

# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE



PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

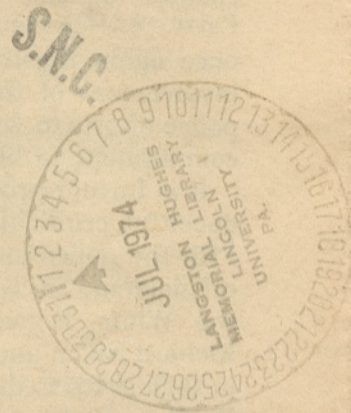
copyright © 1974 by Huey P. Newton

VOL. XI NO. 24 SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1974

25¢

### BOBBY SEALE ADDRESSES UC RALLY

# 3,000 PROTEST CRIM SCHOOL CLOSING



See article, page 3.

### INSIDE

	PAGE
•F.B.I. INVOLVEMENT IN FRED HAMPTON MURDER.....	3
•INSTITUTE: YOUTH COMMITTEE.....	4
•BALTIMORE DOCKERS BOYCOTT RHODESIA AGAIN.....	5
•PARENTS DEMAND S.L.A. DEATH PROBE.....	9



Julian Bond

See article, page 6.

	PAGE
•P.A.I.G.C.-PORTUGAL TALKS ADJOURNED.....	15
•HUEY P. NEWTON PROTESTS IRANIAN REPRESSION.....	17
•REDD FOXX FIGHTS FOR BLACK RIGHTS.....	19
•"BLACK SUPERSTAR—VICTIM OR EXPLOITER?".....	21

Also, see Bobby Seale's speech supporting the U.C. School of Criminology, Center

Central Distribution  
8501 E. 14th Street  
Oakland, Calif. 94621

SERIALS DEPARTMENT  
LANGSTON HUGHES LIBR  
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY  
DC-74

## Editorial

# THE VANGUARD PARTY

The recent revelation that the FBI provided a detailed floor plan of the apartment of Fred Hampton to the Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan two days before his special squad of police assassins murdered the popular leader of the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party on December 4, 1969, once again illustrates the direct involvement of the FBI in local police efforts to wipe out militant commitment to liberation.

It is further proof of the lying, deceitful, criminal behavior of the FBI, the police and Cook County officialdom, in connivance with the White House plumbers of Richard Nixon and his henchmen in their drive to destroy the Black Panther Party and thus disarm the Black community of its vanguard organization.

The seven FBI memorandums recently released (see THE BLACK PANTHER, April 6, 1974) provided a glimpse into the plans of the real criminals to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" Black militant organizations, Black leaders and Black people in general. They are only a small fraction of the documents available somewhere that can establish beyond a shadow of doubt, the still operative plans of the Nixon administration and its hidden bosses to create a police state in this country.

The damage done to the Black Panther Party, and the setbacks it suffered have also taught the Party invaluable lessons. The experience made the Party stronger in its determination, firmer in its commitment and wiser in its practice. The experience taught the Party the vital importance of not just winning the passive admiration of the community but the active involvement and love of the community.

This is the test of the true vanguard of any oppressed peoples: visible expression of the love, trust and respect of the people that vanguard claims to serve. Let it be a warning to those who would set themselves against the vanguard party, the Black Panther Party, be they the openly declared enemies of the people or the hidden servants of the power structure:

It is not the Party's wrath alone that you must face, but the wrath of all those whom the Party serves. □



## Letters to the Editor

Dear Brothers and Sisters

I sometimes wonder why we as a people are so disorganized, divided, and un-unified. You would think that after 400 years of this constant oppression and exploitation that we as a whole would at least know who the enemy is. Yet, I think, this is not the case with far too many of us. However, there are many of us who are aware of this repression and thanks to the efforts of the Black Panther Party this list continues to grow.

You people have demonstrated through hard work and diligence that we can help ourselves by helping each other. The government has proven that it intends to do little to alleviate the conditions we live under so we, those of us who are willing, must do it ourselves. The sincerity and loyalty that you people have shown is spreading amongst us and this, I am sure, is what the ruling elite fear most.

This is why you people are facing this added repression. But you see, Brothers and Sisters, this added repression at the might of these people only lets us know that you are not only reaching us but unifying us as well. This repression will only harden our desire to win equality for all people not only here in this country but throughout the world.

However, this thing about Huey P. Newton being on someone's "hit list" points to what means these people will go in their continued attempts to keep us divided and not allow us to have a common ground. What we must realize is that these are the very same people who had Lumumba killed, Nkrumah exiled, Brothers Malcolm X, M.L. King, George Jackson, etc., murdered and thousands of fellow African people not only here in America, but in Africa, Latin America, and South America, not to mention the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, etc., murdered also.

We've lost too many people this way. The time has come for us to stand up and face those people directly responsible. We must let them know that we won't permit these acts of murder to continue. Actually, we have a right as human beings to dare retaliate, to dare strike back! This is what many of us have possibly forgotten or never learned. I think this is another trait which has been conditioned out of us. We prefer to fight each other instead of those working the job on us.

If we fail to protect our political people and those working for the betterment of oppressed people then maybe we deserve to be treated the way we are.

Respectfully,

Comrade Chuck Lee  
Milwaukee, Wisc.

□□□□

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 22.

## COMMENT

# SUPREME COURT ON CLASS ACTION

The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court last Tuesday requiring those who initiate class action legal suits to bear the cost of personally notifying all members of the class identified as plaintiffs is one more severe blow to the poor, the disenfranchised and the small claimant.

The decision once again demonstrates the reactionary nature of the Nixon dominated Supreme Court and the continuing trend of that Court to render decisions which protect the interests of the corporate structure, the rich and the powerful.

Under federal rules, class actions are permitted in circumstances where the claims of large groups of individuals involve a common question of law or fact, where it is impracticable to join all class members as plaintiffs or defendants, and where provision is made for adequate protection of the legal rights of absentees.

Writing for the majority, Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., concluded that the federal rules of civil procedure require: "individual notice to identifiable class members and that the cost of such notice be borne by the persons bringing the action."

Dissenting from the majority opinion were Associate Justices William O. Douglas, Thurgood Marshall and William J. Brennan. They urged that the class be divided into manageable subgroups, with individual notice provided only to subgroup members.

Otherwise, Justice Douglas said, the class action, "one of the few legal remedies the small claimant has against those who command the status quo," would be dealt a severe blow.

The purpose of notice, according to the majority opinion, is to provide an opportunity for those not wishing to be bound by the result to opt out of the litigation.

The decision strikes at minorities, consumers, small business men and others who have in the past been relying on class action suits as a means of joining together large numbers of plaintiffs where individual claims are small, but the judgments potentially affect many. □

### THE BLACK PANTHER

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621, TELEPHONE: (415) 638-0195.

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

**BOBBY SEALE ADDRESSES U.C. RALLY****3,000 PROTEST CRIMINOLOGY SCHOOL CLOSING**

(Berkeley, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party's Bobby Seale highlighted a massive rally of nearly 3,000 University of California students last Friday in Sproul Plaza protesting the administration's plans to close the School of Criminology and to merge the Ethnic Studies department into the College of Letters and Science. (See full text in Centerfold.)

Since last fall, students and progressive members of the faculty of the Crim School have charged that the Berkeley campus Chancellor, Albert Bowker, pressured by the Ronald Reagan-chaired reactionary University Regents, are determined to end the efforts of members of the Crim School faculty to develop new forms of teaching and new ways of approaching crime.

These have included humanizing the Crim School program, involving students in decision-making committees, special efforts to recruit Third World students and women in the Crim School, team teaching and expansion of field work projects in the community and most important, the development of a new and broader definition of crime to include the crimes of government, corporate crime, crimes of imperialism and the utilization of the criminal justice system in the larger system of state repression.

Among the administration moves that reveal its real intent has been the refusal to grant tenure to British trained Marxist, Assistant Professor of Criminology Anthony Platt, because of his political activities on campus and in the Berkeley community in 1969. Professor Platt was instrumental in securing the Editor-in-Chief of **THE BLACK PANTHER**, David DuBois, as a Visiting Lecturer at the School of Criminology during the fall quarter of 1973 and the spring quarter of 1974.

**SECRET DECISION**

The student/faculty Committee to Save the Crim School charges that Chancellor Bowker has made his decision to destroy the Crim School secretly but, fearing massive student reaction, is refusing to announce that decision until students have left the campus for the summer recess. This fear has prompted the students to bring pressure to bear in these final days of the spring quarter, while most students are still on campus.

Last Wednesday following a rally and march on the campus, about 400 students occupied Haviland Hall, where the Crim School is located, and refused to leave until Chancellor Bowker announced his decision regarding the School.

Although agreeing to meet with representatives of the occupying students, Bowker refused to announce his decision, saying that the announcement would be made on Wednesday, June 5. The students continued their occupation of the building until 2 a.m. Thursday morning, when police stormed the Hall on orders of Bowker and forcibly removed them. The highly organized discipline of the students prevented violence and resulted in no damage to the building.

However, Bowker announced the suspension from the campus for 15 days of all those identified



*BOBBY SEALE received warm welcome from crowd of 3,000 at U.C. rally on May 31.*

to have been in the building at the time of the removal. This decision was, however, reversed on the following Friday, because of the forceful protest of the students. Its reversal was announced at the Friday rally, and the suspended students were introduced to the rally and received a standing ovation.

Students and faculty of the Ethnic Studies Department are protesting a move to sever Afro-American Studies from Ethnic Studies and move Afro-American Studies into the liberal arts College of Letters and Science. The student/faculty Ethnic Studies Defense Committee charges this move threatens the position of Asian-American Studies, Chicano Studies and Native American Studies, downgrades Afro-American Studies and is aimed at undermining the movement for the creation of an autonomous College of Third World Studies.

Bobby Seale was wildly cheered at the massive rally Friday when he called for the unity of the students in defense of the Crim School and the Ethnic Studies Department. He pointed out that when community institutions, "whether on the campus or in the community," begin to become progressive, begin to reflect the desires and wishes of the people, as against the wishes of the power structure, that power structure moves in to destroy the institutions, cut off funds and change directions.

Bobby recalled that the press and media have in recent months been talking about students on campuses around the country becoming "moderate." His assertion that such a claim was "bullcrap" received a roar of approval from the enthusiastic crowd.

Other speakers at the rally included Sister Denice Dillard.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



*Brother Fred Hampton's blood stains the mattresses on the bed he was sleeping in when police raiders, guided by instructions from the FBI, assassinated him on December 4, 1969.*

**F.B.I. ROLE EXPOSED IN FRED HAMPTON MURDER**

(Chicago, Ill.) - The Federal Bureau of Investigation gave a detailed floor plan of Fred Hampton's apartment, marked to indicate exactly where he slept, to the office of Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan shortly before his special squad of police assassins carried out the predawn raid on December 4, 1969, in which the Chicago Black Panther Party leader and Mark Clark were murdered.

This disclosure of the federal government's role in the conspiracy to murder Fred Hampton came in FBI documents and an agent's testimony recently released in connection with a multi-million dollar civil damage suit filed on behalf of the mothers of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and the survivors of the murderous assault.

Recently released FBI documents also disclosed that a vial of the depressant phenobarbital was recovered from the apartment, supporting speculation that Brother Hampton was drugged prior to the raid. Witnesses have

stated that Fred did not awaken during the raid, and was shot in the head while he lay asleep in bed. A private autopsy reported traces of a depressant in Hampton's body.

The controversy over the raid has spawned a number of official and private investigations, none resulting in the conviction of any of the police officials and officers responsible for the assault. The police at first described the incident as a fierce gun battle. However, it was later determined that all, except one, of the hundreds of rounds fired were from police rifles and machine guns.

Roy M. Mitchell, an FBI agent, testified in a deposition that he received a lay-out of the apartment from an informer and gave the information to Assistant State's Attorney General Richard Jalovec on December 2, two days before the raid. Jalovec, acting on orders from former State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, authorized the raid.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

YOUTH INSTITUTE

# YOUTH COMMITTEE DEVELOPS INDEPENDENCE

## AND DISCIPLINE

(Oakland, Calif.) - "Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of another."

This quotation from Mao Tse-Tung expresses the essence of the purpose of the Youth Committee at the Intercommunal Youth Institute. It is through the Committee, made up of children ages four through 11, that the children have the freedom to criticize instructors, the school and themselves as well as develop independence in ideas and organization. At the same time it is through the Youth Committee that instructors criticize the youth. In addition, the Committee resolves contradictions among the youth and develops discipline.

Children can often correctly handle problems themselves and express their desires and needs without the dominance of adults. Adults often act more childish than the children in the way that adults often disdain criticism



(From left) ANGIE HILLIARD, JAMES BANKS, RONNIE DAVIS and VALERIE WILSON, members of the Intercommunal Youth Institute Youth Committee, discuss problems of discipline at a recent meeting.

from youth because of their egos and assume that they know more about the youth's needs and desires than the youth themselves.

This does not mean that there is no adult supervision which is needed to aid the children in their development and independence. Instructor Amar Casey explains, "We try to encourage their development through the Youth Committee by first of all allowing the children to make their own decisions and in some cases their own mistakes."

All Youth Committee members have various assignments to carry out within the school. For example, one youth is responsible for writing reports. Reports are obtained by talking to instructors after class to investigate whether any of the children acted in an undisciplined manner. If there are reports, a meeting is called of the Youth Committee with the subject of the report and the instructor both present. The problem is discussed, and both sides are presented. A decision is then made on the method of correction if the situation demands one.

Brother Amar says, "Notice, we said 'method of correction' and not 'punishment' because at the Institute the concern is not to hurt the youth, but to aid in their development. A method of correction, for example, might be a written essay and explanation of one of the principles of the Institute such as 'speak politely' or 'do not hit and swear at the people.'"

Another area of the Youth Committee assignments is the political education of the children. This is carried out by the youth themselves who instruct

their comrades about the principles of the Institute and their ideological development. At one such session a nine-year-old was going over principles with children ages four through seven.

In line with mental discipline is the physical discipline expressed in the drilling periods. A Youth Committee member takes charge of groups of children and teaches them how to march in formation, respond in a disciplined manner to emergencies and generally follow directions quickly and efficiently. One other important Committee assignment is the morning inspection. The purpose of the inspection is to check the youth's appearance and neatness.

Periodically an assembly is called by the Youth Committee to explain its actions and hear suggestions and criticisms from the youth. In addition fund raising for Committee-planned field trips and activities is also carried out.

Most recently the Committee voted to implement a tutoring program for the academic subjects at the Institute. The plan is that those youth advanced in certain subjects will tutor the other children who are less advanced.

The result of the Committee's various assignments and projects is the strengthening of unity between the youth and instructors and among the youth themselves who have learned to respect each other. The children are learning to base their decisions on correctness and principles and not emotions and favoritism. Like anything else, this is a process, but at the Intercommunal Youth Institute the children can give full reign to their leadership qualities. □

### THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

#### JUNE 2, 1875

Frank A. Healy, the first Black Roman Catholic Bishop in America, was consecrated in a cathedral in Portland, Maine, on June 2, 1875.

#### JUNE, 1942

In June, 1942, a group of Black and White believers in direct, nonviolent action organized the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago. The national CORE organization was officially founded one year later, in June, 1943.

#### JUNE 3, 1946

On June 3, 1946, the Supreme Court banned segregation in interstate bus travel. It was to test local compliance with this law that the "Freedom Riders" in the 1960s based their actions.

#### JUNE 6-7, 1966

On June 6, 1966, the second day of his much publicized 220 mile march from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, for voter registration, James Meredith was wounded by a shotgun blast in the side from a White assassin as he walked along U.S. Highway 51. The next day, June 7, the march continued in Meredith's behalf led by Dr. Martin Luther King of SCLC, Floyd McKissick of CORE, Stokely Carmichael of SNCC and hundreds of other civil rights workers. The march ended with a rally by some 30,000 Black and White people in Jackson, the state capital.

#### JUNE 5, 1970

Brother Earl Caldwell, a Black reporter for the *New York Times* was found guilty of contempt by a federal court in San Francisco for refusing to testify before a grand jury witch hunting the activities of the Black Panther Party and other Black organizations.



**"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

## BLACKS DEMAND MORE JUDGES IN CALIFORNIA

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Bay Area Black and community organizations protested "the virtual total exclusion of Blacks from the judiciary in the state of California" at a press conference last week.

Challenging Congressional and gubernatorial candidates to "commit themselves to the appointment of Black judges to both the federal and state court benches," were the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Charles Houston Law Club, the National Newspaper Publishers Association and representatives of the Black bar and other community groups.

At the Friday, May 24 press conference, held in the offices of the *Sun Reporter* newspaper in San Francisco, the organizations proposed several candidates to fill the position recently vacated by Judge William Sweigert of the Federal District Court for the Northern District of California.

### BLACK ATTORNEYS

According to a press release, the groups listed the names of several local Black attorneys whom they felt were "highly respected in the profession and fully qualified to fill a position on the federal bench."

"The absence of Black judges," the groups said, "is a critical problem for the Black community at a time when an increasing number of cases heard before the courts involve issues such as housing discrimination, discrimination in employment, school desegregation, police misconduct and many others which require a sensitivity to the purposes of recent legislation and case law and the historic plight of the Black and poor in this country."

The press release states that "of the 55 judges presently serving on the federal bench in California only one is Black. Among the 18 judges in the Northern, Eastern and Southern District, there are no Blacks.

"The situation in the state courts is equally appalling. The Judicial Council of California lists

## BALTIMORE DOCKWORKERS BOYCOTT RHODESIAN GOODS FOR SECOND TIME

(Baltimore, Maryland) - The leadership of Black dockworkers here has for the second time in three months prevented the Rhodesian ship *African Sun* from unloading its cargo.

Ten days before the *African Sun* arrived in Baltimore in March, members of the international Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 333, and the Coalition Against Rhodesian Imports held a rally attended by 300 working people and students in support of the southern Africa liberation movement and the dockers' boycott.

The constant pressure of Black rank-and-file dockers was instrumental in getting the ILA to pass a resolution in February officially endorsing the boycott of all Rhodesian goods shipped into East and Gulf coast ports under union jurisdiction. Along with the Black dockworkers, farmworkers, hospital, steel and shipyard workers have effectively closed down the entire East coast to Rhodesian ships.

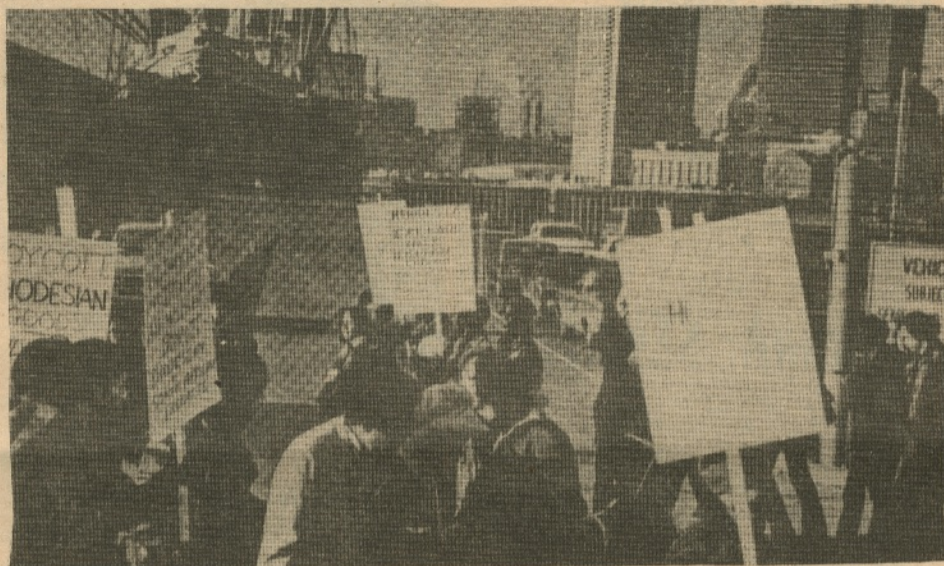
## BLACK JUDGE PRAISED FOR HOUSTON 12 DISMISSAL

(Houston, Texas) - The dismissal of grand jury indictments against five members of the Houston 12 by State District Judge Andrew Jefferson has established grounds for appeal in 1,479 criminal cases in Texas.

In a legal decision unprecedented in the state of Texas, on May 20 Judge Jefferson, the only Black district judge in Texas, dismissed attempted murder indictments against five of the Houston 12 on grounds that the grand jury that indicted them was not representative of the total community.

Nevertheless, District Attorney Carrol Vance rushed new indictments against the five through another grand jury within 24 hours of Judge Jefferson's decision. A new trial date has now been set for September.

Three of the five demonstrators arrested last October on felony charges are Chicanos, and the



Baltimore dockworkers picketed the pier where the Rhodesian ship *African Sun* attempted to unload its cargo. The dockers, by refusing to unload the ship, successfully sent it back to Rhodesia.

Boycotts against Rhodesian goods have taken place in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk, Virginia. Dockers in New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, are planning to extend the boycott to the nonunion port of Burnside, Louisiana, on the Mississippi River near Baton Rouge. Burnside is one of the few U.S. ports still effectively open to Rhodesian chrome and nickel. Black dockers at Burnside and students at Southern University in Baton Rouge two years ago held the first boycott of a shipment of Rhodesian chrome.

state grand jury which indicted them had no Chicano representatives at all. Judge Jefferson's decision has established the framework for a legal showdown in the Texas court of criminal appeals should the five be convicted on the re-indictments of a second un-Constitutional grand jury.

Judge Jefferson's decision was the first of its type by a Texas district judge, although similar rulings by federal courts have been made in other areas. The decision has been praised by many defense lawyers and by the eight-member Black caucus of the Texas House of Representatives. Rep. Craig Washington, a member of the Caucus, plans to introduce new legislation next session to prohibit discrimination against racial minorities when picking state grand juries. Said one Houston attorney of Jefferson-

Black dockers in America are in total solidarity with African workers. A Black woman docker, one of the leaders of the successful boycott of Rhodesian chrome ore in Baltimore, expressed sympathy with workers in Rhodesia. She said, "If we don't work, we don't lose that much. If a Black miner in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) doesn't work, he starves."

Another Black American dockworker described the wretched working conditions for Africans on board ships he has unloaded:

"First, I'm actually afraid to work the ships that come in from southern Africa because of the dangerous working conditions aboard these ships. But the main reason I don't want to work the ships is because the African brothers that come here with the ships are treated so badly. They come into port in freezing weather with hardly any clothes on. The food they have to eat is worse than the food to feed the hogs..."

Congress repealed the Byrd Amendment last December 18, under which U.S. steel producers had been allowed to import chrome and nickel from Rhodesia in direct violation of a United Nations embargo on all trade with the White minority government. However, despite Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's public support of the repeal of the amendment, lower level State, Treasury and Commerce Department functionaries have maliciously conspired to bolster the illegal Ian Smith regime with secret arms shipments and economic aid.

In addition, Treasury and Commerce Department officials have quietly given Boeing and United Airlines permission to help Smith organize and equip Air Rhodesia.

(We wish to thank *Liberation News Service* for the information contained in this article.) □

# JULIAN BOND RUNS FOR GEORGIA SENATE

(Atlanta, Ga.) - Declaring that he will continue his record of responsible representation and support for progressive legislation, Georgia State Representative Julian Bond has announced his candidacy for the State Senate seat formerly held by State Senator Horace T. Ward.

Brother Bond, an eight year veteran of the Georgia House of Representatives, has been an outspoken advocate of positive change in this state that is basically controlled by a racist White oligarchy. He was first elected in 1965, but prevented from taking his seat until 1967 by members of the legislature who objected to his strong public criticism of the Vietnam war. Bond will be vying for the seat vacated by Senator Horace T. Ward, recently named the state's first Black Civil Court Judge by Governor Jimmy Carter, according to a recent press release from the Southern Elections Fund of Atlanta.

Listing some of his most important achievements as examples of his solid legislative record, the statement said that during the 1973-'74 session Bond worked for a strong campaign finance reporting law, Georgia's first housing finance agency and the 1974 reapportionment legislation that may result in the election of ten more Black state representatives.

Bond also helped to increase state unemployment and disabili-

## A.I.M. ON S.L.A.

(St. Paul, Minn.) Speaking on the recent Los Angeles murders of five members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, the American Indian Movement said: "These young people...were murdered without due process in violation of the Constitutional guarantee of trial by jury...The gross violation of civil and human rights of these young persons were accomplished through collusion between the FBI, the Justice Department, the White House and every law enforcement agency within the county of Los Angeles." □



JULIAN BOND has announced candidacy for Georgia State Senate.

lity benefits, sponsored Georgia's first and only Sickle Cell Anemia legislation and helped develop the Black Caucus of the House of Representatives into a well-staffed, effective body.

Representative Bond said his campaign would be managed by his brother, 4th District Atlanta City Council member, James Bond. "We are running to win," said Councilman Bond, "and taking no one voter for granted."

□□□

## REGISTER TO VOTE

# NAZI KEEPS POLICE JOB

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The San Francisco City Attorney has ruled that the San Francisco Police Department cannot dismiss or discipline one of its members because she is an admitted member of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party.

According to Bay Area media reports, the City Attorney has also ruled that 20-year-old Sandra Silva, a junior clerk, can appear at public meetings donned in her glittering swastika-filled Nazi uniform. □

## KING CLEANERS

Mon.  
10:00 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.  
Tues.-Sat.  
8:00 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.

8830-36 E. 14th St. PHONE: 568-4643

OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621

WE OWN AND OPERATE OUR  
OWN CLEANING PLANT

Quality Work

## 11 x 17 Black & White posters PERSONALITY POSTER PACKAGE



HUEY P. NEWTON

BOBBY SEALE



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.



GEORGE JACKSON



MALCOLM X

### SERIES #1

\$3.00 Per Package  
(INCLUDES ALL 5 POSTERS)

\$1.00 Each

### Outside California:

\$3.50 Per Package

\$1.25 Each

ORDER BLANK

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

I have enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for: Package[s] Individual Poster[s]

Check box for individual poster wanted

HUEY P. NEWTON  BOBBY SEALE  MALCOLM X  
 GEORGE JACKSON  MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Make checks or money orders payable to:  
CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION 8501 E. 14th Street Oakland, Calif. 94621

# INSIDE OUT

## PUPPET BLACKS BACKED "ZEBRA" SEARCHES

(San Francisco, Calif.) It happened once again in San Francisco. Local Black—but White-named—community leaders failed to truthfully speak out when they were used recently as dupes for the local police department and local candidate for governor of California.

The case in point is the recent Zebra investigation and the contested stop and search procedure which trounced on the rights of every Black person in the city. The action in itself proved to be bad enough but the personal interplay by three Black men who sit on local county commissions or county jobs offers another case in point.

Mayor Alioto called upon scores of "Black leaders" to consult with them on the best way to handle the puzzling Zebra case. The leaders met in the mayor's chambers. Word has it that those present objected vehemently to the random stops of Black males on the city streets because of the sketchiness of the description of whoever it was that had been killing Whites.

The meeting over, the mayor sat at his desk with the "leaders" wrapped behind him and the press and TV cameras out front and announced that the investigation would be stepped up with the massive search process. "Mind you we won't stop fat Blacks, skinny Blacks, just Blacks that match the description of the composite," Alioto said at the press conference.

The lights out and a few days later suits were filed and Idaree Westbrook, one of those leaders, made a public statement apologizing for her failure to the community since she remained silent at the televised announcement of the stops. She also requested others who had been openly used and fooled by Alioto to join her in her withdrawal of support from his campaign for governor.

No other voices were heard until a week later. Four of the seven Zebra suspects were

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION 8501 E. 14th Street Oakland, Calif. 94621

## NEW YORK COP STANDS TRIAL FOR MURDER

(New York, N.Y.) - Little 10-year-old brother Clifford Glover was slain by ruthless police gunfire while walking with his stepfather here last year.

Now the 51-year-old stepfather, Brother Add Armstead, has come forward and testified in the trial of police officer Thomas Shea who so brutally shot young Clifford in the back. Shea is the first New York City policeman ever to be tried for murder in the course of "duty."

When Mr. Armstead appeared in the Queens, N.Y. Supreme Court on Monday, May 20, he clearly denied the policeman's unsupported alibi. Did his stepson have a gun with him before, after or at the time he was slain? "No," was the resounding reply, according to the May 21, 1974, *New York Times*.

"Did your son hand you a gun after he fled?" asked Assistant District Attorney Thomas A. Demakos.

"No," Mr. Armstead replied.

Well why, the D.A. wanted to know, did the pair start running when the plainclothes officer got out of his car?

"Because he called me a Black son of a bitch and I had money in my pocket - I thought he would hold me up."

The gun-sliding White man did not identify himself as a police officer in any way before shooting the youth in the oppressed Black community of Jamaica, Queens, where Shea was attached to the 103rd police precinct.

Witnesses testify that Shea just stepped out of his car, clenched his fist and swore at the elderly man and his small son.

After shooting the boy, according to one witness, Shea kicked, stomped and cursed the dead or dying body of Clifford Glover

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## RHODESIAN ARMY IN MOZAMBIQUE

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - A United Nations Commission investigating Portuguese massacres of Mozambicans has received evidence that Rhodesian troops were involved. The informant said, witnesses described Rhodesian helicopters and troops and some said they had conversations with Rhodesian soldiers.

## PARENTS OF DEAD S.L.A. MEMBERS DEMAND PROBE OF POLICE SIEGE

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - The parents of three of six Symbionese Liberation Army members who were slain on May 17, in a blazing holocaust during a police siege here, are demanding a formal inquest into the events of that day.

In a telegram sent to Los Angeles coroner Dr. Thomas Noguchi, Dr. L.S. Wolfe, father of the deceased SLA member William Laughton ("Willie") Wolfe, called for a full investigation of the "police slaughter." After personally investigating the circumstances and the site of the gun battle, Wolfe was convinced that there are a number of "disturbing questions about the whole thing which need to be explained."

Meanwhile the L.A. City Council has approved payment of damages to the first group of an expected eventual total of 50 claims made for damaged furniture, broken windows, bullet holes, etc., suffered by the surrounding south-central L.A. Black community as a result of the brutal police raid.

Dr. Wolfe's study and the tragedy to his family have brought him to see what many Black and other oppressed people have seen for years. At a meeting of Black activists in Los Angeles' Watts ghetto, Dr. Wolfe, is quoted by the *San Francisco*

*Chronicle* as telling the audience: "I am going to try to do what you are trying to do—put an end to this all-American pastime of slaughtering people in the name of the law."

Dr. Wolfe says he has access to heretofore unpublicized evidence about the shootout. The L.A. police categorically insist that the charges are false and that the information Dr. Wolfe refers to does not exist.

However, the parents of Camilla Hall and Angela Atwood, two more SLA members who died in the police ignited inferno, are convinced that Dr. Wolfe may be right and have joined him in demanding an inquiry. Why did the firemen arriving at the scene of the burning building on 54th Street receive orders from the police to neglect their fire-fighting duty, even though, "the fire department by law is in command of operations" in situations such as the May 17 raid, Wolfe said.

Dr. Wolfe says he has information that the FBI knew of the whereabouts of Miss Hearst and the six victims for a long time prior to the raid. He also charges that the police fired incendiary grenades into the house to start the fire.

L.A. Coroner Dr. Noguchi subsequently announced that an inquiry might be opened if for no other reason than to satisfy



DR. L.S. WOLFE, father of slain S.L.A. member Thomas Wolfe, is leading parents' fight for full investigation into the L.A. police slaughter.

demands from those who feel sympathy for the six people who were mercilessly murdered.

L.A. Mayor Tom Bradley has also asked for a "full" written report from the Police Commissioner on the shootout. Bradley, an ex-policeman himself, had initially supported the police actions without qualification. □

## "ZEBRA" SEARCHES

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

released and the Mayor made his point with southern California conservatives that he is the law and order candidate.

Three Black men came out with a vocal and undaunted endorsement of Alioto in his bid for the governorship this year. They stated, though they may not have agreed with his tactics in the Zebra case, they were still behind him 100 per cent and would be his supporters within the community.

The three—Police Commission President Dr. Washington Garner, Municipal Railway Executive Curtis Green and Public Utilities Commission president H. Welton Flynn—all came forward with a big "We're for Joe" statement after Zebra was apparently dead.

Their enthusiastic re-endorsement takes on a different glow when the fact surfaces that all three men were or are political appointees during Alioto's reign as mayor of San Francisco.

These men have allowed themselves to be used. By their re-endorsement they are allowing the duping of the community to continue. And they stand by silently. □

## AUTO WORKERS PROTECT BLACK FAMILY

(Detroit, Mich.) - Labor union volunteers have set up guard duty outside a Black family's home in a predominantly White neighborhood to protect it from further attacks of vandalism.

According to *Liberation News Service*, Joe Madison, director of the Detroit NAACP, said he asked the United Auto Workers and the AFL-CIO for help in the project, and dozens of union members volunteered.

Shifts of five persons began guarding the home of Mayroit Richards, 34, and her six children on May 17. Their residence has been subjected to a series of attacks since they moved into the previously all-White neighborhood last July.

The windows have been stoned, dead fish scattered on the front yard, cars driven over the lawn, and fish nailed to the garage. Madison said union members have also offered to repair the damage to the home—estimated at about \$400.

Mrs. Richards, who had said she would move because of the incidents, said she had decided to remain after the union members came to her defense, in order to clear the path for other Black families to follow.

# BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS DEMAND POLITICAL ACTION

(Detroit, Mich.) - More than 1,200 Black trade unionists from all over the U.S. met here the weekend of May 3 to 5 for the third annual convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), reports the *Guardian*.

The delegates were mostly local and international union officials, though some were rank and filers. They represented a large section of the AFL-CIO affiliated unions, as well as independent unions.

The convention saw three main tasks facing Black trade unionists: political action, organizing the unorganized and forging alliances between Black labor and community organizations. Workshops were organized around these three main tasks.

Noting the progressive nature of many of the resolutions adopted by the convention, the *Guardian* points to the top heavy, high-level, Black union official leadership of the CBTU and the lack of representation in the leadership of Black rank and file workers.

The *Guardian* also points out that although organizing the unorganized was a dominant theme of the convention, the South was not even mentioned as a focal point for organizing drives, "although it is the largest nonunion region in the country with the heaviest concentration of Black workers."

A third area of concern reflected in the *Guardian* report was what it called the "principal obstacle facing the coalition." Pointing out that the coalition seemed to be relying on the "liberal" wing of the Democratic Party, the *Guardian* continued: "The coalition's leadership placed heavy emphasis on the electoral arena and getting out the Black vote in exchange for concessions from Democratic party officials.

"The ties with the Democrats were apparent in the political action workshop, which was led



Black workers make up an important part of the American work force and have always been the foundation of U.S. industry.

by a campaign specialist from the Democratic National Committee," the *Guardian* writes. "The CBTU is hamstrung from the beginning by its reliance on an imperialist party, whose policies differ only in form from those of the Nixon administration..."

Among resolutions adopted by the convention was one calling on the U.S. to give diplomatic recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. A resolution demanding Nixon's impeachment was amended from the floor to include a call for new elections in an effort to pose the Democratic Party as the legitimate alternative to the Nixon administration policies.

Resolutions also were passed in support of Black workers in South Africa, women's rights, the farm workers, the Farah strikers, condemnation of the fascist Chilean junta, support to the liberation movements of Mozambique and Angola and the Portuguese workers' movement and the rights of prisoners to humane treatment.

The convention ended on a call for greater unity among Blacks in the trade union movement and for Black unionists to play a greater leadership role in the trade union movement and the Black movement in general. □

## CRIMINOLOGY SCHOOL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3  
newly elected co-president of the Berkeley campus student body association, Bill O'Calahan of the Committee to Save the Crim School, Bobby Thompson representing Laney College Black Students Union and James Lewis representing the Justice for Tyrone Guyton Committee.

The rally was followed by a massive march through the cam-

pus which ended with a two-hour occupation of Wheeler Hall.

Representatives of the Save Crim Committee told THE BLACK PANTHER, "We believe Bowker has already made the decision to phase out the school. We therefore expect some attempt at a compromise sounding announcement on Wednesday."

□□□

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### U.S. RAIN IN VIETNAM

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. government controlled the weather in Vietnam, it was disclosed recently. The transcript of the top secret briefing on a rainmaking program during the Indochina war given to a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on March 20 shows the program lasted from 1966 to 1972 and involved 2,602 flights by Phantom jets and turboprop transports seeding clouds with silver and lead iodide. The goal, said the Pentagon, was to muddy the unpaved roads over which North Vietnamese trucks carried supplies to southern battlefronts.

### SECRETS INVESTIGATOR RESIGNS

(Washington, D.C.) - The director of a study on government withholding of information from the public resigned last week charging that the Justice Department was not fulfilling its promise to allow him full independence. Jerry Clark said in a letter of resignation to Attorney General William B. Saxbe that he could not continue as head of the freedom of information study without a clear sign of high-level support for the freedom he was promised when he took the assignment in February.

### MCCORD BLAMES NIXON

(Washington, D.C.) - Convicted Watergate conspirator James W. McCord said in his newly released book entitled, *A Piece of Tape—The Watergate Story: Fact and Fiction*: "I believe that the President knew of the cover-up long before March 21, 1973. I believe he set it up in June, 1972, just as I believe he had set the original operation in motion in the spring of 1972 by approving it."

### BLACK GI'S WORRY ARMY

(Washington, D.C.) - Army officials are worried about too many Blacks joining the Army. April Black enlistments have increased and officials have predicted a long term increase to 25 per cent Black representation in the Army.

## 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 PRODUCTS. HOT AND COLD SANDWICHES.

### 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



## V.V.A.W. PLANS

JULY 1-4,

## DEMONSTRATION

(Chicago, Ill.) "Universal and Unconditional Amnesty," "Implement the Agreement - End All Aid to Thieu and Lon Nol," "Single-Type Discharge for All Vets," "Decent Benefits for All Vets" and "Kick Nixon Out!" will be the demands raised at a demonstration planned for this summer by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO).

To be held in Washington, D.C., from July 1 to July 4, the demonstration will focus on specific demands each day and culminate in a mass march and rally on July 4. Thousands of people from across the country are expected to join the July 4 march and rally says a VVAW/WSO brochure announcing the demonstration.

The demonstration will be led by VVAW/WSO through its regional structure. "We'll be at the Veterans Administration, Justice Department, White House, Pentagon, Congress, Court of Military Appeals, depending on the demand emphasized that day," the brochure says.

### JULY 4 MARCH

The demonstrators will assemble in front of the Capitol on July 1. On July 4, there will be a march from the Lincoln Memorial to the Ellipse. "On the days in between, you'll be able to find us," the brochure declares. Campsites, food and other facilities will be available.

Explaining the demands to be raised at the demonstration, the brochure states:

"Universal and Unconditional amnesty means that it applies to all people who resisted the war... With 500,000 Vietnam-era veterans having less-than-honorable discharges, veterans represent the single largest category of people in need of amnesty—amnesty for resisting the war in Indochina and the repression within the military.

"Implement the Peace Agreement End All Aid to Thieu and Lon Nol: The peace agreement signed in Paris, on January 1973; offers the most viable solution to the war. The U.S. is not living up to its part in the agreement nor is South Vietnamese President

## SCAB UNION CAUGHT IN BRIBERY ATTEMPT

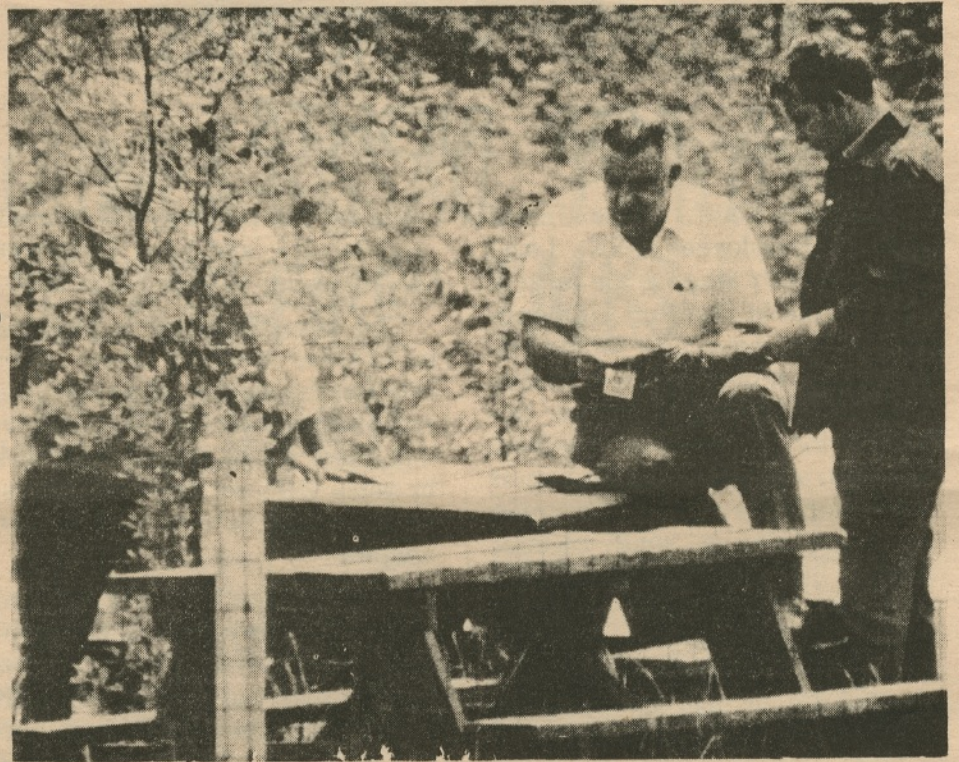
### UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES

### SUIT FILED

(Harlan County, Kentucky) Striking coal miners here are filing an unfair labor practices suit against their employer, East-over Mining Company. The suit charges that the president of Southern Labor Union (SLU), a company-sponsored scab union, attempted to bribe two of the strikers into breaking the strike, according to *Liberation News Service*.

The underpaid and overworked workers at the Brookside mine have been on strike for 10 months.

On June 26, 1973, the men voted 113 to 55 to be represented in their dealings with the East-over company by the United Mine



Hidden camera shows Southern Labor Union President PAUL BYRGE (center) attempting to bribe miners CARL NOE and RON CURTIS

Workers of America (UMWA) and not by the SLU as they had been until then. Nevertheless, the company, which is a subsidiary of Duke Power company, refused to negotiate with the UMWA.

After three years of being represented by the SLU, the miners at Brookside mine were still poorly paid and working in the absence of even the most minimal safety precautions. Health care in the mining town was poor and no

medical insurance was provided. It was then that the men decided to strike.

Duke is America's sixth richest utility corporation.

On May 3, 1974, Paul Byrge, president of the SLU, offered \$500 to striking miners, Carl Noe and Ron Curtis, if they would work to discourage the other strikers and urge them to return to work. It was the fifth time that Byrge had met with the pair in an attempt to sabotage the strike.

Curtis and Noe went to these meetings, but were there only to expose the treachery of their oppressors. When the big breakthrough finally came they were armed with hidden tape recorders carefully concealed to catch Byrge red-handed. A UMWA photographer was waiting in nearby bushes with a telescopic lens fixed to his camera (see picture).

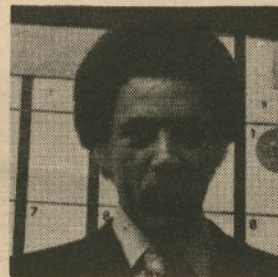
The tape and the pictures will be used as evidence in the striker's unfair labor practices suit and have been turned over to the National Labor Relations Board. Curtis and Noe also turned in \$680 in cash that they had received in bribes at the four previous meetings.

The UMWA also intends to reveal the Duke Power company officials' illegal practice of coercing newly hired miners at Highsplint mine, which is also in Harlan County, to sign Southern Labor Union cards. The object of this is to increase the number of SLU members so that the SLU can hold a majority in the next election. However, Highsplint miners are not supposed to vote in Brookside mine elections.

The outcome of this struggle between the SLU and the UMWA will be a determining factor in the future of unionized mining in the eastern Kentucky region. □

## DELLUMS' CORNER

### UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION



(Washington, D.C.) California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums is co-sponsoring the Special Unemployment Compensation Act of 1974, important legislation which would provide 13 weeks of benefits in areas of high unemployment and 26 weeks to noncovered workers in these areas.

Describing the legislation as both fair and efficient in a letter to House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills, Dellums wrote, "It utilizes the existing unemployment insurance system and would deliver benefits to those most in need, whether their unemployment was 'energy related' or not."

A second piece of legislation co-sponsored by the Bay Area congressman would provide more comprehensive health care for the elderly by giving them physical examinations on a regular basis.

Citing the lack of emphasis placed upon preventive medicine under the present medicare system, Dellums has joined the bill's principal sponsor, Congressman Stewart B. McKinney of Connecticut, in an effort to secure bi-partisan support for this much needed health care legislation.

When asked why he believes this measure to be necessary Congressman Dellums said that "the rising cost of health services has increased the price of a complete physical examination to approximately \$200. For most elderly Americans who are on fixed incomes, this cost is well beyond their ability to pay."

# STANFORD WORKERS PRESS FOR RIGHTS

(Stanford, Calif.) - The United Stanford Employees (USE), Local 680, presently staging the largest labor strike in Stanford University's history, have now forced the University administration to discuss the union's concrete demands for higher pay, medical benefits, a pension plan and other basic employee rights. The union is maintaining a solid 24-hour picket line around Stanford's medical school and hospital, where the only employees so far involved in the strike work. The administration has changed its stiff tune to a more conciliatory note during bargaining sessions. It now chooses to make joint public statements on the progress of the contract negotiations with the employees' union.

The strike has gained fierce momentum and widespread support as it goes into its third week. Endorsements have been received from the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, Bay Area community organizations and students and faculty. The picket lines are being hon-

ored by the majority of students and faculty, and local Teamsters are refusing to cross the lines.

The administration is seeking to confuse workers about their role in the strike. It is leading some union members into believing they must return to work because their services are necessary to vital patient care at the hospital.

United Stanford Employees, Local 680, represents 1,400 Stanford employees. In a press release received by THE BLACK PANTHER from USE headquarters at 1010 Doyle Street in Menlo Park, California, strike organizers are requesting letters, resolutions and telegrams from organizations and individuals expressing solidarity with the employees. The union is requesting that supporters continue to protest to Stanford President Richard Lyman at Stanford University, Stanford, California. □

*Bulletin: As we go to press we have learned that a settlement of the Stanford employees strike has been announced. We will provide a full report in next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.*

# BLACK JUDGE PRAISED

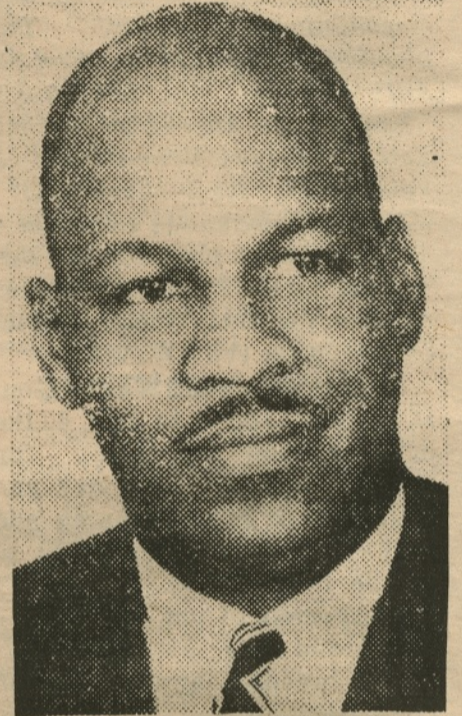
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

son's decision, "He's one of the few who has guts enough to rule and follow the U.S. Constitution."

The Houston 12 were members of a peaceful picket line staged in October to protest the Mideast War, when they were attacked by Houston police. The picketers were severely beaten and 12 were jailed, five on felony charges of assault with intent to kill police officers and seven more on misdemeanor assault charges. The trial of the other seven members is expected to open within a month following the trial of the five charged with felonies in September.

The Houston 12 Defense Committee is now rapidly preparing for the trial of the five. In a letter to THE BLACK PANTHER, Gloria Rodriguez of the Defense Committee appealed to people to write Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz, District Attorney Vance, and Police Chief Carol Rynn, demanding that the charges against all of the Houston 12 be dropped. Ms. Rodriguez also issued an urgent call for financial help in meeting the overwhelming legal costs of defending the Twelve.

Contributions may be sent to the Houston 12 Defense Committee, 2401 San Jacinto (Room 101), Houston, Texas. The Committee has leaflets and other information on the case available, on request, to organizations or individuals anywhere in the country. □



JUDGE ANDREW JEFFERSON has been praised for his action in the Houston 12 trial.

A New And  
Important Book—

## WOMAN HATING

by  
ANDREA DWORKIN

\*

There Are Not  
Two Sexes, But Many

\*

Andrea Dworkin contends that we are a "multisexual" species and that community forms, laws and even the sexual act itself must manifest and incorporate this radical new notion of sexual being.

E.P. DUTTON & CO. INC. \$7.95

# NEW NERVE GAS WEAPONRY PLANNED

(Washington, D.C.) The U.S. is on the verge of making a major change in nerve gas weaponry. Unlike the nerve gas now stockpiled in canisters ready for use, the Pentagon alleges the new proposed "binary system" would keep two nerve gas ingredients separate and therefore harmless until they are merged at the moment of firing.

Charles C. Price, testifying for the American Chemical Society at recent House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee hearings on nerve gas, disputed the Pentagon's arguments for going ahead with the system. Making any weapon

easier to transport and store, Price said, also makes it easier to use. This is the major motive for the U.S. proceeding with binary gas.

Representative Patricia Schroeder, Colorado Democrat, testified she feared that embarking on the new binary system would deepen the pessimism already clouding the near-stalemated efforts of a 26-nation Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to reach agreement on doing away with chemical and biological warfare weapons altogether.

The victim touched by nerve gas loses muscular control over

his body and cannot even blink his eyes. Within seconds, his limbs are paralyzed. Within a couple of minutes, he suffocates.

The U.S. has stockpiled non-binary nerve gas for some time. Now the Defense Department has asked Congress for \$5.8 billion with which to begin production of binary gas.

Critics among the array of subcommittee witnesses, including scientists, academicians and congressmen, advanced several reasons against using nerve gas. There is no real defense for civilians caught in the war zone. Once released the gas is virtually impossible to control; a sudden wind shift could make the air and land poisonous for miles around. It also requires bulky protective suits and masks for all troops.

Another reason is that nearly every country except the U.S. is party to a 1925 Geneva protocol barring use of chemical and biological warfare. □

## EARN MONEY

### Sell THE BLACK PANTHER

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

REGISTER TO VOTE

# IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON

AND HUEY P. NEWTON

The extensive, in-depth conversations between Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, and Professor Erik H. Erikson, one of America's most respected psychoanalysts, are recorded in the book *In Search of Common Ground*. In last week's excerpt, Brother Huey discussed the relationship of his strong family life to the development of his revolutionary concepts.

This week he continues to discuss his large family, empha-

sizing how his concepts of racial equality were molded early in his life. Respected sociologists J. Herman Blake and Kai T. Erikson also take part in the conversation.

E. ERIKSON: Now you are a revolutionary and I obviously am not. But...

NEWTON: Some people say I'm not either.

E. ERIKSON: But, as you say, several of our ideas are complementary in the sense that even though one can only go so far in bringing them together, they still relate closely to one another. Let me illustrate what I mean by relating what you have been saying to some concerns of mine about children and education. It is terribly important for communalism that children should live in a true community in order to develop a sense of identity that is communally based, as it were. Identity is both an individual and a communal concept because you cannot have a sense of identity—or better, you cannot grow a sense of identity step for step through the life stages—without anchoring it somewhere in a group setting. Children, obviously, have only a fragmentary capacity to understand the world. At first, the child's mother is the world, and then he learns to interact with a limited number of people at given times.

NEWTON: At first, only with himself.

E. ERIKSON: But even there, way back at the beginning, everything depends upon the way he is handled, the way he is nursed, all of which already expressed a community's style—so in that sense, he is never alone. Even the way the mother gives him the breast already expresses a communal style, because in different communities people do such things differently—what they say when they do it, how long they do it, the way they do it, and so on. There the child has already begun to be a member of the community. So much depends upon the parents' relationship to the rest of the community, too, for example whether the community gives them a peaceful and purposeful sense of administering to small children. I would say, then, that in intercommunalism groups would have

to be interrelated sufficiently to assure children a sense of identity in a wider world, which could only happen if the rest of the world developed a common style of bringing up the children.

NEWTON: Yes, this is what would be necessary to stop the antagonistic kind of contradiction on the group or tribal or national level. But the only point I want to emphasize now—and I know you understand it—is that the process is usually very bloody because the identity that is forced on people is often based on hostility.... When I was young and working in the Black Muslims and other organizations, we were required to hate all White people. I would find myself being courteous to Whites, and they would call me to check on it. Now I could understand intellectually and academically that I had the right to treat Whites as roughly as I wanted, because they had the upper hand; but I would just find myself reacting differently. One time I saw a girl at one of our functions who was extremely light skinned with Caucasian features, and she kept trying to convince them that she was Black. They wouldn't hear her. They abused her and said she was really disturbed, you know, and she kept telling them that she was from Louisiana and wasn't White. It really hurt me. The tone was one of hostility the moment she walked in the door.

Maybe I can relate that back to my family, I don't know; but within my family the cue was never color because there is a big difference of color in it. I remember that when I was a baby—I was just on the sideline then—my brother and sister would call one of my sisters "Red" when they got angry with her, and she would break down in tears. At the same time, some of the others would call the darkest one in the family a black bitch, you see, and then she would be broken up. My father had very straight hair and others had very curly hair, like my own. So I never thought that color was the way to tell people apart. I knew the difference between White people and Black people, of course, but the cue was always the way White people treated us, not the color itself. Do you see what I mean? Maybe that was one of my



Childhood molds the individual's entire life. For this reason the Black Panther Party has started a Youth Institute.

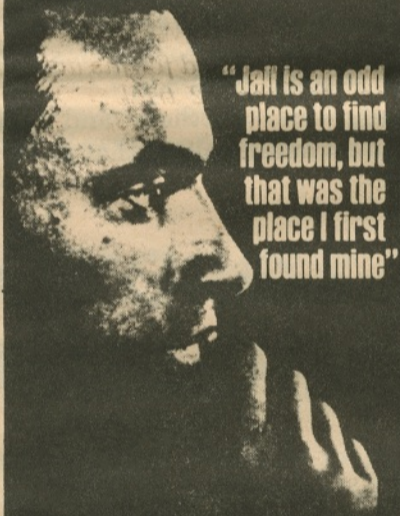
problems in the early stages of the movement. Even now I would say that intercommunalism has something to do with this.

BLAKE: What you are saying is that you did not sense hostility from some Whites and therefore you did not respond to them with hostility.

NEWTON: No, I'm saying that even if I expected and received a hostile kind of response from Whites in most situations, my feeling would be related to something other than the fact that they happened to be very light skinned, you see. So when a girl came in who looked White to me, I was willing to accept her as a Black the minute she said she wasn't White. I didn't care how light skinned she was. Herman, do you remember the hang-ups people like Malcolm X and Garvey had about skin color? Well, I can appreciate their concern about it, but this never affected me, you see what I mean? Because of the nature of oppression and the way the world is today, people identify each other by color. The Muslims personify the whole thing by saying that "White is evil," you see, and this is the kind of thing that is hard for me to accept... What I'm saying is that I need something else than color to judge people. For example, I often open doors for people without even noticing that they are White or giving it a thought; but I can be very, very hostile toward someone if he gives any indication whatever of feeling superior. Now most White people have a kind of opposition to me just because I am Black, you see, so they have their cue but I do not have mine.

E. ERIKSON: May I ask one  
CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

## 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.

# 'UNITY FOR HUMANKIND'S SURVIVAL'

## BROTHER BOBBY SEALE'S SPEECH AT U.C. BERKELEY

The following is the text of the address made by Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale to a massive rally and march on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley, last Friday. The demonstration was part of the ongoing struggle of students and faculty to prevent the university administration from "phasing out" the School of Criminology, which has developed a strong, progressive trend in the examination of the crimes of capitalism, racism, sexism and imperialism. The rally was also called to protest the efforts of the administration to fragment, weaken and ultimately destroy Ethnic Studies on the Berkeley campus.

(Sustained applause and cheers) "All Power to the People, and to the unity of the world's humanity in opposition to the ruling class, the money-rich power structure and all their lackeys and police forces! That unity of world humanity is going to grow because I have faith in it, because I have faith in myself, and you, today, seem to exemplify that you have faith in your human selves. (Applause.)

"Getting straight to the point about the School of Criminology, about Ethnic Studies, about institutions. Huey P. Newton stated in his book *To Die for the People* that a community is a comprehensive collection of institutions. Huey further stated that the only problem is that the people do not control those institutions.

"The masses of poor and oppressed Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, laboring Whites and other have asked the question whether or not those institutions which make up our communities serve our basic desires and needs. If those institutions do not serve our basic desires and needs, then it means that the masses of people in those communities do not have power, do not have representation, do not have government of the people, by the people and for the people. It means that we do not have anything resembling the rights of human survival on this earth, in our communities.

"I am saying that if a community, by way of sociological definition, is a comprehensive collection of institutions, then, in fact, we have to ask the question whether or not we have the power of control.

### NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE

"The point is this: Every time it seems that some institutionalized function in our communities—on our campuses or wherever—when those institutions begin to be progressive, begin to reflect the desires and needs of the people, the power structure begins to want to change the direction, begins to want to pull away funds, doesn't want to support them and wants to cut them off.

"I am saying that the School of Criminology here has begun to be progressive, has begun to change the overall institution so that it will

serve the basic desires and needs of the people.

"I am saying that Reagan, himself, this crazy attorney general in California (Evelle Younger), Tricky Dicky, all the way down, all of them with all their lackeys—including Bowker the Chancellor—all of them, are not concerned with the desires and needs of our communities. (Applause and cheers.)

"But in all cases, if we have any human spirit, if we have any understanding of human beings surviving on the face of this earth, if we have any insight, if we have any motivation, if we have any desires for people's control, community control, government of, by, and for the people, as it may be manifested by those institutions in our communities—I don't care if it's the police department, I don't care if it's the city government, I don't care if it's those super markets selling rotten meat—if we have the desire to move and to change that, we can go forward!

"I am saying that is what happened in the School of Criminology. I am saying that is what's happening all over this country. I am saying that is in fact what we were about in the election in Oakland. We were about controlling that institution there. I am saying this is what 'Power to the People' is about.

"I am saying this, Brothers and Sisters, people and human beings alike, that as far as I

## SUIT FILED TO SET ASIDE '72 ELECTION

(Washington, D.C.) - Charging Nixon and those who worked for his re-election with conducting a fraudulent campaign, the People's Lawsuit to Set Aside the 1972 Presidential election has been filed—in Federal District Court for the District of Columbia. The 207-page complaint seeks "a judgement setting aside the 1972 election as unconstitutional and unlawful and therefore null and void."

The filing was announced at a Washington, D.C., press conference on May 21, attended by members of the Committee to Set Aside Election '72 (CSAE '72), which is a legal project of the National Lawyers Guild, lawyers for the suit and Gilbert Padilla, secretary-treasurer of the United Farmworkers of America, reports the *Liberation News Service*. The Black Panther Party is named in the long list of organizations and individuals as plaintiffs. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, October 6, 1973.)

"It is the most fundamental principle of law that the felon, when discovered, is not only prosecuted but is deprived of the fruits of the felony," said attorney Peter Young in explaining the principles of the lawsuit at the press conference.

"The notion that the thief should not profit from the theft of property is applied equally to the President's theft of our right to a democratic election. We call upon the courts to

reject the notion that the level of liability diminishes as the size of the crime and the stature of the criminal increases," said attorney Young.

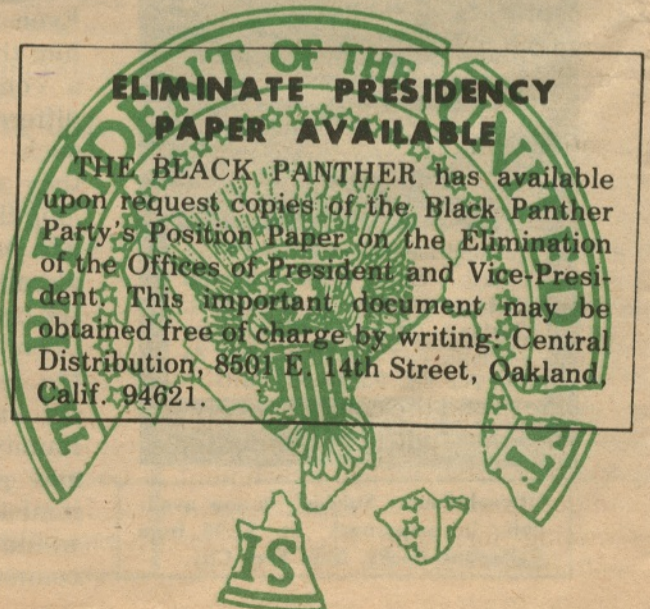
Brought as a class action suit by nearly 8,000 people from all 50 states "as representatives of the people of the United States of America," the People's Lawsuit charges that "the defendants and their co-conspirators" committed "numerous criminal and otherwise unlawful acts," to gain the re-election of Nixon and former Vice-President Agnew.

The suit asks that Nixon and Vice-President Gerald Ford be removed from office and that each of the defendants be liable for money settlements for "an award of punitive and exemplary damages" to the plaintiffs and "an award compensating the plaintiffs for the cost of preparing and prosecuting this suit." The suit argues that Ford should be removed with Nixon since he was picked by Nixon to succeed Agnew subsequent to the 1972 election. Since the suit charges that Nixon was elected fraudulently, he should have no right to choose his successor.

In addition to Nixon and Ford the defendants named in the suit are present and former members of Nixon's Watergate administration, including: aides Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and others; members of Nixon's 1972 re-election committee. Mitchell, Stans, etc;

and corrupt labor leaders that fought for and funded Nixon's re-election effort.

Plaintiffs in the suit include anyone who voted in the last election, anyone who was eligible to vote but did not, anyone who has paid or will pay U.S. income tax. Organizations supporting the People's Lawsuit are the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, United Farmworkers Union and many others. □





**BOBBY SEALE** joined at least 3,000 other people in protesting the planned closing of the progressive U.C. Berkeley School of Criminology.

am concerned, as far as the Black Panther Party is concerned, we are out to be moved and motivated, organized, understanding and realizing that we are going to have to maintain an institution—the School of Criminology—here at the University of California, because that is one institution that has had a progressive change so far. It can go further—in changing the whole irrelevant, corrupt justice system in this country. I am saying this is the beginning. (Loud applause.)

“It’s such a beautiful sight to see you all out here, because I remember those days when Huey P. Newton and I stood right over there at

Sather Gate and sold *Red Books* when we began to organize the Black Panther Party. I remember those great days when thousands of you, like today, stood around and began to be educated and began to try to understand. I remember those days.

“Now, all of a sudden we have some ‘quips’ and ‘quacks’ in the newspapers saying the campus and the students have gone back to some so-called moderate crap. Bull crap!! (Loud applause, cheers and whistles.)

“There are some saying that they are dropping out of the system; that they have nothing to do with the system. I even have some of my brothers saying to me, ‘I ain’t got nothing to do with this system, and this system ain’t got nothing to do with me.’ It seems that we don’t really understand what the ‘system’ is in its totality.

#### CAPITALISM & RACISM

“Capitalism is only a preponderant aspect of the system. Racism is only a preponderant aspect of the system, although capitalism and racism are interconnected and interrelated. Racism, in fact, props up capitalism and maintains capitalism’s exploitive operations.

“I’m here today to get you to agree that when you heard about me running for political office you misunderstood the whole thing. If you look at the system in totality, if you look at humankind’s development on the face of this earth, human beings have *always* taken time to institutionalize certain functions for a better way of life, so that they can live and survive as human beings. Human beings have *always* done this. At the same time there have been corrupt ones who have taken over these institutions, who have corrupted these institutions.

## CONGRESS NEGLECTS IMPEACHMENT DUTY

(Washington, D.C.) - Despite President Nixon’s latest defiance of the courts—his declaration that he and he alone will decide if documents being sought in the Daniel Ellsberg break-in case can be made public—the House Judiciary Committee appears divided and uncertain as to whether evidence presented so far has implicated the President in any impeachable misconduct.

As of this writing, the Committee’s latest message to Nixon is that his defiance of Committee subpoenas “*might* (emphasis ours) constitute a ground for impeachment.” The Committee’s hesitancy to impeach the President was understandable six months ago. Such a step would be a far-reaching one for the entire country. However, the Committee has gone more than half way with the President. It has given him numerous opportunities to prove his so-called innocence of Watergate-related crimes and to demonstrate to the American people that he is sincerely interested in bringing Watergate criminals to justice.

Instead, Nixon has continued to defy Congress and the courts at every point. In light of this, the Judiciary Committee’s reluctance to issue articles of impeachment is no longer understandable. What is the Committee waiting for? The President clearly has no intention of cooperating with Congress or the courts in cleaning up his corrupt administra-

tion. His immediate impeachment is the only logical step for this committee to take.

It is time for the American people, particularly those represented by members of the Judiciary Committee, to demand that the Committee get on with the business of impeachment. Committee chairman Peter Rodino and his colleagues may be so in awe of the Presidency that they are literally terrified to impeach Nixon. They may also fear losing popularity with their constituents.

#### POWER OF RECALL

*The Story of America* by Hermon M. Hoyes includes a map which shows that citizens in 13 states—Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, California, Arizona, North Dakota, Colorado, Michigan, Kansas, Wisconsin, and Louisiana—have the power of recall. Recall enables citizens to vote an elected official out of office before the end of his/her term if the constituents feel they are being inadequately represented.

Almost one-third of the states have it within their power to make Nixon’s impeachment more of a reality. They can demand that their representatives in Congress vote for the issuance of articles of impeachment. If the representatives do not do the will of the people, then the people will be within their rights to recall these elected officials.

“But, there is no dropping out of the system; there is no dropping out of our earth and its institutions, including the School of Criminology, including Ethnic Studies, including all the other institutions that are corrupt on the face of this earth.

“We live on the face of this earth. We take a 600 million mile trip around the sun every 365 days, and we’re not going to Venus.

“Nixon is on this earth! Reagan is on this earth! Racism is on this earth! And we’re about transforming it out. (Loud cheers and applause.) Corruption is on this earth! Exploitation is on this earth! We are on this earth and our system, in its totality, is interconnected and interrelated with the total universe.

“So anybody who’s talking about dropping out of the system, I ask you to try dropping out of the universe. (Loud applause.)

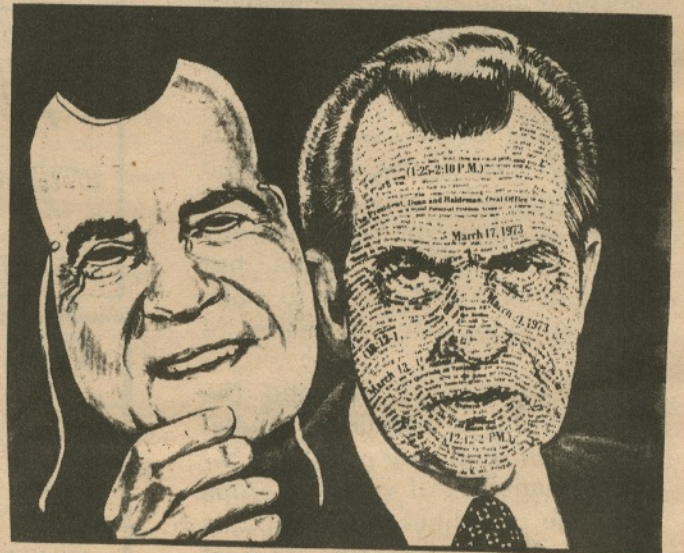
“I don’t care if you want to go to Cape Kennedy, hijack yourself a rocket, kidnap an astronaut, and try to go the moon, Tricky Dick Nixon, who controls the institutional forms of government, will send some fascist troops up to the moon and will bring you back to this earth. (Applause and laughter.)

“I can’t say anymore. Support the Tyrone Guyton Committee. All Power to the People.

“Unity! Unity! Unity! (Bobby lead the crowd in chanting the word ‘Unity’ over and over again.)

“Unity...For humankind’s survival on the face of this earth. Let’s make sure the School of Criminology stays with us.

“Thank you very much.” (Cheers and standing ovation.) □



Behind NIXON’s public mask we find the monarch who has been deceiving the people for years. The dates and specifics of his crimes are just now becoming widely known.

Too many corrupt, inept politicians have remained in office because of the reluctance of their constituents to remove them and general unawareness about the recall method. Recall was voted in in order to make elected officials directly accountable to the people who put them in office.

The time for uncertainty is past. The President must be impeached by any means necessary. □

# B.P.P. CLINIC SENDS MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO FRELIMO, M.P.L.A.

(Berkeley, Calif.) - The People's Free Medical Research Health Clinic here has sent a shipment of urgently needed medical supplies and equipment to two of the national liberation movements in so-called "Portuguese Africa."

The valuable equipment includes medical machinery, chemical supplies, medical supplies, orthopedic supplies and laboratory equipment. The life-saving items have been sent to the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). These people's movements, like the Black Panther Party and the Son of Man Temple, which sponsors the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics, believe that the health needs of the people must be met and that health care is a basic human right.

## INADEQUATE MEDICINE

In the hundreds of years that the Portuguese colonialists have ruled the African territories they have never provided adequate medical services for the African peoples. Most Africans in these colonies had never consulted a doctor or had any modern medical treatment until the liberation forces gained control in their region.

Because of this, equipment is needed, doctors must be trained and hospitals must be built. Striking advances have already been made in these areas, but much more must be done to make up for hundreds of years of neglect.

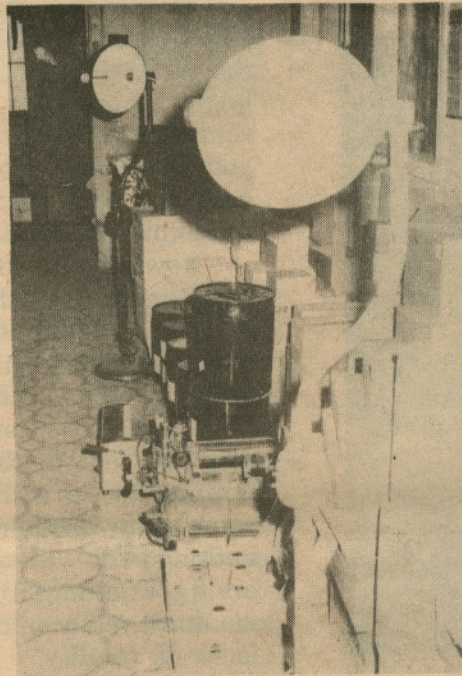
The ravages of war and the Portuguese imperialists' indiscriminate bombing—with U.S.-made napalm—of villages, crops and the new liberation hospitals add to the need for medical assistance.

The supplies that the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinic has sent to our African brothers were: two sterilizing autoclaves (for sterilizing instruments); one EKG machine (for checking the heart); two lamps; one 20 gallon water tank; two cases of lab organizing trays; one case of culture tubes; two cases of culture flasks; one regular sterilizer; nine cases of medical chemicals; 10 cases of first aid supplies; 50 cases of medicines

(including 25 cases of antibiotics); and, one case of orthopedic supplies.

Although clinics and medical facilities throughout the U.S. have been asked for these items, the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinic in Berkeley is the only one on the West coast to comply with this quantity of medical goods. The People's Clinic will continue to send as many supplies as possible on a regular basis as it has been doing in the past.

Although medical equipment is the most urgently needed commodity at this time, manually operated mimeograph and typewriting machines are also being



Some of the medical supplies and equipment sent to MPLA and FRELIMO.

solicited for the liberation movements.

The Liberation Support Movement, based in Vancouver, Canada, is coordinating the collection and transportation of the medical and other supplies for FRELIMO and the MPLA. □

# F.B.I. ROLE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

After a series of legal altercations with the judge who appointed him, the local special prosecutor Barnabas Sears, brought minor indictments charging a conspiracy to obstruct justice against Hanrahan, Jalovec, and the members of the raiding party. All were acquitted in a mock trial clearly staged from the outset.

The revelation of possession of the floor plan by the State's Attorney's office clearly contradicts testimony by police in the raiding party who claimed that they were unfamiliar with the apartment. They said that because of unfamiliar surroundings, tension and confusion, raiders at the front and back doors were responding to one another's shots under the impression that they were being fired upon from inside. However, all the police gunfire went to the inside corners of the apartment, rather than toward the exits. □

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

*write for mail order brochure.*

# SEIZE THE TIME

BOOKS & RECORDS

2545 Broadway (95-96 Sts.), New York, N.Y. 10025 • (212) 663-5340

## THE SEATTLE LEGAL AID PROGRAM

### Busing Schedule

Provides Free Transportation to:

MC NEIL ISLAND FEDERAL PENITENTIARY

Leaves each Saturday at 9:30 a.m.

PURDY PRISON FOR WOMEN

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

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

WASHINGTON CORRECTIONAL CENTER AT SHELTON

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

MONROE REFORMATORY

Leaves each Monday at 5:00 p.m.

### Law and Rights Classes on the Criminal Justice System

Some of the topics discussed are:

Arrest Rights, Court Rules, Landlord/Tenant Relations.

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

For further information, call (206) 322-1038

# IN SEARCH

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

question? You spoke of your particular place in the family. Did your family have a particular place in the community?

NEWTON: Yes, we were victims. My father is an uneducated man, no formal education, although he is a very wise man. We were from a farming community and before I was born my father was a sharecropper. He married very early: my mother was fourteen and he was eighteen. Then he moved here to Oakland with seven children right after I was born and worked in the shipyards. My father always had at least three jobs to support the family, and that's another part of my own rebellion: I don't have a family and I probably never will.

E. ERIKSON: Was your father somewhat different from the rest of the community? Did you perceive him as typical or unique?

NEWTON: Well, one of the problems my father had with people was that he was very light skinned with straight hair, and they could say that he was different from other Blacks. He would take exception to that, though, and say that he was no different and would rather be treated like every other member of his group. He would not accept any favors.

TO BE CONTINUED

# Intercommunal News

## GUINEA-BISSAU, PORTUGAL "CEASE-FIRE" TALKS ADJOURNED

(London, England) - Talks between representatives of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Portugal that opened a week ago last Friday here have been adjourned. They will be resumed next week.

These are the talks that, according to the Western press, were concerned with reaching an agreement on a cease-fire between the armed forces of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) and the Portuguese forces in Guinea-Bissau.

As the talks opened that same press was predicting that the talks would last no more than three days, and was "optimistic" that the objectives set by the Portuguese delegation, led by the new Foreign Minister, "Socialist Party" leader Mario Soares, would be speedily realized.

Now that the talks have already lasted a week, have been adjourned and will resume next week, makes it clear that the Western press did not consider the clearly stated objectives for these talks set by the representatives of PAIGC and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

The PAIGC/Republic of Guinea-Bissau objectives, as reported last week in THE BLACK PANTHER, were recognition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent nation recognized by 82 nations of the world and immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the Republic of Guinea-Bissau of the remaining occupation forces of the Portuguese army.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Soares was quoted by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as saying, on announcement of the adjournment of the talks, that "good progress" is being made on important parts "beyond the cease-fire." At the same time, Pedro Pires, member of the PAIGC Executive and chief of the PAIGC/Guinea-Bissau delegation to the talks, is reported to have said that the basic question in the talks is the independence of Guinea-Bissau "not just the cease-fire."

### OBSTACLE

An additional question that the Western press reported would be an obstacle in the talks was the status of the Cape Verde Islands, an integral part of Guinea-Bissau under the Portuguese, but now being pushed as a separate part of the territory in order to frustrate the PAIGC's legitimate claim to represent the Islands as well as Guinea-Bissau.

However, the PAIGC/Guinea-Bissau delegation has upset this maneuver by agreeing that the question of the Cape Verde Islands may be discussed as a separate issue from the question of Guinea-Bissau.

The refusal of the U.S. establishment media to report on these very important talks, in which the PAIGC is setting a precedent to be followed by the liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique as they confront representatives of the new alleged "liberal" Portuguese regime of General Antonio de Spínola, reflects the West's racist underestimation of the African leadership of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and that media's

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



PAIGC General Secretary ARISTIDES PEREIRA (center), confers with aides last September when PAIGC proclaimed independence for Guinea-Bissau.

## P.A.I.G.C. LEADERS DISCUSS COUP

The French language magazine *Afrique-Asie* correspondent Simon Malley talked with Aristides Pereira, General Secretary of the Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands [PAIGC] and Luiz Cabral, President of the State Council of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, in Conakry, Guinea, recently. We reprint here excerpts from that interview.

PEREIRA: The first thing that the recent crisis in Portugal proves is that the fight of the Guinean people for freedom, based on a revolutionary strategy, has succeeded in breaking the unity of the enemy forces. This is the first awakening within the Portuguese army that a military solution is useless wherever its goal is to prevent a colonized people from recovering their independence and their sovereignty.

In other words, the colonial military force has been powerless to defeat our people whose fight and sacrifices have destroyed the myth of invulnerability of the Portuguese military supremacy.

We have never had any illusions about the real intentions of General Spínola. The ideas expressed in his last book *Portugal and Its Future* are not new. Maybe he wishes to be more realistic than the ultra-Portuguese because he understood, on the spot, the futility of the colonial war.

While rejecting the military solution, Spínola does not intend to acknowledge the independence

of our country. For him, the essential thing is to find an alternative that ensures Portuguese control. This is the real purpose of his federal solution that would lead to a kind of Lusitano-African Commonwealth.

You know, we have fought too long to accept such neo-colonialist solutions as a so-called Lusitano-African Commonwealth. The Guinean people, its leaders and its staff would never tolerate such a way. Who can ignore the fact that we are a sovereign state? We are acknowledged by more than two-thirds of the member

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

## FRELIMO, PORTUGAL TO TALK

(Lusaka, Zambia) Samora Machel, leader of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has announced that FRELIMO will open talks with Portugal this week here. He said: "Independence is the right of the people of Mozambique. This will not be a subject of the talks. The talks will only concern the handing over of power from Portugal to the people of Mozambique."

### THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621  
(415) 638-0195

Enter My Subscription For:	Domestic	Foreign
3 MONTHS (13 Issues) .....	<input type="checkbox"/> \$2.50 .....	<input type="checkbox"/> \$9.00
6 MONTHS (26 Issues) .....	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5.00 .....	<input type="checkbox"/> \$12.00
1 YEAR (52 Issues) .....	<input type="checkbox"/> \$8.75 .....	<input type="checkbox"/> \$15.00
LIFE SUBSCRIPTION .....	<input type="checkbox"/> \$100.00	

(Please Print)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

NEW SUBSCRIPTION   
RENEWAL

(Make checks payable to the Black Panther Party)  
PLEASE MAIL CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY, MINISTRY OF INFORMATION,  
8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621



# PORTUGUESE SECRET POLICE TORTURE TECHNIQUES UNCOVERED

(Lisbon, Portugal) - In the fortress of Caxias Prison, near here, 296 agents of Portugal's secret police await trial, locked in cells where they recently interrogated, beat and tortured political prisoners. Two reports released here after the coup detail tortures used by the 3,000 man force—still called by its old name, PIDE—which was the backbone of the former regime.

PIDE was disbanded by the military junta of Antonio de Spínola the day after its April 25 coup. In Portugal's three African colonies, where PIDE was as active and feared as at home, military intelligence units of the armed forces have taken over its operatives. In Portugal, prison awaits them, and the manhunt continues for those still at large.

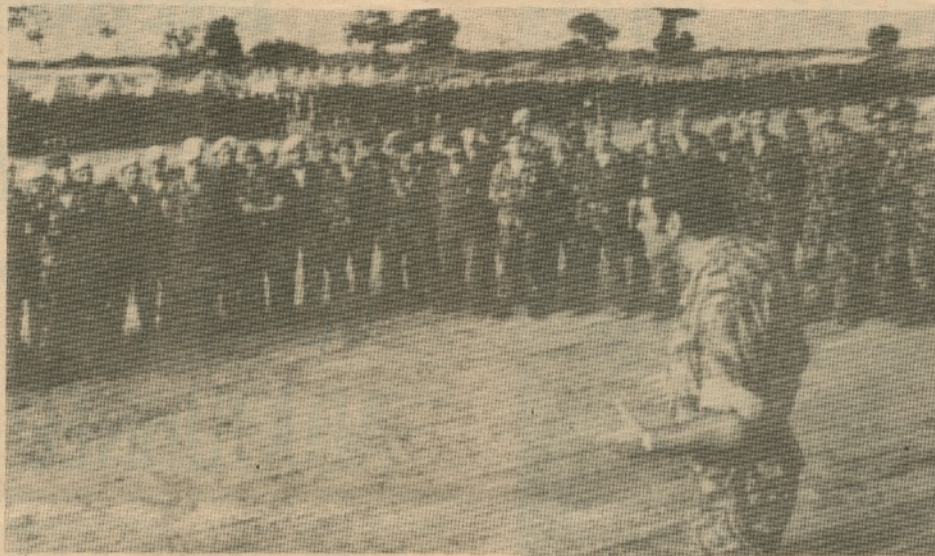
One report was secretly compiled under the Caetano regime by a group of psychiatrists, sociologists and psychologists from case histories of 520 persons who underwent "interrogation." The other, prepared by the Committee for Political Prisoners, examines 100 case histories of torture occurring between November, 1973 and April, 1974.

The reports show that hallucinations, acute anxiety, terror, and complete disorientation from space and time normally resulted from PIDE's techniques. Ninety per cent of the victims studied suffered nervous breakdowns.

Torture often took the form of scientific experimentation. Prisoners were forcibly injected with a variety of truth drugs, and subjected to sophisticated methods of sleep and sensory deprivation. The agents kept detailed records, both photographic and written, so doctors could study the physical and psychological effects of various measures, and "improve" them.

Palma Inacio, leader of the LUAR (League for Revolutionary Activity), was one of the prisoners tortured with truth serum. He was eventually killed when PIDE agents doubled the dose as part of their experiment.

Inacio was also a victim of sleep deprivation, and PIDE recorded that he had set the record for the longest sleepless period, 11 days. Engineering student Carlos Costa also underwent this torture be-



Portuguese soldiers have tortured Africans in the colonies while the secret police have tortured progressive Portuguese at home.

fore he was removed to a psychiatric hospital. PIDE agents started his interrogation in a room containing nothing but a table and two chairs, one for an agent and one for the prisoner. On the third day, Costa's chair was taken away. If he dozed off, the interrogators would allow him to sleep for a minute before dropping a coin on the table, or splashing cold water into his face.

"I hit my hand against the wall to keep myself awake," Costa told his psychiatrist, "because it was so much worse to be woken up than not to sleep."

On the seventh day, Costa collapsed and could not be awakened. He was allowed a visit from his wife, then the interrogation resumed with sleep deprivation until he felt the walls and floor were moving. In the third week, PIDE added beatings. Finally, they played a tape recording which sounded like his wife screaming in terror. "The effects of this were devastating,"

wrote the psychiatrist, "and the breakdown was complete."

The "statue," in which the subject was kept in a crucifixion position for long periods, was a standard torture, and electric shock techniques were also routine. The statue torture was used for over two weeks last December at Caxias on a woman named Maria Gabriela Ferreira, who was also kept naked in a small cell and beaten hourly.

PIDE agents tried to burn the files recording these practices when they sought refuge in their headquarters, after the coup, from the army and their fellow citizens, fleeing "like rats returning to their holes," as one long-time Communist described it. The files, photographs and films that remain will be evidence at their upcoming trials, where victims who survived will also testify.

(Thanks to *Pacific News Service* for the information in this article.) □



## AFRICA LIBERATION DAY Special

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

**SOUTH AFRICA, ZIMBABWE and NAMIBIA.**

Nine pamphlets dealing with military strategy, life in the liberated zones, problems of political organization, cooperatives, national reconstruction and socialism.

**\$8.00 value for \$4.00** Offer expires August 31, 1974. Post-paid.

LSM Information Center, Box 94338, Richmond, B.C., Canada.

## Africa In Focus

### SOUTH AFRICA

Two African miners were killed and five injured when police fired into demonstrating workers at the Loraine mine in the Orange Free State in South Africa last week. According to the British news agency *Reuters*, trouble began after a pay dispute. The Anglo Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company, owner of the mine, said one miner was killed by a "warning shot fired by policemen after tear gas failed to control the crowd." According to the company, the other miner was killed by "the rioters."

### SOUTHERN AFRICA

Rhodesian White minority leader Ian Smith paid a surprise visit on South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster in Pretoria last week, in what observers said was a demonstration of the two White minority government leader's concern over developments in southern Africa and the "threat" of independence or African rule in the neighboring countries of Mozambique and Angola. Both Rhodesia and South Africa have long borders with Mozambique and Angola borders Namibia (South West Africa), now illegally administered by South Africa.

### UNITED NATIONS

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has appealed for action by governments and the United Nations family of organizations to help drought-stricken Ethiopia and to assist Zambia in meeting the economic burden caused by the closure of its border with Rhodesia, in line with the United Nations sanctions program against the illegal, White minority regime.

### CHAD

The *Guardian* reports that guerrillas of the Chad Liberation Front (FROLINAT) have demanded the release of 30 political prisoners held by the Chad government in exchange for three Europeans captured by the liberation forces last month. They also demanded financial compensation for damages done by government troops and publication of their political manifesto. Formally independent from France since 1960, landlocked Chad, located to the south of Libya, has remained a neo-colony under French economic domination.



## HUEY P. NEWTON

## PROTESTS

## IRANIAN

## REPRESSION

(Oakland, Calif.) - Brother Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, has added his name to a prestigious list of American activists, scholars and writers protesting the current wave of severe political repression in Iran.

Brother Huey's support and endorsement comes in response to a request conveyed by Babak Zahraie, the national secretary for the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

Mr. Zahraie is currently on a nationwide speaking tour, seeking support for the plight of 12 Iranian journalists, writers and filmmakers arrested more than a year ago by the Shah's secret police, five of whom have been condemned to death by the Shah's courts for their political activity.

In an interview at Black Panther Party headquarters here in Oakland, Mr. Zahraie provided some background information on his Committee's work and spoke of the nature of the struggle in Iran.

## TORTURE

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran was formed, Brother Zahraie explained, around the specific case of the arrest (in late 1972) and torture of Dr. Reza Baraheni, a prominent outspoken poet and literary critic.

Mr. Zahraie explained that the Committee believes that by building a broad-based international support movement—particularly in the U.S. where the Shah recently completed a \$3.5 billion arms deal—pressure can be brought to bear on Iranian authorities to halt the terror campaign.

Of the 12 writers, filmmakers and journalists recently convicted by a military trial, five were condemned to death for the alleged crime of plotting to assassinate the Shah and kidnap three members of the royal family.

Mr. Zahraie and Committee literature particularly point to the

## ZAMBIA'S KAUNDA DISCUSSES

RECENT  
TRIP TO  
CHINA

*Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda recently visited the People's Republic of China and a number of Asian countries on a mission described by the Zambian government as "very special."*

*Summing up the important lessons learned during the trip, President Kaunda in the following interview says, "We need principles, commitment, direction, effective organization and hard work." The second part of the interview, reprinted from Africa magazine, follows:*

## PART 2

The Chinese are really showing in practice what it is to do unto others as you would like to have them do unto you. On the other hand, the Chinese will not respect a man who is a puppet. They will not. You can be a puppet of anything—any one country.

You can be a puppet of the Chinese themselves, and they will not respect you at all, as I understand them. They respect a man, somebody whom they think is a man—one who deals with them on equal terms. This is the type of man the Chinese leaders and people will respect. I believe they understand Zambia to be that.

They know that whenever any friendly country, including China itself, makes a mistake, or what we consider to be a mistake, we



*Zambia President KENNETH KAUNDA operating a hand tractor at Chengchow Factory in China during his recent visit there. Agricultural technology is important in the development of Zambia's rural society.*

will say so in very clear terms without fear or favor. So this, I think, is the basis of the Chinese respect for us.

They will therefore not respect us the moment we become a replica of them. They would cease to respect and admire, as they're doing at the moment, the little that you people in Zambia are trying to do for the whole world revolutionary movement. This is how I understand this.

One can say, therefore, that we went to China to learn. There is no doubt about that at all. I have not minced words on that one. We went there to learn. We learned a great deal. But we still remain Zambians; we will remain Zambian. We cannot be anything different from what we are as Zambians.

Perhaps it is significant to learn something from the Chinese themselves, or shall I put it this way: One of the things that we learned from the Chinese people and their leaders is humility. They are simply fantastic because each time you go to them they say to you—in my opinion very genuinely—that, "We have

shortcomings. We would like you to comment on what we are doing. If you see any errors in what we are doing, will you please help us?"

And secondly they tell you: "What we are telling you about ourselves is only for reference because your situation obviously must be different from ours. Therefore, whatever we tell you is only for reference. You can refer to it if you need it."

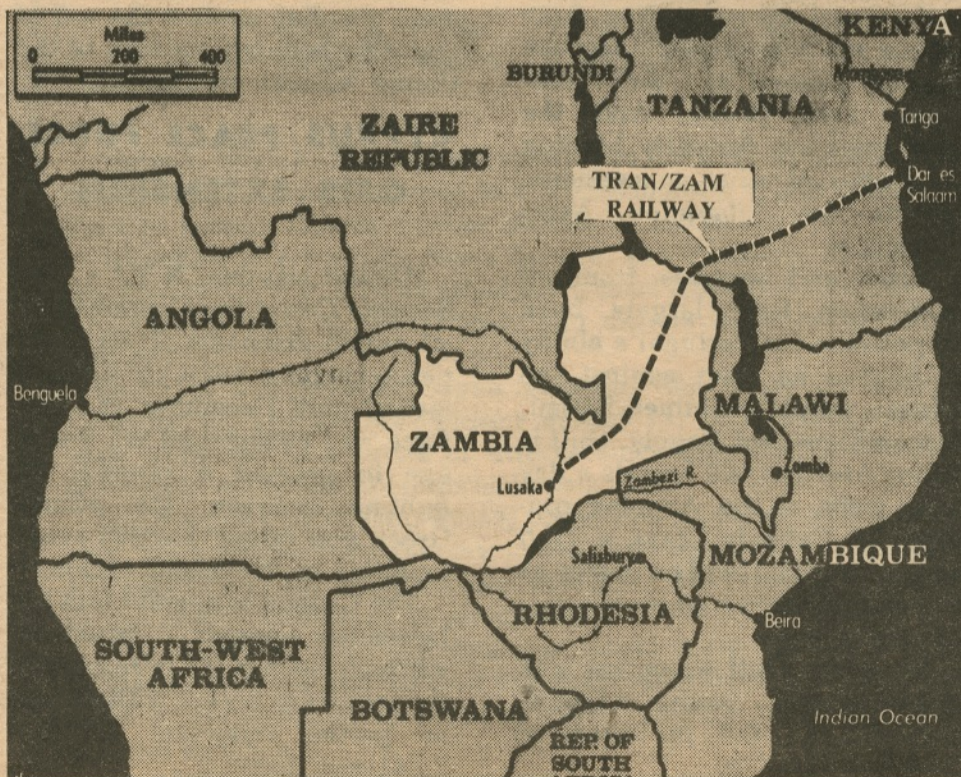
So, you see, people who say this will not wish to tie other people at all. I mean, they have got principles which I have come to know and appreciate.

AFRICA: So, Your Excellency, you do not share at all the apprehension one hears from some people that once Chinese come in numbers they will wish to stay for good?

KAUNDA: On the contrary. It is the people who are saying that who are staying here. The Chinese when they come, do a job, finish it and go back to China. Up to now we have not seen any Chinese settlements here. They keep to themselves with the very same humility I am talking about. They do not show themselves around. And, if I may be totally frank, we are yet to see a Chinese colored ever since they came here, and they have been here for a long time.

Yet the people who are talking against them come here to make a road or works of that nature, for a year only, and what do you see? They leave behind fatherless colored children. So you see, these are facts which we cannot run away from.

Because they are afraid of that system which fights exploitation of man by man, they are propagating against the Chinese. However, Zambians are no fools. They will see whether what has been talked about and against the Chinese is true. Because the Zambians have got their eyes





VIDA TABRIZI still suffers effects of torture from Shah's secret police.

## IRANIAN REPRESSION

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE  
case of Ms. Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi to expose the torture horrors of political repression in Iran.

In July, 1972, Ms. Tabrizi, a sociologist and researcher at the University of Teheran, was stopped by the secret police while driving home. Although the government has never made her arrest or military trial public, she has been in Teheran's Evin Prison ever since.

Since that time, Ms. Tabrizi has been subject to such harsh torture that the Swedish daily, *Dagens Nyheter* (8/31/73) reports that she has "lost any sense of feeling in her hands and feet, has developed a bad heart, bad blood circulation, meningitis and no longer menstruates at all."

Before her arrest, Ms. Tabrizi was investigating the living conditions of Iran's peasant population. Amnesty International has named her one of the 10 political prisoners around the world it is pledged to defend. □

## Africa in Revolutionary



# MUSIC

Songs

Instrumentals

Choral music by

militants of Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe...plus street music from Tanzania and Afro-Brazilian songs.

How & Surely the Best of its Kind!

(Stereo LP) \$5.00 (post-paid)

ISM Information Center, Box 94338,

Richmond, B.C., Canada V6Y 2A8.

## P.A.I.G.C. LEADERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

states of the United Nations. We are members of the Organization of African Unity, of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the group of nonaligned countries, of the Islamic conference. We have a permanent mission at the United Nations in New York. We maintain diplomatic relations with many powers—big, medium-sized and small—and we take part on an equal footing in numerous international conferences.

Do you think that after that, we could even conceive of participating in a neo-colonialist project like this of Spinola's?

MALLEY: What is the position of the state towards the question of negotiations with Portugal?

LUIZ CABRAL: Long before the proclamation of the state, we agreed to negotiate at any time with any Portuguese government. But we will negotiate as a sovereign state, a part of whose territories are occupied illegally.

## "CEASE-FIRE"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

refusal to expose itself to the general reading and concerned public.

Meanwhile, the U.S. magazine *Business Week* reports that U.S. oil companies with large financial interests in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau expect little difficulty in adjusting to the policies of the military junta of General de Spinola.

Among the oil companies that are active are Gulf, Exxon, Texaco and Cities Service. "We have commitments for 40 offshore wells within the next three years and a total of more than \$120 million will be invested," said the director general of the Portuguese Fuel Board. And the companies are furiously bidding on dozens of other concessions, reports the *Liberation News Service*.

Taxes and revenue from oil exploration have largely been responsible for Portugal's ability to finance its wars against the African people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. Gulf is taking over 150,000 barrels a day from wells in the Angolan province of Cabinda. Says a Gulf executive, "Gulf will be in step as the shift to native administration is emphasized."

What the Gulf executive well knows is that "native administration" can fall far short of "African rule." □

by aggressive forces of a foreign country.

MALLEY: What are the prospects of admission of Guinea-Bissau into the United Nations?

LUIZ CABRAL: We are carefully optimistic. Most certainly the overwhelming majority of the United Nations is in favor of our admission. After all, 82 of their members have acknowledged us de jure and several others de facto. But, in order to be admitted to the UN it is necessary to obtain the agreement of the Security Council in which the five permanent members (France, Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the United States) hold the right of the veto.

Now, if it is evident that the two socialist powers will support us entirely and that France, which abstains at the General Assembly, could do the same at the Security Council, and that a Labor government in London (if it lasts until then) would have great difficulty in standing in opposition to our candidature, the only one susceptible of barring the way is the United States.

MALLEY: One hears of discreet contacts between Guinean and American representatives?

LUIZ CABRAL: This is true. The American Embassy in Conakry got in touch with us to ask if our delegation in New York would accept an invitation to the State Department to exchange views. We accepted these contacts in order to explain to our interlocutors (negotiators) the direction, the scope and the meaning of our national liberation struggle; to tell them that our people, the people of the Third World and the world wide opinion that supports and acknowledges the legitimacy of our struggle, would not accept or tolerate the American government standing against the will of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations organization." □

## CYPRUS PEACE FORCE GETS EXTENSION

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The Security Council has approved a six month extension of the U.N. peace-keeping force on Cyprus lasting until December 15. The force was established ten years ago to prevent a renewal of fighting between the ethnic Greek and ethnic Turkish communities in the island nation.

The Council is hopeful that by December enough progress will have been made in resolving the conflict to permit withdrawal or partial reduction of the 2,341-man force. □

## WORLD SCOPE

### UNITED STATES

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Senate has voted 55 to 27 to approve a U.S. contribution of one and one-half billion dollars over four years to the World Bank to help the world's poorest nations.

The House of Representatives defeated the same bill last January, and its passage this time will largely depend on how much support the Nixon administration can muster among House Republicans.

### INDIA

(New Delhi, India) India's nuclear test conducted earlier this month has been harshly condemned by a prestigious Gandhian organization. The Gandhi Peace Foundation, in a widely published letter here, described the May 18 underground explosion as a "cruel joke on the people of this country." The biting attack was unusual because most of the press and opposition politicians praised the test as a major scientific breakthrough.

### MALAYSIA

(Singapore) - Malaysia has become the first member of the Association of Southeast Asian nations to recognize the People's Republic of China. The two countries have agreed to establish full diplomatic relations and Malaysian Prime Minister Abdou Razak was in Peking last week to formalize the step.

Diplomatic observers believe Thailand will be the next Association member to recognize Peking. Other Association members are Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore.

### BRAZIL

(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) - Despite assurances by the new Brazilian government of General Ernesto Geisel, political prisoners are continuing to disappear here. Lawyers have asked the government to produce at least five persons who were arrested recently and have disappeared. The Brazilian Bar Association has questioned the Geisel government about security forces abuses, including kidnappings, disappearances, arrests without warrants and torture.

## ENTERTAINMENT

## CRIMINOLOGY

When I came to UCB  
I thought I'd study criminology  
I paid my money, got enrolled  
And then this is what I was told  
They said there ain't gonna be  
no criminology  
I said what? You must be crazy.

It seems that the chancellor had  
called his men  
Told them there's only one thing  
to do  
Get rid of that Crim School as  
fast as you can  
And they picked themselves one  
hell of a man  
Name of Mr. Sindler...  
It takes one hell of a man to  
oppose such a popular school  
Why, he's so mean that where  
he spits, cactus won't grow!

A report was written by this  
Sindler Committee  
But even the Administration  
thought it was shitty  
So they got themselves a brand  
new group  
Headed by a slick liberal dupe  
Name of Dekker...  
He's a little more liberal  
Got long hair  
Wears Work Shirts

Some of us got together and  
thought it wasn't fair  
For these hacks to go cutting us  
up everywhere  
Spreading false arguments,  
hiding behind lies,  
The only thing for us to do was  
ORGANIZE.

So we looked around and sure  
enough  
A lot of other people were tired  
of the same stuff  
About courses and faculty and  
FTE's  
And various kinds of graduate  
degrees  
Why any fool could see it was  
political

You see in this school we study  
crime  
And we think it's the wrong  
people who're doing time.  
It's not the poor who steal from  
you and me  
It's Nixon and Exxon and ITT.  
George Jackson stole 70 dollars  
And they put him in the hole  
While Rocky was out spending  
the billions he stole

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

T.V.

REDD FOXX FIGHTS FOR  
BLACK ENTERTAINERS'  
RIGHTS

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Writing in the May 30, issue of *Jet* magazine, Brother Joseph X. Jackson of Cincinnati, Ohio, says, "I am writing this small letter to let Redd Foxx know that I stand behind him all the way. I'm glad that he stood up for Manhood and not Moneyhood."

Brother Jackson said it all. Veteran comedian Redd Foxx's battle with Tandem Productions, the company that produces NBC's top-rated *Sanford and Son* series will undoubtedly set a precedent for Black entertainers in television. Brother Foxx, who has grossed millions of dollars for NBC in his role as junkdealer Fred Sanford, is rightfully demanding the same privileges and economic benefits that top White TV stars get with little or no trouble. But because he is Black, the TV tycoons thought they could treat him like a third-rate entertainer. They misjudged Redd Foxx when they did that.

Tandem Productions is suing Redd Foxx for ten million dollars on charges that he broke his five-year contract with NBC by refusing to appear for tapings of next season's shows. To top that off, Tandem outrageously decided to make it impossible for Brother Foxx to work anywhere by obtaining a court order which prevents him from working for anybody in the field of entertain-

ment for the duration of his 22-week contract with Tandem.

Redd has become disenchanted with the award-winning *Sanford and Son* series for two basic reasons. First, he is disillusioned with the scripts. He especially wants more Black directors. In the June issue of *Ebony* magazine he complains that even the scripts he did ask to be changed were often done so to inject White versions of Black humor.

Second, he seeks better working conditions and 25 per cent ownership of the show. He earns \$25,000 weekly from the series but as he explains in *Jet*, "It's all a matter of economics. I only got about \$7,000 a week out of the salary I made, because I'm in a 90 per cent bracket and if I don't have all kinds of tax shelters then it (\$25,000 weekly) don't mean a thing. But if I owned one-fourth of myself and had some capital gains, that would make a difference."

The longtime exploitation of Black entertainers in television is well known in the Black community. We have had to accept everything from Step-in-Fechit roles such as *Amos 'n Andy* to White-washed Black roles such as *Julia*. But when *Sanford and Son* first hit the screen three years ago, it was probably the first Black TV series to be widely accepted in the Black community,



Veteran comedian REDD FOXX is being unjustly sued for breach of his TV contract.

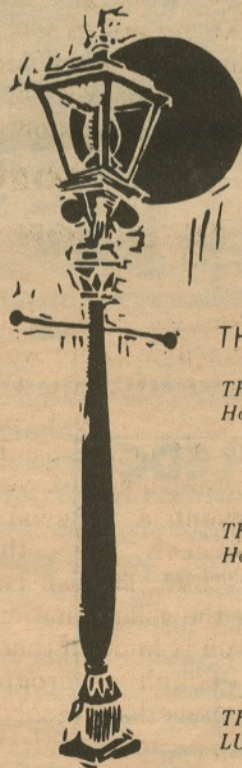
but it is just plain funny, because Brother Foxx is a truly fine comedian.

The outcome of Redd's dispute with Tandem will be a trailblazing one. If he wins, notice will be served to the TV moguls that they can not continue arbitrarily running over and exploiting Black entertainers. If he loses, it will be a major setback for Black progress in the TV industry.

Right on, Redd! Keep on setting that courageous example. □□

PENTAGON ADMITS  
RACISM

(Washington, D.C.) The Pentagon's civil rights chief says there has been "no progress, or very little" toward bringing more minority group members into top policy-making and management positions within the Defense Department. "As I travel from office to office, I always encounter what might be described as a sea of White faces," said Minton Francis, deputy assistant secretary of defense for equal opportunity. □

Come to **THE LAMP POST**

Lamplighter Restaurant  
& Cocktail Lounge  
2273 Telegraph Avenue  
Oakland, California

THE LAMP POST IS OPEN EVERYDAY

THE LAMPLIGHTER RESTAURANT  
Hours: 11:00 a.m. - 2:00 a.m. [Mon. - Fri.]

Saturday & Sunday, open 24 hours  
Breakfast is served

THE COCKTAIL LOUNGE  
Hours: 11:00 a.m. - 2:00 a.m. [Mon. - Fri.]

6:00 a.m. - 2:00 a.m. [Sat. - Sun.]

WE HAVE THE LOWEST PRICES IN TOWN

THE LAMP POST IS AVAILABLE FOR PARTIES, MEETINGS,  
LUNCHEONS and DINNERS.

for reservations, please call 465-5220

## FREE FILMS

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

7 P.M.

JUNE 6: THE MURDER OF  
FRED HAMPTON

6118 EAST 14TH ST., OAKLAND  
PHONE: 562-5261

# BLACK JUDGES DEMANDED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5  
 1,115 judges sitting on state court benches. Fewer than 30 or less than three per cent are Black. The largest percentage of Black judges are relegated to the Municipal Courts with only eight Black judges serving in courts of general jurisdiction or one per cent of the total number of judges

## COP TRIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE  
 in courts above the Municipal Court level."

Attacking the "Private Club" system of selecting judges, the group cited the selection of ignoring the horror of shocked Black onlookers. Mr. Armstead escaped with his life only by fleeing through a deserted lot, leaving the stricken youth behind.

The testimony left Officer Shea completely exposed as a murderer. His defense attorney could only resort to insulting Brother Armstead for running when his son needed help. There was nothing he could say for Shea.

The incident, which occurred in the morning of April 28, 1973, sparked an angry demonstration by over 2,000 protesters outside the 103rd Precinct station house. A violent rebellion throughout Jamaica erupted the next day. □

William H. Orrick of Orrick, Herrington, Rowly and Satcliffe, as exemplary of this "backroom political process."

Describing the process, they said: "a small group of Montgomery Street (San Francisco) lawyers from the most exclusive lily White law firms got together and decided which one of their friends should be the next federal court judge. The rest is a formality. The public is totally excluded from the process. They usually don't even find out about a vacancy until a decision has already been made as to who will fill it."

This system results not only in the exclusion of minority candidates, the release points out, "but produces judges who share the big business, anti-civil libertarian bias of their former clients." □

# V.V.A.W. DEMONSTRATION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9  
 Nguyen Van Thieu...The U.S. government also continues to give aid to the corrupt regime of Lon Nol in Cambodia.

"A single-type discharge for all veterans is demanded because under the present system of multiple discharges, a bad discharge means a lifelong mark; jobs are hard to get, chances of promotion are jeopardized and the rightful benefits the government owes the veteran are often denied..."

Organizations or groups who wish to join the demonstration should contact the VVAW/WSO National Office at 827 W. Newport, Chicago, Illinois 60657 or phone (312) 935-2129. Individuals who wish to participate should contact chapter or regional offices. □



Zambia President KENNETH KAUNDA.

# KAUNDA DISCUSSES TRIP TO CHINA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17  
 wide open, this propaganda will die a natural death.

The Chinese do not want to grab anyone's land. The way they till the land; the way they use it and the way they look after it: They mother it—literally mother it—that is the word I think, is simply fantastic. And they have no desire whatsoever to be imperialists. In fact, they fight imperialism all the time.

AFRICA: Your Excellency, talking about the Chinese and what they do in China, you visited their irrigation schemes and when you arrived back home you had something to say about them. Do you think we will be introducing some irrigation schemes perhaps using the loan the Chinese have given to Zambia?

KAUNDA: This is an area of great importance to us, Puna. I like the idea personally, but I do not know what the Central Committee will decide and what the Cabinet is going to do with this loan.

But if you asked me for my own idea, I would rather we spent the money to commemorate our friendship with the Chinese in a way that will interpret their thinking about the importance of man. And in my opinion, the best way of doing this is by spending that money on the people—spending it on rural reconstruction. And in this respect, irrigation is a key factor in our program of rural reconstruction.

Indeed, roads, which open up areas which hitherto have not been reached so that our people who till the land and produce so much food and other crops will not lack markets, are also very important. This would be, to me, a very good way of using that money.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Community Learning Center  
 6118 EAST 14TH STREET, OAKLAND, CALIF.

**AFTER SCHOOL PROGRAMS**

Dance Program:	TUES.	THURS.	SAT.	Music Program:	MON. - FRI.
	3:30 - 5:00	3:30 - 5:00	1:30-3:00		3:30 - 5:00
	5 - 7 yrs.	5 - 7 yrs.	8 - older		any age child
	5:00 - 7:00				
	8 - older				

sponsored by Educational Opportunities Corporation ● For further information please call 562-5261

## EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES CORPORATION

(A Non-Profit Corporation) 6118 East 14th Street Oakland, California 94621 Phone (415) 562-5261

### Intercommunal Youth Institute

EACH ONE  
 TEACH ONE"  
 TUITION  
 ASSOCIATION

WE ARE LAUNCHING  
 A CAMPAIGN TO GAIN  
 FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR  
 THE STUDENTS AT THE  
 INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH  
 INSTITUTE THROUGH THE  
 "EACH ONE TEACH ONE"  
 TUITION ASSOCIATION.

WE ARE ASKING YOU  
 TO DONATE A NOMINAL  
 AMOUNT PER YEAR.

ALL MONIES ARE GOING  
 FOR DIRECT SUPPORT OF  
 THE CHILDREN. (ALL MONIES  
 ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE.)



Please Make Checks or Money Orders Out To  
 EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES CORPORATION  
 (A Non-Profit Corporation)  
 6118 East 14th Street Oakland California 94621  
 Phone (415) 562-5261

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
 CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_  
 ZIP \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature \_\_\_\_\_

### PLEDGE

MONTHLY \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 QUARTERLY \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 BI-ANNUALLY \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 YEARLY \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Cash  
 Check  
 Money Order

## SPORTS

# "THE BLACK SUPERSTAR-VICTIM OR EXPLOITER?"

The following article concludes a two part series, "The Black Superstar—Victim or Exploiter?" written by Brother Paul Hoch, a professor in the sociology of sports at Dawson College in Canada and the author of Rip Off the Big Game.

In this concluding excerpt, Brother Hoch cuts through the "falsely glamorized" aspects of the personal lives of star Black athletes and moves on to point out the victories which occur for sports and all the players when collective efforts are made to combat the White establishment in control.

He ends on a challenging question: "Who needs the owners, anyway?"

## CONCLUSION

A more ambivalent, but perhaps no less dangerous, case is that of Jim Brown, perhaps the best running back in football history. At the height of his career in the late '50s, Brown complained loudly about racism in sports (at a time when it was far from traditional to do so). And even after his retirement Brown continued to give aid and counsel to Black ballplayers like Duane Thomas who continued to be victimized by the sports establishment.

Nevertheless, by this time Brown himself had become something of a star on the Hollywood movie circuit, and appeared at many of the usual public relations premieres and Academy Awards celebrations with plastic White starlets like Racquel Welch. Even more dangerous Brown has allowed himself to be used more and more as a spokesman for the plastic and sexist values of the Hollywood ripoff circuit.

In the book, *Jim*, by his fellow hustler and girl-grabber, James Tobias, Brown is depicted (perhaps a la "Sugar Ray" Robinson) as the arch-apostle of fast-living, fast-fucking and fast-hustling. These are basically the same repressive values being spread in the recent round of Blacksploitation films, and they are of course precisely the opiates and

false roads-to-nowhere that have kept the Black community hustling for the brass rings of capitalist America.

In the long run, even the temporary (and falsely glamorized) ripoffs of drugs and plastic women prove a pretty sorry high for the daily low of life in a racist society. Unfortunately, the ratrace to nowhere for these spurious consumer goods has gotten a good many brothers off the tracks. The Black community deserves more from men like Jim Brown.

Even more ambivalent in their effects on the Black community have been the experiences of men like Bill Russell, Kareem Jabbar and Muhammad Ali. All of these brothers have spoken out strongly about racism in sport, and in American society generally, often at considerable risk to themselves and their careers (i.e., the banning of Ali from boxing for several years).

Nevertheless, even as they spoke out against racism in America, all of these isolated Black sport militants have been used to attract Blacks to the passive consumption (and socialization in passivity) of sport spectacle.

Thus, in a curiously ambiguous two-edged way, even as these



DUANE THOMAS (left), star player for the Washington Redskins, and BILL RUSSELL, former champion player for the Boston Celtics and now manager of the Seattle SuperSonics, are typical of Black athletes victimized by racism in the sports world.

brothers heroically critized the atrocities of the Empire, they were being used as individuals to distribute an opium to keep it going.

In contrast, other brothers, like Oscar Robertson and John Mackey, were able to assume leadership of the player associations in basketball and football and thereby begin to collectively take important steps to overcome the authoritarian practices within these sports. In general, in whatever sports Blacks have assumed leadership of the players associations, the result has usually been a militant and effective challenge to the establishment owners.

The football players strike led by Mackey resulted in a greatly expanded pension plan and a much stronger voice for the football players' association within the industry. The threatened basketball strike suggested by Robertson was a crucial factor

in heading off the proposed NBA-ABA basketball merger which would have dealt a severe blow to players' salaries.

Unfortunately, as yet, despite the numerous examples of successful Black collective actions in college sports, there have been few examples of Black athletes acting together to correct the racist abuses in professional sports.

What would happen if the Black players on, say, the world champion Oakland Athletics got together to demand that a Black be given a fair shot at being their team's manager? Then too, how much more effective would this demand be if the Black Panther Party managed to get the Black community in Oakland to give it their full support and militancy?

The sports establishment would no doubt try to do everything it could to turn White players against Black, trying to get White players to identify with the skin of color of their exploiters rather than the militancy of their brother players (workers). This might, or might not, work for a while with a few athletes, but as the unity behind previous Black leadership of the basketball and football players' associations shows, White and Black athletes are rapidly discovering that they have common grievances and bones to pick with the handful of White millionaire owners.

Indeed, increasing numbers of both groups are wondering: who needs the owners anyway? □

## 300 IN ILLINOIS REBELLION

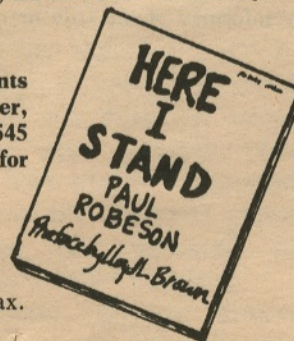
(Sterling, Ill.) - More than 300 young people protesting the arrest of a youth here set fire to a police car and according to the police, "started a riot." Four persons were arrested in the melee and there were a few injuries. □

## 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]

For this book send \$2.45 (plus 35 cents handling and postage), check or money order, to SEIZE THE TIME, Dept. B-2, 2545 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025. Write for our mail order brochure.



N.Y. residents add sales tax.

# KAUNDA DISCUSSES TRIP TO CHINA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

**AFRICA:** Now Sir, if I may turn to another subject. The construction of the Tanzam Railway will be finishing soon. The last time you were in China in 1967 you had invited Prime Minister Chou En-Lai to visit Zambia. Although he accepted, he has, unfortunately, not visited Zambia as yet. After this your second trip, do you think he will be able to come?

**KAUNDA:** Well, Puna, this is an important question too. But I think we should look at it from this angle. Prime Minister Chou En-Lai is running a country of 800 million people. This is no joke. With only five million people to work with, I feel the weight. So really, what we should do and what we have done is to leave this entirely in his hands.

I know that if we press and say, "Look, please come Mr. Prime Minister," he would feel obliged to and would come. But would this be fair? We should be contented to receive some of his close colleagues and Comrades in the people's revolutionary struggle and Ministers.

**AFRICA:** So, I take it that he has got an open invitation and he can come anytime?

**KAUNDA:** Certainly.

**AFRICA:** From China, Sir, the next stop on your tour was Pakistan, where an Islamic Conference had just taken place. You are a very strong supporter of the nonaligned movement in the world. Now in the Arab world another group seems to be emerging. What do you think of groups like this? Don't you think they sort of tend to weaken non-aligned solidarity?

**KAUNDA:** No, I would not say that at all. It all depends entirely on how that movement will be used. The formation of that movement is not in itself a threat to the nonaligned movement at all. Much depends on how it is used.

Take for example the Organization of African Unity. Some of the members who attended the Islamic Conference are also OAU members. Of course, you have other organizations like the Caribbean countries and one Latin American organization.

You have some Asian organizations, etc. All these have not destroyed the base of the non-aligned movement. So all I would say is that it all depends on how our colleagues use the recent successful Lahore Conference. □

## Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2.

Brothers:

First of all, I'd like to say, 'what's happening'—and how's life in the city? My name is Don and I am a native and longtime resident of Oakland. I have lived in Dallas, Texas, since August, 1972.

I have always been what you might call a moral supporter of the Party...and yet I still feel that I have neglected to do my utmost for my fellow Brothers and Sisters.

But I am not writing you to confess my shortcomings...I am specifically concerned with an order I recently sent in for the five posters of our praised revolutionary Brothers—King, Malcolm, George Jackson, Bobby and Huey. I enclosed a \$3.50 money order which took care of postage and handling. This was more than two weeks ago.

Excuse my impatience, but I'm sure you can understand what it means to me to have the posters of five of the badest and most dedicated Brothers to the cause of all oppressed people, hanging around me!

I have had the occasion to meet Brother Fred, who founded and is now the fearless leader of the Dallas Chapter of B.P.P.

Brother Fred is very hard working and also very heavy. He knows there's business to take care of and how to take care of it. However, I would like to think that the thing is together at the pad—I mean in Oakland where myself and the Party were born.

If I was somehow negligent in addressing the letter or in my identification of the receiving party on the money order, please let me know.

I want those posters very bad. By all means possible, can you address yourselves to matter in question.

Thank you!

Don

Dear people,

I want to tell you how much I appreciate your hard work in producing and distributing your newspaper each week. Thanks to you I am keeping myself aware of the real events that are changing our lives in Oakland, in America and the world.

All over the world people are struggling to be free. Last weekend Afro-Americans and Irish-Americans picketed together against the docking of the British warship Kent in S.F. This was a beautiful action and shows the potential of anti-imperialist struggle in this country.

I especially appreciate your brilliant and courageous exposure of Donald DeFreeze as a police agent in May 18 issue. Please send me ten of these as I want to pass them around. As an Oakland resident I knew immediately that the slaying of Dr. Foster was a right-wing act. The rhetoric which followed only heightened my fear that it was part of a very involved "scenario" to keep Nixon in power. Your exposure of the true source of this brutal and desperate killing can only help to unite all oppressed people who above all value life for their fellow people and children.

Because of your unswerving position against the true political nature of the "SLA," I feel your party warrants a position of major leadership in the movement in America for racial and social justice.

For years I have listened to radio station KPFA in Berkeley. Their coverage of Watergate, the "energy crisis," and world-wide revolutionary movements has inspired me a great deal. Unfortunately, their position on the "SLA" seems to be one of qualified support: they seem to approve of their content but question their "tactics."

This shows that in spite of their coverage of Bobby Seale's exposure of the Oakland school system's use of Ritalin in the fall of '73, they remain separated from the realities of life in Oakland. If they knew as much about Oakland as they know about Chile they would be aware of Dr. Foster's **opposition** to the photo-identification program at the time of his assassination. This would change their appraisal of the "SLA" as "revolutionary heroes" in a profound manner.

Like you, I feel that the real content of the "SLA" can be seen in the Foster assassination, and the rest—with the exception of the shooting of innocent bystanders in later actions—was simply posturing for the media. I am ashamed and appalled at my fellow white "radicals" for their lack of political judgment in thinking—as they apparently do—that violence plus rhetoric equals revolution.

Please let me sponsor for them a three month trial subscription to the BLACK PANTHER beginning with the May 18 issue so they will be better informed of the true nature of people's struggles.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Don Cummings  
Berkeley, Calif.

## CRIMINOLOGY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Now Chancellor Bowker said he read Marx as a kid  
I don't believe it, but it's time he did  
Cause if he did he'd surely know  
That he and his kind have got to go  
He must have read Groucho...  
Or seen Go West...

So if we're going to defend our school  
There's a few things we still must do  
Crank out our leaflets, hold demonstrations  
Create ourselves a campus wide demonstration  
Build a mass movement and show that Chancellor  
That WE WON'T TAKE NO FOR AN ANSWER.

Richard Schauffler  
University of California  
Berkeley, Calif.

## SEGREGATION

### ON THE JOB

(Johannesburg, S. Africa) - The South African government's order that workers in noisy jobs must be provided segregated ear muffs has provoked criticism from unions and newspapers. Under new regulations, if each worker cannot receive his or her own ear muff then communal muffs must be sterilized after use and clearly marked for the sole use of Whites, Coloreds, Indians and Africans.

**THE  
BLACK PANTHER  
is Available in  
MICROFORM**

...from



**Xerox  
University  
Microfilms**

300 North Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

**Xerox University Microfilms**  
35 Mobile Drive  
Toronto, Ontario,  
Canada M4A 1H6

**University Microfilms Limited**  
St. John's Road,  
Tyler's Green, Penn,  
Buckinghamshire, England

PLEASE WRITE FOR  
COMPLETE INFORMATION

# 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.



OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

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

## LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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

### FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

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

### FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

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

## 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.

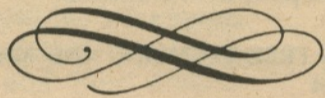
## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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.

*"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

"THIS BABY OF MINE  
IS GOING TO KNOW HER TRUE HISTORY  
AND HER ROLE IN THIS PRESENT DAY SOCIETY  
BECAUSE SHE'LL BE GOING  
TO THE INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE  
LEARNING TO SURVIVE  
IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE THREE R's  
READING, WRITING, ARITHMETIC  
BECAUSE THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IS JIVE".



GRAPHITE PENCIL DRAWING BY ASALI