort. A powerful humanity throbs just below the surface of *Claudine*. □ D.D.

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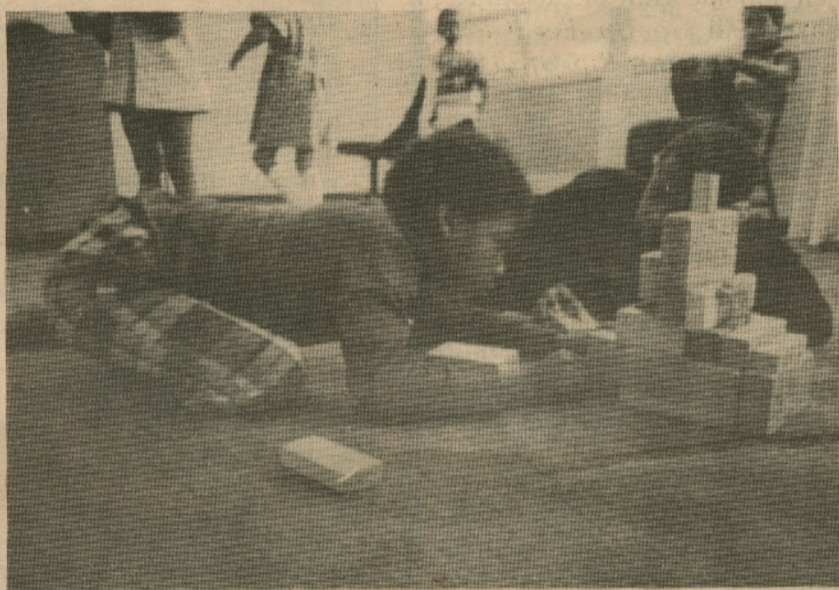
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## SPORTS

# "THE BLACK SUPERSTAR-- VICTIM OR EXPLOITER?"

## PART ONE

The following article, "The Black Superstar—Victim or Exploiter?" written by Brother Paul Hoch, a professor in the sociology of sports at Dawson College in Canada and a frequent contributor to our sports page, asks a timely and thought-provoking question. The political arena in which Black athletes perform is highly complex. As employees of the White establishment which controls professional sports, Black athletes, however skilled and revered they may be, are ultimately victimized by the same forces which oppress all Black and poor people in this country. Yet, as Brother Hoch points out, the few Black athletes that make it big, the Black superstars, have a decided tendency to forget and neglect the Black communities from whence they came; subtly contributing to the exploitation of our communities by those in control.

In the past two decades, about two dozen different books have blasted to shreds the myth of racial equality in sports. These different exposes, from Bill Russell's inside view of racism in pro basketball *Go Up For Glory* in 1957 to my own *Rip Off The Big Game* of last year (1973), have uncovered time and time again the rotten, racist core of professional athletics. And yet the myth that the Black community is reaping fortunes off professional sport persists. Why?

One reason is that the White controlled mass media establishment for the most part prefers not to write about racism in sport. It is much easier to sell newspapers to sports fans by pointing out all the positive aspects of sport, or indeed, just sticking to the box scores and heroics. Then too, a substantial segment of the so-called Black media is too busy selling magazines by ballyhooing Black "stars" to the Black community, and thus has little time to point out that those Blacks who make it in sport are only a minute percentage of all those Black kids who join the sports rat race and end up nowhere.

And yet, after all the blame for the cover-up of racism in sport has been assigned to the powers-that-be in this racist society, the fact

remains that relatively little has been done to oppose and expose racism in sport by the one group of people presumably most affected by it—Black professional athletes themselves.

Part of the reason for this lack of outspokenness on the part of Black athletes has been their lack of power in dealing with the White establishment which controls professional sports. Except for a few superstars like Bill Russell or Kareem Jabbar, those isolated Blacks who have tried to speak up about racism in their sports have all-too-often, as in the cases of John Nisbet or Wally Jones or John Sample, been given the heave-ho.

Unfortunately, though, one major reason White owners have been able to give outspoken Black players the heave-ho has been the lack of unity among the Black players themselves. Indeed, the Black player has become so central to professional sports like basketball, baseball and football, that it is impossible to imagine that the racist conditions in these sports could long survive at their present level if the Black players in these sports got themselves together and threatened to strike if this blatant out-and-out racism is not eliminated.

A threatened strike by all the Blacks in the National Football League might well have been sufficient to have given leading Black quarterbacks like Marlin



Paul Hoch states that "Black superstars like Wilt Chamberlain, WILLIE MAYS [left] and HANK AARON [right] have often allowed their inflated salaries to be used as a carrot to lead the Black community down the trail to nowhere, under the mistaken notion that the big salaries earned by a few Black superstars means that, in America, any Black has a fair chance of making it."

Briscoe and Jimmy Jones a fair shot at that position. A Black players' strike led by superstars like Willie Mays and Henry Aaron might long ago have obtained several Black managers in baseball. Bigtime basketball is even more vulnerable to the unified collective actions of Black player caucuses.

And yet so far it hasn't happened. One reason is that the Black player has only officially "arrived" in professional sport only in the last ten or twenty years, and is only now beginning to feel has collective strength. On the other hand, an important stumbling block to the development of a collective Black identity in sport has been the highly reactionary, ripoff-oriented values of professional sports itself.

The emphasis on each individual player competing against every other player to strike it rich, and the ripoff mentality this kind



of competition spawns, has certainly not aided the cause of Black unity in sports. Then, too, the dichotomy between players and fans has tended to cut the Black player off from the Black community, and has even contributed to a situation where, it may be argued, that the Black player is often ripping off the Black community.

## WHITE OWNERS

There is no doubt that one reason why White sports owners were willing to welcome the Black athlete into professional sports (and pay some of them high salaries) was the possibility of attracting, and ripping off, an increasing number of Black fans attracted to the games by their own Black heroes. Unfortunately, as the Black community was encouraged to cheer those (few) of their kids who were allowed to "make it" in professional sports (as employees of White owners), the Black community was all-too-often successfully diverted from the more pressing concerns of economic equality and the Black liberation struggle. Black superstars became the gladiators of the Black community, often dishing out a modern form of bread and circuses for the Black (and White community).

Furthermore, Black superstars like Wilt Chamberlain and Willie Mays and Henry Aaron have often allowed their inflated salaries to be used as a carrot to lead the Black community down the trail to nowhere, under the mistaken notion that the big salaries earned by a few Black superstars means that, in America, any Black has a fair chance of making it.

TO BE CONTINUED

## HERE I STAND

by

## Paul Robeson an autobiography

HERE I STAND, WHICH NOW REAPPEARS AFTER BEING OUT OF PRINT FOR A DECADE, IS INDISPENSABLE FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF PAUL ROBESON'S VIEWPOINT. IT WAS WRITTEN, HE SAID, "TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT," AND TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS: "WHO, WHAT AND WHY IS PAUL ROBESON?" [FROM THE PREFACE, BY LLOYD L. BROWN]

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# IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

materialistic basis, it was a vision which came as the result of trying to put together a lot of different concepts in some comprehensive way. You were handling and juggling a lot of them then.

NEWTON: That's right. I was not satisfied with a statement that I was writing to the Vietnamese because there was a contradiction in it. Let me share this with you.

I was telling the Vietnamese that the Party supported their nationalism, their revolutionary nationalism, even though we were not nationalists. We were internationalists and could not be nationalists: no Americans could afford to be nationalists because we are all guilty on one level or another of being the exploiter or accepting the bribe of the exploiter if we are not at war with him. So I said that I disclaim nationalism because it is a thing of the past but that I would support their nationalism nonetheless. I disclaimed all of the Black nationalists in that statement—and, of course, that brought about a bad relationship between our Party and other Black organizations because all of them, even the bourgeois ones, are somewhat nationalistic in tone and in goal.

Now if we disclaim nationalism for ourselves and yet support nationalism for those other people, then it seems as though we are belittling them, being traitors to them. So I sent the statement to them, but I was very dissatisfied and unhappy for about a month. I kept tossing this around in my mind and suppressing it in a way.

Then I woke up one morning with this concept of intercommunalism, and it was like a vision: it didn't seem as coldly calculated as when you work out a mathematical problem, which is how I usually handle things intellectually. I just woke up that morning and I had solved the contradiction in my sleep. And I was excited to get it out. I have had the experience in the past of having a dream or vision and then forgetting the damn thing because I didn't get it down. I was anxious to get all of this down in writing so that I could refer to it. And that is the history of that concept.

TO BE CONTINUED

## Letters to the Editor

Greeting Comrades,

Greetings from the "Real Babylon." Well, Brothers and Sisters, I've stepped off into one of the highest degrees of incarceration known to man. I had no idea that this type of confinement existed in the 20th Century.

There is one great drawback for us, the Black inmates of this southern plantation prison system, and that is we're unable to get any type of reading material that will elevate our political consciousness. Due to court order (Federal) we are allowed to receive newspapers, etc.

I must comment on a letter to the paper in the March 16th issue of the BLACK PANTHER. Brother Oscar Modow stated in part that "...the Black Panther Party Paper is...helping to intensify our struggle behind these walls..." Bro. Oscar is in lock-up at Mt. Meigs, and from my personal view and from meeting a couple of Comrades just out of lock-up, it seems that the only Brothers here in Alabama that are involved are the Brothers in lock-up. (Lock-up here is like the Adjustment Center at San Quentin and 4-A at Folsom.)

As for the majority of Brothers here at Holman, the TV is all they want to do, not to mention the homosexual thing. The guards allow this thing to exist; reason? One guard to another late at night during count finds two so-called men in the same bed: "...Oh! Don't bother them, that's the best way to control them." Babylon, yes, this is realism.

It seems as though these Brothers (Negros) here have a compromise with the diabolical dogs. The guards let this parasitic growth continue and these Negroes continue to watch TV and sleep together.

As for the Brothers in "lock-up," my love goes out to them. I hope they continue to struggle and educate the Cadres (Brothers in lock-up). As for transforming the masses in the Alabama prison system, it's going to be one of the hardest fought struggles in Babylon and it won't happen over night. We know that the proletariat seeks for change for the better, but the pig guards want our minds to continue in a fossilized state of being.

In this respect, the question is, which will overcome the opposite? Who will win out. We must become a productive force, productive in educating the masses. We must be able to distinguish clearly the correct path out of oppression. These Negroes are putting themselves deeper into this compromise, this oppression that has fallen upon the Blackman here in the confines of North Amerika.

Please give my love to the Brothers and Sisters in the Party. I am sure they will continue to struggle until the day of the Armageddon.

All Power to the People  
Shomari (Stanley Huff)  
Mt. Meigs, Ala.

□□□□

Dear Brothers & Sisters: Greetings!

I am writing this letter to inform you that I have been transferred from Springfield (the U.S. Medical Center) back to Leavenworth, and I would love to continue receiving your beautiful Black paper.

Also, I would like to say when START was "terminated," I was sent to B-unit at Springfield and it's a damn shame the way those fascist dogs are shipping Brothers in B-unit (the hole).

Because of my failure to participate in START the doctors (especially Albert Shackenback) recommended that I be sent back here to the hole "for a period of observation before being allowed into the general population," but attorneys Barbara M. Milsteind and Arpiar G. Saunders of the National Prison Project in Washington, D.C., filed a petition in Judge Oliver's court in Kansas City, Kansas.

The judge ordered me released into the general population for a 30-day period to determine if I could be "cool" in population. While being superexploited, receiving neither "good days" nor money in the laundry, I could see the brush factory that "was used" for the START Program operating as before. I know for a fact that there are at least 25 Brothers in "the old START unit" and, knowing Shackenback, the principles of behavior modification still exist in 10-D South, U.S. Medical Center, Springfield, Missouri 65802.

Before closing, I would also like to say that there were/are quite a number of Brothers working in the laundry at Springfield who are being forced to take thorazine and other drugs.

Please feel free to quote me, I have written the truth.

Your Brother in Blackness and in Revolution,

Forrest Gustane  
Leavenworth, Kansas

□□□□

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you about a subscription to the B.P.I. News. I am an inmate at Jackson Prison; I have read a couple editions from inmates in other institutions around Michigan, and I must say that they are really beautiful. They open one's eyes to the facts. So, would you please rush a subscription to me as soon as possible.

Right on!

Terry Stone  
Jackson, Michigan

□□□□

# CONGRESS ASKED TO END SUGAR QUOTA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Therefore, South Africa has no major need to have this favored status and quota.

(3) "Extent to which the benefits of participation in this market are shared by factories and larger landowners with farmers and workers together with the socio-economic policies in the quota countries."

The ACOA fact sheet states: "...neither the agricultural and mill workers, nor the individual grower, the majority of whom are Black, actually participate in or benefit from the premium market which the U.S. quota offers."

Concluding, the ACOA fact sheet declares: "South Africa should not have its U.S. sugar quota renewed. Its policies are discriminatory, its sugar industry based on a form of forced labor, and its need for the quota nonexistent." □

## \$2 MILLION FOR BIRTH DAMAGES

(New York, N.Y.) - In one of the largest malpractice judgments ever recorded, a State Supreme Court jury in Brooklyn awarded more than \$2 million last week to 12-year-old Tracy Gamell, who suffered brain damage shortly after birth as a result of negligence by Mount Sinai Hospital. □

THE  
BLACK PANTHER  
is Available in  
MICROFORM

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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 with 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: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

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.



RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

## 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*





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