

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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CELEBRATE BLACK HISTORY



See Page 2 and 6

INSIDE

- OIL PROFITS WHILE YOU SACRIFICE.....3
- INSTITUTE "LOVE AND UNDERSTANDING". . .4
- GUARDS MURDER AT MORE PRISONER.5
- PRISONS FOR "DISRUPTIVE" INMATES.....7
- FARAH STRIKERS WIN.....9

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BERT BAYI
See page 17

CENTERFOLD

ELIMINATE PRESIDENCY PROPOSAL DRAWS STUNNED REACTION

- SOUTH AFRICA TO SEIZE TERRITORIES.....15
- INTERVIEW WITH SOMALI PRESIDENT.....17
- CHILE TORTURES POLITICAL PRISONERS.....18
- TANZANIAN BREAKS 1500 M. RECORD.....19

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EDITORIAL

CELEBRATE BLACK HISTORY

In celebration of Black History Week and in fulfillment of a long felt need, THE BLACK PANTHER inaugurates with this issue a Black history column. (See page 6.) Appearing weekly, the column will contain events out of the history of Black people in America that occurred during the week of the current issue.

The racist oppressors of Black people in America were determined from the beginning and remain so today to deny Black children access to the glorious history of Black people in America and the world. So well has the job been done that there are still Black people in this country who question the existence of anything glorious in Black history.

In denying Black children their history, White children have also been denied; cheated out of an essential part of the history of humankind. The vast majority of the peoples of the world are "colored" peoples. Consequently, most of human history has been made by "colored" peoples.

Racism has its roots in ignorance. That is why the oppressor's schools for White children as well as Black, do not teach Black history. They maintain: "A people without a history are clearly inferior to a people with a history". That is why nothing of the Black people's heroic and never-ending struggle against oppression is taught to America's children. "A people who do not struggle against slavery do not deserve freedom", we are told.

Our Black history column will, in its small way, contribute to correcting these myths. We will recount the people's history; the events of courageous struggle by ordinary Black people against oppression and injustice. We will emphasize the movements of masses of Black people, singling out the most militant, the boldest, the most uncompromising. We will honor the individual only as that individual's contribution served the masses of Black people.

Black American history is rich in inspirational example for all of us who are contributing to the making of our history today. For us, every week is Black History Week. □

'If they get too close you'll have
to give 'em both barrels'



The Christian Science Monitor

COMMENT

MEDIA DISTORTS SAN FRANCISCO KILLINGS

Establishment media allegations that recent San Francisco killings are a result of "a savage campaign by a fanatical sect of blacks to kill whites" is highly irresponsible, totally unsubstantiated and deliberately provocative. Such "reporting" has made the streets of the entire Bay Area unsafe for every Black male living in the area, and has set the stage for vigilante type attacks against the Black community.

Northern California's leading daily, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, on January 30, frontpaged and headlined: HUGE HUNT FOR S.F. KILLERS REPORT OF 'SECT' MURDERS — Theory of Killings for 'Initiation' The first paragraph of its story read: "Details of a savage campaign by a fanatical sect of blacks to kill whites began emerging from behind a tight curtain of official police silence yesterday."

In the same issue's adjoining story, San Francisco Chief of Inspectors Charles Barca, hardly behind a curtain of silence, is quoted as saying in response to questions on the 'sect' theory: "There is no hard or soft evidence to support such a theory." The question therefore arises why does the *Chronicle* and other establishment media headline and repeat what is at best a theory. This is not news reporting; it is rumor mongering with evil intent.

The long *Chronicle* story asserting the "sect theory" contained not a single checkable source. Instead, vague "police and detective" sources are credited with providing "evidence" that links the killings to other unsolved murders, as far back as 1970. In each case, according to these unidentified sources, the killings are the result of some initiation rite for admittance to the "innermost secret circles" of an alleged Black sect.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

Letters to the Editor

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

My subscription must have lapsed, though I don't remember getting any notice. Enclosed please find a renewal form and payment for the coming year.

As Librarian in the State Prison, I tried last year to have them subscribe to your newspaper, but they said this was not possible. (?) So, since I have been a regular reader for years, I have loaned my copies on occasion to (mostly) Black brothers who come through, of which at any one time there are only a few, here in Montana.

I feel it is good for all the men here to have access to the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service because it helps to break down misconceptions and false ideas some of the men here have, and also helps to make them think more in political terms, about their problems. Native American men, for example, who comprise almost a third of the population, are often interested in Intercommunal News, although they of course have many programs of their own, and many newspapers to publicize them.

I think it is very good when you report news on developments in the Native American community. When you do, such as during the Wounded Knee occupation, it is much appreciated, and I have posted these accounts in the Library. For the Caucasian men, reading and discussing news in the Panther Paper helps to break down racist conditioning they have experienced out here in Marlboro Country.

All in all, at times the Intercommunal News is a strong, fresh breeze, like the unrelenting Chinook winds that come from the South, sweeping away all the snow and sub-zero cold.

Yours,
Gordon H. Hills
Dear Lodge, Montana

Brothers:

I don't know where to begin. I have so much to say, and can think of only one way to cover all which is simply: STOP! ENOUGH! NO MORE!

First off, I am a political prisoner in the Oklahoma prison system. I have tried in every way now, to get help, but I am still unsuccessful. I was referred to you through the Jailhouse Lawyers Manual printed by the Prison Law Collective of San Francisco.

My situation is this: I filed a lawsuit against the Director of the Department of Corrections and the Warden of the Oklahoma State Penitentiary, the civil-action stems from the cruel and unusual punishment I received after the revolution of July, 1973, that destroyed the institution. My civil-action has been successful up until now, but I need a lawyer to handle the complexities that are forming.

As I have said, I cannot find a lawyer anywhere in the state of Oklahoma who will take my case on a contingent basis. I am sure you have witnessed similar situations, whereas the individual who was seeking help was eliminated by the oppressor, never to be heard of again.

The reason for the urgency of my plea is that I have a message to deliver to the people. And, in order to do this, I must remain alive long enough to deliver it. I will not make a specific request, for I know you know better than I what is best for a Black man in my position. But, I will request that an open correspondence be inaugurated for the purpose of me letting someone effective know that I am still alive, for I am not safe here, in any form or fashion. Still I have a lot to say, but no words would suffice...

Harambee,
Ulyses B. Hooks, Jr., 85690
McLeod Honor Farm
Farris, Oklahoma
LovePeaceUnity

THE BLACK PANTHER

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ENERGY CRISIS

RECORD OIL PROFITS WHILE YOU SACRIFICE

(Washington, D.C.) - As the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations continued its hearings into the role of huge oil companies in the "energy crisis", it was revealed late in January that yearly profits for the major oil producers jumped record amounts. It was further announced that six of the seven

major oil firms also hit record profits in the fourth quarter (last three months) of 1973—the period of the Arab boycott on oil sales to the U.S.

Exxon Corporation, for example, the world's largest oil company, reported that their profits for 1973 were up a record 59% over 1972 profits. Further,

Exxon profits for the fourth quarter were up 59% as well, over the same period from the year before.

Though Exxon chairman J.K. Jamieson insisted "I am not embarrassed" at the huge profit increases, the corporation still felt it necessary to call their first news conference ever to report yearly earnings.

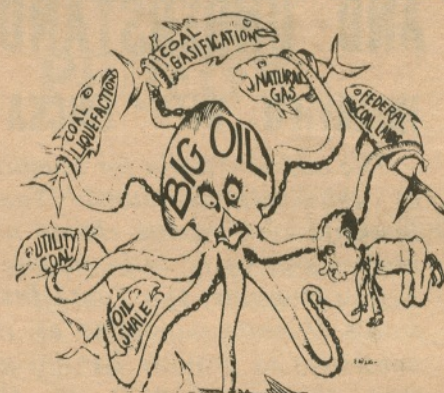
If Exxon chairman Jamieson was not "embarrassed" by his announcement of the huge profit increases, General Motors certainly did not "blush" with their profits last week.

GM reported a record \$2.4 billion profit in 1973, up from the previous record of \$2.16 billion set just one year before. In addition, GM announced record preliminary sales figures of \$35.8 billion, record worldwide factory sales of 8,684,000 cars and trucks, and records for both worldwide employment and payrolls. In 1973, GM employed 811,000 men and women around the globe, maintaining an executive-heavy payroll that totaled \$10.36 billion.

Spokesmen for Ford and Chrysler corporations, the nation's second and third largest auto manufacturers, have said that their sizeable 1973 earnings reports — already known to be at record levels — will not be available for about 2 to 3 weeks.

Addressing nearly 80 media

fill re-election coffers

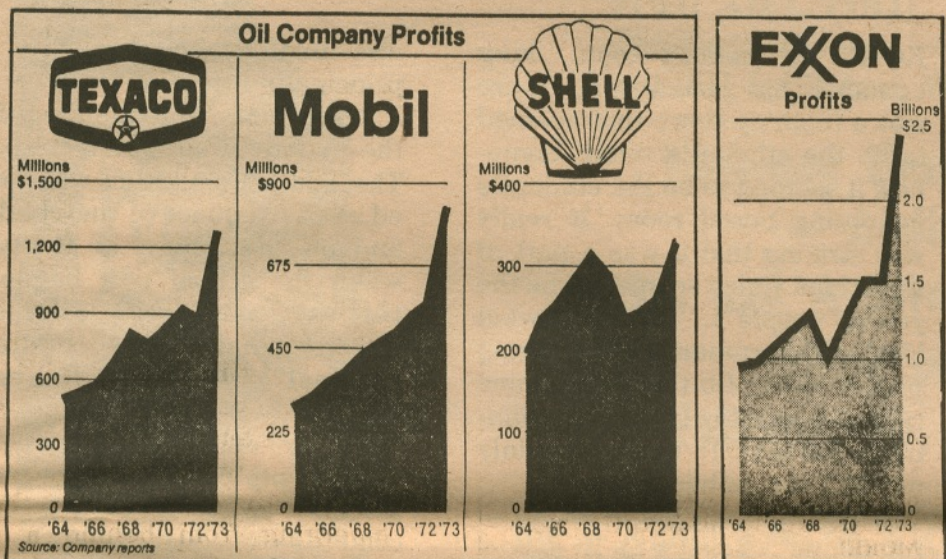


people in the 70-minute news conference, Jamieson maintained that "We aren't making windfall profits". He attempted to dismiss the 59% jump by saying, "We don't expect our earnings to continue growing at last year's rate". He declined, however, to estimate what earnings for 1974 might be.

Mobil Oil and Texaco, the nation's second and third largest oil companies, also reported record profit jumps for 1973, and huge gains in the fourth quarter. Mobil profits jumped 47% for the year and a whopping 68% in the fourth quarter, while Texaco reported a 45% gain for the year and a 70% gain during the period of the Arab oil embargo. Royal Dutch Shell was the only one of the "big seven" oil producers — Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Gulf, Standard of California, Shell and Amoco — to report a decrease in the fourth quarter, though their profits for the whole year still managed to jump 28%.

Of the other oil companies reporting thus far, Union Oil of California showed a 20% profit increase in 1973, with fourth quarter earnings up 55%. Ashland Oil, the nation's 15th largest oil producer, reported that profits

CONTINUED ON PAGE 21



SAN QUENTIN PRISONERS KEPT HEAVILY DRUGGED

(Marin Co., Calif.) - Inmates in San Quentin's Adjustment Center are heavily dosed with drugs without supervision or other safeguards, charges a writ filed in Marin County Superior Court last week. The writ was filed on behalf of one of the San Quentin Six, David Johnson, and seeks his release from the maximum security "prison within the prison".

Inmates are encouraged to "take large doses of psychotropic (mind-altering) drugs designed for psychotic or other mental conditions, without a doctor's prescription and without mentioning possible hazards", charges the suit.

Drugs being dispersed include: Stelazine, a nervous depressant; Elavil, an anti-depressant; Artone, an anti-spastic drug, and Thorazine, Mellaril, Librium, Tofranil and Noctec, all tranquilizers and anti-depressants.

Although murder indictments against the San Quentin Six were recently dismissed, the brothers are still confined to the Adjustment Center. The Six, jointly,

have a civil rights suit pending in U.S. District Court in San Francisco seeking their release from the Adjustment Center on the grounds that it constitutes cruel and unusual punishment.

In dismissing the indictments against the Six, Marin Superior Court Judge Vernon Stoll ruled that the means used to select the grand jury did not assure a fair representation of Blacks, Latinos, workers and the young.

Johnny Larry Spain, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Willie Tate and Louis Talamantez became known as the San Quentin Six when the state of California charged them with murder, assault and conspiracy in connection with the August 21, 1971, incident in which San Quentin Prison guards murdered Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson. Prison officials claimed George Jackson and the six brothers killed two White guards and three White inmate-trustees while trying to escape from the prison's Adjustment Center. □



FALLEN COMRADE CINDY SMALLWOOD Died: February 7, 1973

*"We all know a gentle woman
with a smile like sunshine
a voice like springtime rain;*

A young woman who loved her people, Cindy Smallwood was only 17 years old when she joined the Black Panther Party. She worked tirelessly, devotedly, first at the Intercommunal Youth Institute and later with the Distribution staff for this newspaper, spreading joy wherever she went.

On February 4, 1973, on her way back to Oakland after driving some comrades home from a late night's work, Cindy crashed into a highway embankment. Thrown from the van and critically injured, Cindy was pronounced dead three days later. She died helping others, struggling to end the oppressive conditions of our lives.

*"we know a woman who worked
and gave her life for our people."*

(from a poem by Ericka Huggins)

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

YOUTH INSTITUTE TEACHERS HAVE "GREAT LOVE AND UNDERSTANDING"

INTERVIEW WITH ERICKA HUGGINS, DIRECTOR OF MODEL SCHOOL

The added criteria for teaching at the Intercommunal Youth Institute is "great love and understanding of little people", Ericka Huggins, the Youth Institute's Director, explains as she continues to provide her insight into the functioning of this progressive, model school situated in the East Oakland Black community.

Part 2 of Ericka's interview with Herbert Kohl, a highly respected educator and the author of 36 Hands and The Open Classroom, follows:

PART 2

KOHL: Who are the teachers at the Institute? How did they come to the Institute and what type of special qualifications might they have? Do you want people that come out with three master's degrees and all the knowledge of the current literature of education? What would qualify them to be an effective teacher at the Institute?

ERICKA: We would hope that anyone who would like to come and work with our children would have the basic qualifications for teaching anywhere, but, the added criterion would be that

they have great love and understanding of little people. You know, we don't consider them to be "kids" or "brats" but small people who have personalities of their own and experiences of their own. The difference between us and them is the lack of experience on their part; just because of their years. So, we're here to give them what we know and they give us what they know. It's an educational exchange; an energy exchange, as a matter of fact.

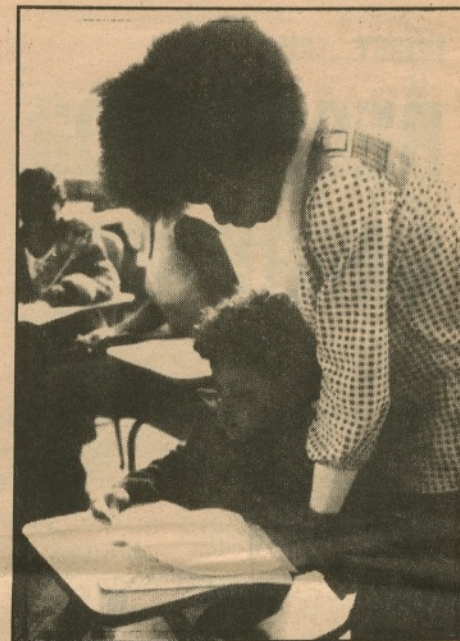
Most of the people who have come here to teach have come out of different types of school systems. Our Language Arts demonstrator, Amar Casey, comes from the Detroit school system. He left because he was very bored with it. One of our Primary Skills teachers, Sheila Smith, left the Philadelphia school system because she was tremendously upset with the teaching experience there. Frank Kellum, our Environmental Studies director and a person who also works with our Primary Skills group, left the San Francisco Unified School District. We have a few other people who are aiding the teachers. Some are in college and others are attending work-

shops. All have a great feeling for people, and in particular for Black and poor youth.

We have two other people here who have given great amounts of their time, Charles Moffett and Jackie Buist. Jackie Buist is the Director of our Dance Program and Charles Moffett is the Director of our Music Program. Charles also has great input into our school curriculum although the Music Program is extra-curricular.

KOHL: I noticed one thing upstairs that struck me. There was a room up there that seemed to be the student's room. Somehow it seemed to be the student's governing board room. It really was striking that it was a part of the school which seemed to be the young people's. Tell me, what kind of government do the young people have? Do they have some type of control over the disciplining in the school? That's certainly not like the public schools!

ERICKA: No, it's not at all. I can remember when I was in school and I thought that I wanted to have some control over what I learned, either I was smacked or I



A Language-Arts teacher with six-year-old Jessica at the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

was told to go down to the principal's office.

That room you mentioned is the Youth Committee's room. The Youth Committee was formed at the request of the children and on the advice of the staff when the school first began so that we could have a greater understanding of the children's personal and collective needs. The children use the method of criticism and self-criticism to resolve problems among themselves. For instance, if a child comes to one of the staff and says, "So and so took my game and refuses to give it back", then we may call in one of the members from the Youth Committee to help us resolve the problem. This is opposed to trying to resolve it on a very adult level with a small child. The Youth Committee leaders are chosen by the youth with some advice from the staff.

KOHL: Even the 4 and 5 year olds?

ERICKA: Yes. They use a very good method of choosing people, it's very objective and thorough. They go by who is the most serious—and also the most well-liked, that's important—but primarily by who is the most serious and who can get the job done well.

KOHL: Given the whole notion of that kind of Youth Committee, I guess the children don't go around breaking windows like in the public schools. It seems to me, as you were describing it, there's a whole new sense of whose building it is. The difference in being in an alien place and some place which is a part of you.

ERICKA: Well, no, they don't break up things, but they do get into situations where they feel

HOUSTON POLICE CHIEF DENIES PUBLIC ACCESS TO RECORDS

(Houston, Texas) Newly appointed Police Chief Carrol Lynn has begun his administration by issuing new guidelines denying the public and the press access to records of the already clandestine Houston Police Department.

The new chief did not make the restriction in the interests of "protecting suspects" since it has recently been disclosed that while Lynn served as head of the Police Academy, he operated three private consulting firms on the side and supplied information from police files on private citizens whenever requested by his business clients.

Chief Lynn was appointed last month by newly elected Mayor Fred Hofheinz, a "liberal", who promised during his campaign to replace former police chief Herman Short with a new and progressive department head. Of all prospective nominees Hofheinz chose the most racist and conservative.

Lynn, a captain in charge of personnel before his appointment, was Short's right-hand man in directing the Houston police force during several years of violent beatings and murder of the city's Black citizenry. Hofheinz's appointment of Lynn is a slap in the face to over 80% of the Black community who voted for him in the recent elections.

As Director of Police Personnel, Recruitment and Training, Lynn made certain that Blacks were denied entrance to the police force. Only 75 of Houston's 2,000 policemen are Black, yet Chief Lynn has the audacity to claim that the department's racist image is undeserved.

Lynn's restriction of police records from public scrutiny immediately following his taking office ominously suggests a desire to repress any information coming from the police department during his administration.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



"Until We're Free"

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

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

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY ELAINE BROWN

Album produced and distributed by MOTOOWN RECORD CORP.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

ANGOLA 4

HERMAN WALLACE SENTENCED TO LIFE

(Baton Rouge, La.) - The second of four Black prisoners charged with the murder of a White prison guard at Angola State Penitentiary, Angola, Louisiana, in April, 1972, has been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. Herman Wallace, 33, one of the Angola 4, upon hearing the judge declare that he (Wallace) would be imprisoned "for the rest of your natural life", shouted to the courtroom spectators, "This is fascism!"

The trial of Wallace and Gilbert Montegut, 23, another of the 4, was marked with contradictions, inconsistencies, and surprise. It began in Baton Rouge on January 7. Chester Jackson, 30, one of the 4, had a sudden "change of heart" at the start of the trial and became the prosecution's star witness. His trial was severed from that of Wallace and Montegut and is scheduled to take place sometime in the near future, probably on a lesser charge than murder.

WITNESSES

Prosecution witnesses disagreed with each other on nearly all aspects of the prison murder — the number of killers, their identities, their clothes, and the number of weapons. According to one witness, five men participated in the murder of the guard, while another testified that there were four men involved in the incident. Jackson, one of the accused murderers, said that only two men in addition to himself participated in the murder. He did not identify Montegut as one of the two, and Montegut was found innocent.

Albert Woodfox, 29, one of the 4, was convicted prior to Wallace by an all-White jury in Plaquemine. His case is currently being appealed. At the time the four men were charged with murder, each was active in campaigns to improve work and living conditions inside the prison.

The parish (county) coroner where Angola State Penitentiary is located testified that the knife identified at the trial as the murder weapon, or one similar to it, could have inflicted the wounds found on the slain prison

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8



YVONNE GOLDEN

NAZIS AT SCHOOL BOARD

YVONNE GOLDEN'S TRIAL SEPARATED FROM OTHERS

(San Francisco, Calif.)-Yvonne Golden, a Black San Francisco school teacher charged with inciting to riot at a recent school board meeting last week had her case severed from those of others arrested and charged for assaulting a group of uniformed Nazis at the meeting.

Sister Golden's lawyer, Terence Hallinan, said he considered it extremely important for his client that her trial not be consolidated

with the others. She was charged with going to the microphone at the meeting and demanding that 13 uniformed Nazis be removed. She has insisted she was attempting to prevent a riot.

While Sister Golden was making her demand, a scuffle broke out between members of a group calling itself Workers Action Movement (WAM), and the Nazis. Several members of WAM were arrested. None of the Nazis were charged.

A community group formed to defend Yvonne Golden has distributed copies of the racist Nazi leaflet, "BOATING, NOT BUSING", that had been distributed at the January 8, school board meeting. THE BLACK PANTHER reprints in full the contents of that leaflet and asserts that those who were responsible for its distribution at the school board meeting should be the ones charged with inciting a riot, not Yvonne Golden.

"Or should we do some KILLING? Should we cut off, root and branch, the satanic Jews and all their lackies who are stirring up the niggers against us?"

"After all, they're trying to kill us. The Jews have secretly wanted to exterminate the White man for centuries. What's 'integration' but the slow mass murder of our race? Whatever it is, the Jews and Washington bureaucrats want no part of it for their own offspring. They keep their darling children in fancy private schools.

"Come to think of it, the genocide isn't so slow anymore. Now they want to offer up our precious sons and daughters-our FUTURE!-to the slobbering baboons waiting for them in what these rotten federal creeps call schools nowadays.

"In order to satisfy the secret Jews whipping them up behind the scenes, the pus-filled cruds of Washington now decree that White Kids have to be hauled all over creation just for the "cultural experience" of going to school with Negroes, who consistently score much much lower in IQ tests than Whites. These monkeys can't and don't want to learn anything, and they bring only crime and grief to anyone forced into contact with them.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

GUARDS MURDER ATMORE PRISONER

(Atmore, Ala.) - An inmate at Atmore Prison has charged the prison guards there with the murder of a brother while he was allegedly being transported to a hospital in Mobile for treatment.

The brother, whose name was Chagina, had just participated in a rebellion at the prison, in which inmates took several guards as hostages to protest the inhuman conditions in the prison's maximum security cells.

Shortly after the rebellion, the guards entered the "lock-up" and tried to murder all the brothers there, Atmore prisoner Willie Hekimi Harris charged in a

recent letter to THE BLACK PANTHER. Apparently, the guards seriously wounded the brother while inside the prison and then finished him off as they were allegedly taking him to a hospital.

The guards "had it in for the brother and tried to kill him before", the letter charged. He was one of three of the rebellion's participants for whom guards had "kill-on-sight" orders.

Appealing for help and support from brothers and sisters outside of the prison, the letter cited an

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



Human lives are unimportant on dozens of U.S. prison farms.

OAKLAND FREE BUSING TO PRISON SCHEDULE

EVERY SUNDAY -

Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center Departing Time - 10:15a.m.

From Son of Man Temple 6118 E. 14th Street

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For Further Information and Reservations Please Call 562-5368

NEW TRIAL IN M.L. KING MURDER

(Cincinnati, Ohio) - The U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals has ordered a special hearing to determine whether or not James Earl Ray, the convicted murderer of Dr. Martin Luther King, deserves a new trial. Ray claims that the attorney who represented him in his first trial asked him to plead guilty, which he did, because of financial benefits the attorney would gain from the plea. The hearing and the possible subsequent re-trial will shed new light on a murder that was, many believe, committed by a well-financed group of conspirators rather than by a single assassin.

Ray has charged in the past that he was set up as a "fall-guy" by a conspiracy. He now says that he was further used by his own lawyer.

Attorney Percy Foreman, who defended Ray, was receiving payment in the form of royalties from a book about Ray's trial. In order to bolster book sales, and therefore his own profits, Foreman told Ray to plead guilty. He is quoted as having told Ray that there was "a 100% chance of conviction and a 99% chance you would go to the electric chair" if he (Ray) did not plead guilty. As a result, Ray is serving a 99 year sentence for the April 4, 1968, assassination of Dr. King. Foreman had not questioned any of the witnesses nor had he investigated any evidence when he made his recommendation.

The new hearing, if held, will take place later this year in Nashville, Tennessee. There is evidence which indicates that a number of people may have been involved in the assassination. Whether or not Ray was involved, he could not have done it by himself.

He deserves a new trial in light of the obviously unfair circumstances that led to his guilty plea



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING was assassinated on April 4, 1969.

on March 10, 1969, and his conviction. The people deserve a new chance to learn the true story behind just one of the political assassinations that have stricken down a number of important political figures in the last decade.

When the methods and motivations of the U.S. government's Executive branch were revealed through the capture of the Watergate burglars it became clear that we must guard against treachery—against explanations that don't explain, conclusions that don't conclude and convictions that don't convict. □

YVONNE GOLDEN

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

"Well, what are you going to do about it, Whitey? Are you just going to sit there and let your kids go down the drain, your boys ganged up on, knifed and forced to be servile to a bunch of moronic jungle bunnies, your girls tormented by hate-filled she-niggers and felt up, seduced or even raped by gibbering he-niggers? Of course you're not.

"There might be schools buses going up in smoke all over the country. There might be shotgun blasts into the guts of 'mix-master' principals and superintendents. There might even be hand grenades lobbed into the smelly chambers of the Supreme Court as the nine old swine go through their obscene legal hocus-pocus.

"There could be all these things as Whites are pushed past the breaking point.

A DECLINE OF BLACKS IN COLLEGES

(New York, N.Y.) For the first time since the effort began in the middle 1960s to expand higher educational opportunities, there has been a decline in the proportion of Blacks entering American colleges and universities. The

HOUSTON POLICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

The new rules raise the specter of secret police arrests, secret police interrogations and the secret holding of suspects in jail.

A veil of secrecy over an already corrupt police department is a complete denial of the public's right to know and the freedom of the press, both guaranteed under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. These basic rights are imperative in a free society, and are the foundation of all moves to end secrecy in government.

Hofheinz refused to comment concerning Lynn's use of police records in his private enterprises, nor would he say anything about his newly chosen chief maintaining his position within three companies while "serving" as captain on the police force.

With Mayor Hofheinz hiding behind his "liberal" veil and businessman/Chief Lynn suppressing all information from the public, Houston may have a Watergate/Gemstone of its own.

□□□□

"But these things need not be. They needn't if Whites would just ONCE get away from the old two-party swindle and get behind a REAL political party that represents THEIR interests!

"And the first order of business will be to send the Negro back to his home in the jungles of Africa. It won't cost any more than it did to send millions of our boys all over the world to fight the Jew's last four or five meaningless wars. It will cost just a fraction of what it's now costing us for welfare, drugs, crime and all the other benefits of Blacks and integration.

"So - what are we waiting for?"

Post Office box numbers in San Francisco and in Tracy, California, were printed at the bottom of the leaflet, as well as a telephone number. □

setback, disclosed in a recent report by the American Council on Education, is directly related to increasing tuitions, which Blacks are unable to pay due to the Nixon administration cutback in grant and loan opportunities.

BLACK HISTORY

On February 5, 1866

Thaddeus Stevens, a White liberal congressman from Pennsylvania, proposed a measure before the House of Representatives to set aside 40 acre lots of land to be distributed to newly freed slaves following the Civil War. The measure, which could have partially fulfilled Black people's demand for restitution for years of chattel slavery — "40 acres and two mules" — was overwhelmingly opposed. The House vote against the proposal was 125 to 37.

On February 7, 1867

A delegation of Black representatives, led by the great Frederick Douglass, met with President Andrew Johnson and urged that "freedmen", ex-slaves, be given the right to vote.

On February 1-10, 1960

On February 1, 1960, five Black students, freshmen, attending North Carolina A & T College, quietly sat down at a "Whites only" Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C. Within 10 days, like wildfire, similar "sit-ins" took place in 15 Southern cities, across five Dixie states. The new Black student movement was born; a tremendous upsurge of Black youth awareness of their place and role in society paced with unprecedented political activity.

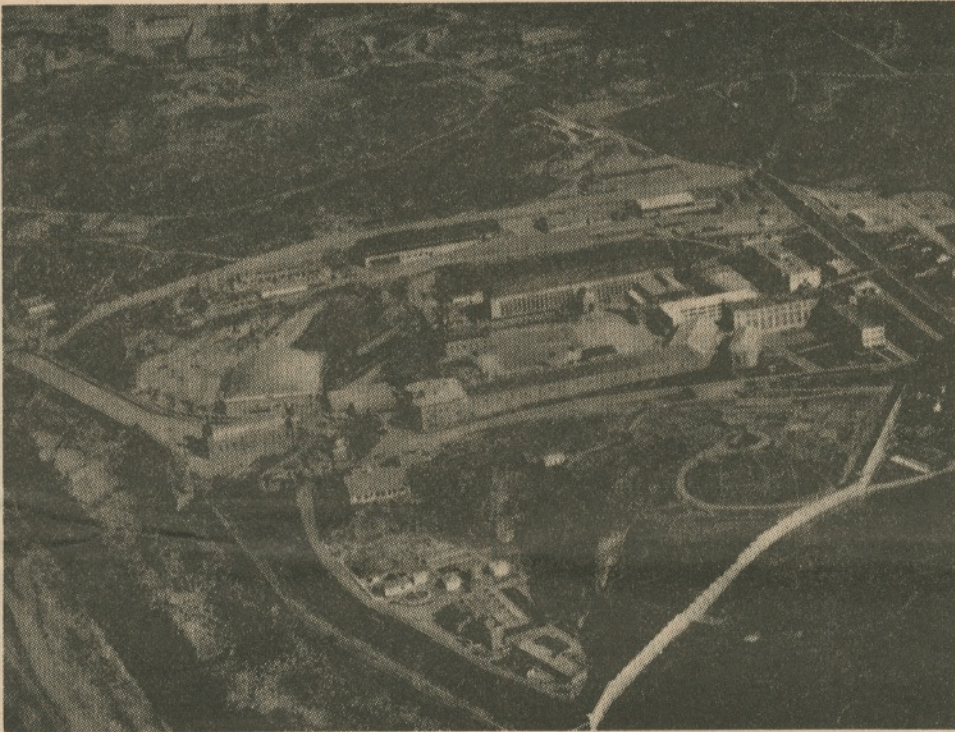
On February 6, 1961

Rallying across the South, the newly-formed Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) added impetus and a new dimension to the Black student movement with its "Jail, No Bail" campaign. On February 6, in Rock Hill, S.C., Black students arrested for sit-ins and other protest activities first refused to pay fines or be bailed out and chose to go to jail.

On February 8, 1968

Following months of protests and sit-ins centering around the refusal of a local bowling alley to desegregate, South Carolina police and state troopers, without provocation or justification, opened fire on a group of Black students sitting around a bonfire on the campus of South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, S.C. Three students were killed and 37 were wounded—etched in blood, the Orangeburg Massacre had taken place.

**REGISTER
TO
VOTE**



An aerial view of California's
Folsom Prison.

REGIONAL PRISONS FOR "DISRUPTIVE" INMATES PLANNED

(Boston, Mass.) - A new experimental prison for "disruptive" prisoners is in the planning stages here. "Disruptive" allegedly means emotionally unstable or violent, but politically active prisoners are always included in this category.

Dr. Matthew P. Dumont, Assistant Commissioner for Drug Rehabilitation in the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, says that political involvement was at least partially responsible for 35% of the "disruptive" labels given to men studied by a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) investigation. He sees a "dangerous possibility that political activists, organizers and protesters will be seen as 'special offenders' who require massive and highly professionalized forms of control".

Conceived as a regional prison for the most "disruptive or violent" prison inmates in the six-state New England area, the project is now deep in controversy. The plans call for a special facility at a soon-to-be-abandoned Naval prison in Kittery, Maine. The idea is based on a U.S. Justice Department LEAA report on treatment of "disruptive" prisoners in New England.

The report concludes that there is no real treatment for violent prisoners in present New England prison systems. Prisoners who have a record of "violent or undesired behavior" are usually locked in solitary confinement for long periods of time, sometimes over 1,000 days. These men are given various drugs, administered without proper medical supervision or medical reason. The report claims that under the present system, 50% to 70% of the prison staff's time is spent in controlling about 11% of the total

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

DELLUMS' CORNER

ATTACKS INFLATION

(Washington, D.C.) — California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums has strongly attacked the Nixon administration for the rampant inflation plaguing the American people and the American economy.

In a recent, sharply worded statement delivered at the opening session of Congress, the Bay Area legislator urged his colleagues to act to bring

MARYLAND PEN. INMATES ON THE VERGE OF REBELLION

(Baltimore, Md.)-The prisoners in the south wing of the Maryland Penitentiary are verging on rebellion against the inhumane and cruel treatment within their wing, the "death wing", the Maryland Pen Intercommunal Survival Collective writes THE BLACK PANTHER. The south wing is the maximum security section of this state prison.

Unconcern and brutality have a long history at Maryland State Penitentiary and so does prisoner unrest. Last year eight prisoners, including Black Panther Party member Marshall Eddie Conway, were beaten and tortured to the point where they required hospitalization. Bones and skulls were broken and fractured when at least twenty guards jumped the men with baseball bats and other weapons.

On several recent occasions when prisoners have asked to be treated for illnesses, they were attacked and left in the isolation unit. These men have often then been left handcuffed for days in isolation cells before being taken to a doctor. Many never saw a doctor.

Food is served cold and is of generally poor quality. Roaches, mice and other vermin infest the cell block. In fact, the prisoners of south wing joke, sadly, that the insects and rodents are "militant". Added to the filth and the brutality, pervasive boredom brings the inmate of Maryland Penitentiary to near insanity.

Newspapers and magazines are rare and radios are considered contraband by the prison authorities. "Death wing" inmates are denied access to the prison



The Attica State Prison yard shown following the 1971 rebellion.

library and can receive visitors only twice per month. Each of these visits can last no longer than a half hour.

Finally, south wing and isolation prisoners are left out of the only benefit of overcrowding that the rest of the prison offers: collective body heat. The cold steel and hard concrete structure of the Maryland Penitentiary only worsens the frigid Northeastern winter. The oil monopolies' "energy crisis" and the state's disregard for life leaves the prison unheated and the prisoners freezing.

All of these things make Maryland Penitentiary uninhabitable and forces its victims into a

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the continually increasing rate of inflation under control. Dellums said that the current inflation has more than doubled its average rate during the Johnson administration.

Commenting on price-wage controls, Dellums said, "The President's frantic and hastily improvised controls are doomed to failure as long as the Administration treats symptoms instead of basic causes. Until we attack the real misallocation in the economy

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

HOUSE VOTE CUTS WORLD BANK AID

"DISASTER FOR POOREST NATIONS"

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. House of Representatives' recent refusal to approve new U.S. contributions to the World Bank has been described as "an unmitigated disaster for hundreds of millions of people in the poorest nations of the world", by Robert S. McNamara, World Bank president.

Making an unusual public statement on an action in one of the bank's member countries, McNamara said that the International Development Association, the arm of the bank that was affected by the House decision, provides "the major source of development assistance for 21 countries which the United Nations classifies as 'least developed'". McNamara explained that the U.S. and other countries have pledged a special assistance effort to these least developed countries.

Most of the countries receiving assistance are small and are located in Africa. However, the association also aids larger countries. In 1973, it provided 30 per cent of all the aid received by India, for example.

The sharing agreement was negotiated last September in Nairobi, Kenya, during the annual meeting of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or World Bank. The agreement stipulates that the bank provides \$4.5 billion over three years, with the U.S. share to total \$1.5 billion.

For the U.S., this is the smallest share it was ever asked to pay, and, unlike the other shares, would be allowed to spread over four years instead of three. The House voted down this very meagre contribution to a global peace and prosperity.

U.S. Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz headed the negotiations for the U.S. and promised to do his best to win congressional approval. Reliable sources report that Shultz was surprised by the negative House vote, having believed that the bill would pass. The vote was 248 to 155, with Republicans voting overwhelmingly against the bill.

Shultz is still attempting to find the best way of reviving the legislation. One possibility may be to get the bill passed in the Senate and then in one official's words, "give the House another chance to do the right thing" No final decision has yet been made on tactics. □



World Bank President ROBERT S. McNAMARA.

HERMAN WALLACE SENTENCED TO LIFE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

guard's body. No positive identification of the murder weapon was made.

Fingerprints found at the scene of the crime did not match the fingerprints of any of the defendants. Prison officials made no attempt to determine whose fingerprints they were. The alleged murder weapon contained no fingerprints. Therefore, no physical evidence exists to link Wallace or any of the other Angola 4 to the murder.

Notable public and prison officials appeared at the trial to guarantee that the trial jury would be properly impressed with the trial's importance and the so-called "dangerous" character

MEDIA DISTORTS SAN FRANCISCO KILLINGS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

So, last Saturday night, University of Southern California football star Lynn Swann, his two brothers and a cousin — four, young, handsome, well-dressed, BLACK males — were stopped by San Francisco police, harassed, intimidated, insulted, assaulted and finally arrested for defending themselves. The fabricated charge; possession of a mutilated driver's license!

MARYLAND

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

state of desperation. This desperation has found no relief in the court system where numerous prisoners' petitions and suits have been ignored.

A special grievance commission, appointed by the governor, has "looked into" the prisoner's motions for relief but there has been no change.

Last Christmas the inmates of the Maryland State Penitentiary refused to take their Christmas meal and urged their friends on the outside to send donations to the Attica Defense Fund. Now, many prisoners feel that the Maryland Penitentiary will be the next to erupt in bloody struggle and repression.

The Maryland Pen Intercommunal Survival Collective is calling for a community-based united front to halt the injustices and tortures before it is too late. □

of the defendants. Among those who appeared were Ossie Brown, the district attorney of East Baton Rouge Parish, and Murray Henderson, warden of Angola State Penitentiary.

Despite the blatant inconsistencies in the testimony of the witnesses, the assistant East Baton Rouge district attorney said in his closing arguments to the jury, "Inconsistency is indicative of truthfulness".

The mothers of the Angola 4 and several concerned community people in Baton Rouge and New Orleans have formed the Committee to Free the Angola 4. The committee held demonstrations, the first day of the trial.

□□□□

Throughout the Bay Area Black males are indiscriminately and for no violation or reason being stopped, searched, questioned and insulted by uniformed and plainclothes police. The slightest show of resistance to these clear violations of civil and human rights results in an immediate show and use of force and arrest.

The spreading of racist claims and assertions that have no basis in fact has extremely dangerous consequences. Popular *Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen reported one. Also in the January 30 issue he wrote that his first phone call of the day was from "a tough-sounding hombre" who said: "You read the paper, right? Five white men dead, right? Tonight we're goin' out and getting us 10 black men. Two for one is about right, don'cha think?" □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

BLACK-VIET ORPHANS

(Saigon, S. Vietnam) - A group of American social workers visiting South Vietnam have urged the country's adoption agencies to stop their practice of placing Black-Vietnamese children with White adoptive parents and begin placing them in Black homes instead. "Since they're going to America, and in view of the racial situation there, we feel that youngsters would have a better opportunity to develop their self-identities in Black homes", explained Alfred Herbert, an official of the Black Child Development Institute in Washington, D.C.

"SMALL" ATOMIC BOMBS

(Washington, D.C.) - In heavily censored congressional testimony made public recently, General Andrew J. Goodpaster, Supreme Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Europe, advocated the full-scale production of "small" atomic weapons for use by NATO. There would be a greater political willingness to use the "smaller" bombs, thus enhancing the credibility of NATO's nuclear deterrent, Goodpaster said.

U.S. TOURISTS ADVISED TO LEAVE

(St. George's, Grenada) - Several hundred Americans vacationing on this Caribbean island have been advised to leave by the U.S. government because of the increasing political awareness of the Grenada people. Grenada is to receive its full independence from Britain on February 7, a holiday the State Department fears may touch off more demonstrations against the U.S.-British puppet Prime Minister Eric Gairy.

BOLIVIAN PEASANTS REVOLT

(La Paz, Bolivia) - Despite the president of Bolivia's declaration of a state of emergency which bans political demonstrations, thousands of armed peasants calling for the establishment of a worker-peasant government blockaded roads in the central provinces last week, in protest against huge increases in the cost of living.

FOOD SHORTAGE PROTESTERS KILLED

(Gujarat, India) - Indian government troops have killed 39 people here in four weeks of militant protest against food shortages and high prices.

NAACP CAMPAIGNS FOR EX-PRISONER EMPLOYMENT

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, (NAACP), Legal Defense Funds' western office here has begun the organization and implementation of a research and action program to eliminate employment discrimination against ex-prison inmates.

The unemployment rate for ex-prisoners is four times higher than the national average, primarily because of the laws and regulations which inhibit or forbid the employment of former offenders and because of the unwillingness of private employers to employ them.

The effect is that the former offender is denied the means of making an honest living, so that every sentence becomes a life sentence.



The entrance to the notorious San Quenting Prison in Marin County.

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund is organizing a program of action to eliminate those ex-inmate employment disabilities that have no reasonable relationship to the requirements of the jobs sought.

The organization plans a survey, to be conducted by Bay Area ex inmate organizations, who, through their work, are the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

FARAH ORDERED TO REHIRE STRIKING WORKERS

(Washington, D.C.) -- A National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) judge last week ordered the Farah Manufacturing Company of Texas to rehire all its striking workers and to allow union organization of its factories. The harshly worded decision, handed down by the NLRB's administrative law judge, Walter Maloney, Jr., accused Farah of perpetrating "a wide variety of unlawful conduct" against its employees during the past four years.

Maloney's decision was a sweeping victory for the nearly 2,000 predominantly Chicano wo-

ALTERCATION WITH COPS

3 OF NATION OF ISLAM PLEAD NOT GUILTY

(Oakland, Calif.) Exactly one week after a Berkeley policeman shot Brother Larry Crosby twice in the back following a street altercation, three of Brother Larry's fellow members of the Nation of Islam pleaded not guilty to a variety of felony charges lodged against them. Once again, Black victims of White police hostility are being forced to defend themselves against false charges.

Brother Larry, whose health has steadily improved since he was first taken to the hospital in critical condition, will himself be arraigned next week. Presently, his condition is listed as fair, however, doctors predict that he will be left permanently paralyzed.

Although few concrete details are known about the incident, which took place on Friday, January 25, we are prepared to believe that the police instigated and provoked the scene in order to harass the brothers. The police have yet to give a justifiable reason for following or stopping the van, clearly marked "Nation of Islam", nor have they provided a good explanation of how Brother Larry allegedly came into possession of the policeman's gun as he is said to have done.

If the gun had remained in the police officer's holster, where it belonged, it would be impossible even to claim that Brother Larry took it from the officer and then pistol-whipped him. If the gun was not in its holster, why wasn't

men who work in Farah's eight plants and who have been on strike against the company since May, 1972. Before the strike Farah was the largest manufacturer of men's pants in the world.

In writing his decision, Maloney said: "This respondent has been repeatedly directed to mend its lawless ways, and yet it continues on as if nothing had happened, pursuing its policy of flouting the (National Labor Relations) Act and trampling on the rights of its employees as if there were no act, no board and no Ten Commandments."



Farah striker pickets for job benefits.

Farah was ordered to rehire six employees fired for union activities and to give them back pay for the time since their discharge. The company was also directed to place the striking workers at their old levels of seniority and to permit the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to organize the workers into a union. Finally, the NLRB ordered Farah to pay both the union's legal costs and those of the NLRB.

Maloney's decision awarded the workers and the union nearly all the concessions they had sought.

However, Farah has announced that it will appeal the decision and ask for a review by the full board. The company, which has suffered serious economic setbacks as a result of the strike, described the decision as "a shocking departure from fundamental legal principles and precedents" and charged Maloney with using "inflammatory and vitriolic language"

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

it? Surely it isn't the routine for Berkeley policemen to stop traffic violators at gunpoint.

All four brothers were unarmed at the time of the incident. All had proper identification.

Following the incident, the three — Herbert (4X) Tucker, Donald (2X) Craig, and Robert (17X) Wright — along with Brother Larry were held on excessively high \$45,000 bails each. At bail hearings this past week, attorney Clinton White, successfully had the bails reduced and the brothers were released.

At the arraignment, it was learned that the Muslims have been charged with various counts of assault on a police officer with a deadly weapon and interfering with the performance of a police officer's duties. The cops in-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

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NAACP CAMPAIGN

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

organizations with the greatest contact with the problem. The survey will seek to identify the various restrictions facing people with criminal records and the sources of these restrictions, be they federal law, state law, or simply private, employment practices.

The next step will be to file several test cases in the courts attacking those disabilities which appear to have the greatest practical impact in terms of numbers of jobs closed to ex-inmates.

It is hoped that by this method of bringing these injustices to the attention of the courts, some of the more severe and crippling employment disabilities can be eliminated for ex-inmate brothers and sisters who have fallen into the quicksand of the criminal justice system. □

ATMORE PRISONER MURDERED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

The major concerns of the strikers were job security and the incident that occurred a week prior to the rebellion. In the incident, the guards "jumped on" a brother in the isolation wing because they disliked his attempts to humanize the prison.

"Brothers, we are going through hell, and its getting worse and worse; something has got to happen or we will have to die for what we believe in (justice for all). I ask you to let the people see the hell we are going through in order to bring about justice and human rights in Atmore Prison" the letter said.

Also mentioned was the problem of homosexuality among the prisoners, which the guards allow and encourage in order to keep the inmates divided and from struggling against the inhuman conditions. □

SERVICE ILLEGALLY GUARDS AGNEW

(Washington, D.C.) - The General Accounting Office told Congress last week that Nixon had no legal authority to order Secret Service protection for Spiro T. Agnew after Agnew resigned as Vice-President. An undisclosed number of agents are still assigned to the discredited former Vice-President, around the clock. □

DEMOCRACY AND THE OAKLAND CITY COMMISSIONERS

(Oakland, Calif.) - During the recent campaign to elect Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown to Oakland city offices, a major demand of the People's Candidates was the elimination of corruption and non-democratic practices in the city government.

THE BLACK PANTHER, with the aid of researcher Harriet Ziskin, prints here some statistics comparing the 92 appointed Oakland city commissioners to the city's registered voters:

-Fifty percent of all Oakland voters live in the oppressed, predominantly Black and Mexican American, flatlands area. Only 10% of the commissioners live in the flatlands area and 10% don't live in Oakland at all. The other 80% live in the wealthy, hills area.

-Although 70% of the registered voters are Democrats, 60% of the city commissioners are Republicans.

-The commissioners are 75% White and 80% male, while the Oakland citizenry is almost 60% Black and non-White and 50% female. □

**REGISTER
TO
VOTE**

REGIONAL PRISONS FOR "DISRUPTIVE" INMATES PLANNED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

maximum and medium security prison population.

For these reasons, to isolate the "disruptive" rebellious or political prisoners from the general prison population, the plan is to concentrate the "problem prisoners" in one place. Four states—Maine, Rhode Island, Vermont and New Hampshire—have indicated a desire to put the plan into practice. Connecticut already has its own special unit for "difficult to handle" prisoners. Only Massachusetts Corrections Commissioner Frank Hall and other Mass-



Brother FRANK KELLUM teaches children a game at the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

YOUTH INSTITUTE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

that they can have more of this building to themselves. That's where the staff comes in. Because of a lack of experience the children can't see things as objectively as some of us might. There are times when they feel that they don't want to do certain things that would be best for them. For instance, at times they get very bored with their classes. We feel that it's important for them to learn because this isn't an elite school and the children are not middle-class children. If they leave here and they haven't learned what we are offering then they are going to be in a desperate situation.

We think that it is far more important for the children to learn the things we offer them in Language Arts and mathematics, than for them to feel that this is a very free and warm school that they went to but never learned anything. We have a very disciplined attitude towards them learning things, so they don't break up things. But they have other problems with themselves. We, the staff, can handle them

best by having a Youth Committee working.

KOHL: Really, the Institute doesn't seem like a very cold place. It seems as if people know each other; another striking thing I don't see around the public schools. I teach in a very small elementary school and I know that many of the staff of the school don't know the names of all the kids. Sometimes when you're talking to the youth and when you are addressing somebody you say, "Hey, you". It changes the whole attitude of how the child is going to listen to you. It seems that everybody really knows each other around here.

ERICKA: We try to. Some of the children just came in last week. We're having a little trouble with them but there is a very warm attitude because the children who came in for the first time last week are very, very young. Most of them are under 4. There is a way we have of talking to the younger children, so that they will feel like we're their mothers. They have a saying, you know, "I want my mommy" because they haven't been in a school situation before. □

achusetts officials have had any "reservations" on the matter.

Hall objects because he feels that an inmates' right to privacy would be violated by an inquiry into whether or not he is "disruptive". He also points out that some prisoners would be labeled disruptive merely because of their political activities.

Dr. Dumont asserts that such a regional prison could become "a warehouse for unwanted people". The drug rehabilitation specialist said he feared that prisoners in a regional prison "will be treated as the subjects of behavior control experiments".

Dr. William Curran, who headed the LEAA study, is in favor of a regional prison modeled after the U.S. Bureau of Prisons' experimental "START" program in Springfield, Missouri. However, he thinks the New England program should be voluntary, unlike the forced program in Springfield.

Other, similar, experimental prison units around the country are supposed to be voluntary, but the prisoners very often are coerced into these units and into drug and psychosurgery mind control experiments. □

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON
AND HUEY P. NEWTON

This excerpt from In Search of Common Ground is part of a general conversation between Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton, noted psychoanalyst and Harvard professor Erik H. Erikson, and a hand-picked group of Yale students. The topic under discussion is whether the revolutionary intercommunal world the Black Panther Party is dedicated to building can be realized.

QUESTION: Do you think that the expropriator can be expropriated soon enough for all this to happen?

NEWTON: We will do everything in our power to see that it can.

MODERATOR: I have been trying to rephrase a question in my mind which has come up over and over again this morning in one form or another. I guess everyone

is ready to agree by now that one of our troubles as a species is that we have set ourselves apart into so many artificial groupings. We have been divided into nations, classes, ethnic groups; we are separated by class differences, sex lines, disparities in wealth, generation gaps, and all of that. Now you have been telling us that sooner or later these distinctions have to go and that we will have to find some way to absorb all of these individual groupings into some universal community so that we can govern the surface of the earth together. And you have a good deal of faith that the drift of human history is taking us in that direction, right? What worries me, though, is the nagging thought that if these divisions have existed so long, if mankind has always sorted itself into pseudospecies, then there must be some powerful reasons for it. This particular tendency of man started long before the capitalist era; it is as old as the species, maybe even older. But there is obviously something in the human spirit that supports it, and we had better figure out what that is before...

NEWTON: Now, professor, please, please. The sun has been coming up for many, many years: therefore it will come up tomorrow. Is that the way you think?

MODERATOR: I'm not saying this kind of thing is inevitable. I'm just saying it is part of the material data of human history.

NEWTON: We also know that it is negating itself. The sun might not come up tomorrow after all.

MODERATOR: Maybe, but I still worry that mankind is going to rearrange itself into other groupings as soon as the present ones disappear—unless we learn a great deal more than we know now about the process itself.

QUESTION: I wonder if this universal identity you have been talking about has anything to do with intelligence. I mean, do you think everyone can understand it? We seem to be comfortable talking about it, but I wonder how you would explain this concept to a middle American or someone in the ghetto, you know, or...

NEWTON: I'm from the ghetto and I understand it.

QUESTION: Yes, but you are a very intelligent person.

NEWTON: It's time for a break.

walked over to the side of the room where refreshments had been laid out. He was visibly annoyed, and the participants around the table spoke softly but urgently to one another about what had happened. Some of it was picked up by the tape in snatches: "You know, someone could call you a racist for saying that." "But he was talking about middle Americans as well as people from the ghetto." "He didn't say that." "Look, I know what you meant, but you really implied that people from ghettos are not intelligent."

The break lasted a good deal longer than usual, close to an hour, and the room was filled with side conversations. The transcript resumes, then, later in the morning.

MODERATOR: Professor Erikson, would you honor us with a comment?

ERIKSON: Well, you can't teach an old professor new tricks, so you invite him to honor you with a comprehensive comment. I'll try. I think we are closer to each other today. We are not altogether comfortable yet, of course, but then if we were, we would only feel like damned liars afterward. There are, for all of us, two kinds of risks involved, risks in theory and risks in commitment. What Huey and I have said so far could be discussed on a purely intellectual plane as to relevance and consistency. But the younger (and maybe some of the not so young) participants are more interested in where they stand now, more or less firmly, and where they are going if they accept our road maps. Most of the questions we have heard, therefore, seem to concern change—deliberate and enforced change. All a person like me can do is try to indicate what aspects of contemporary change he recognizes as meaningful and what he may yet hope to influence by living, acting, or maybe just writing.

But before I go on, I must say I am still smarting from that question, that nice, hospitable question, as to why in hell Huey and I came here at all. You laugh, but I think it was more hospitable to ask that question than to take it out of here unasked. As I said, I wanted to meet Huey, especially if he wanted to meet me. And such an opportunity also fits into my main interest at present—the relativity of the individual life



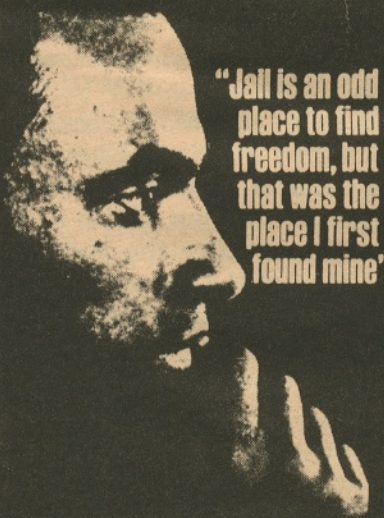
Brother HUEY P. NEWTON, the brilliant chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party.

history and of collective history, and especially the way some individuals put their life-histories on the line, as it were, to influence the course of history. So I wanted to see how concepts like negative identity may throw light on the way in which someone like Huey Newton creates a set of new images for Black and for White people. But, again, I did not come here only to hear or to make speeches. To me, the students are (and were) an essential part of the cast, even as a kind of chorus.

RITUALIZATION

Now as to Huey's response to what I said about the role of explicit hate at some critical moment in a revolutionary struggle, I will concede that this has to do with certain assumptions about ritualization which may seem out of place here just because they treat theoretically what, in fact, is the most deadly issue in action. What I really meant to say is that new ritualization, like the Panthers' original action pattern, helps to bring love and hate into focus and forces a clarification where before there was ambivalence—that is, a combination of smoldering hate and cynical "law" enforcement. In this sense, I admired Huey's statement on armed love very much. This means to me—and let's see whether I really grasped it right—that we must stand ready to expect and to respond to human love in any of our fellow men so long as they do not set out to kill that human dignity in us without which we could not really love anybody. For only people with equal dignity can love each other, and this point sometimes has to be made by fighting the other—fighting him with a defined purpose and an acknowledged discipline—until he is forced to see. **TO BE CONTINUED**

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



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

Huey P. Newton

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

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

At this point, Newton got up abruptly from the table and

PROPOSAL TO ELIMINATE THE PRESIDENCY DRAWS STUNNED REACTION

INTENSE INTEREST DEMONSTRATED

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party's proposal for the elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President has produced a stunned reaction. It is too early at this writing to draw any conclusions beyond the intense interest demonstrated in the proposal.

The Party is in the process of printing up the proposal in booklet form for distribution nationally. Requests for copies of the supplement as it appeared in last week's edition of THE BLACK PANTHER are steadily increasing.

The 48-word proposal reads as follows:

"We call for the total elimination of the offices of the President and Vice-President of the United States of America, and the return of all the powers usurped by these offices to the duly elected representatives of all the people, the Congress of the United States of America."

In an introduction, the Black Panther Party argues that "Watergate and its revelations have provided a dire warning to the American people: Act now to halt this conspiracy and create safeguards against further such con-

spiracies, or face the imminent imposition of a police state at home and the wrath and condemnation of the freedom-loving peoples of the world!"

Thumbing its nose at legislative suggestions to change election campaign regulations and moves aimed at removing the arch-conspirator, Richard M. Nixon, the Party's Position Paper states:

"Radical restructuring in the Executive Branch of Government which re-asserts and makes manifest the power of the people consistent with the intent of the Preamble to the American Constitution and its Bill of Rights, is the only path to the realization of the American Dream.

"Reforms of the existing practices will not safeguard the American people and ideals for which we strive from the coup-makers and Watergaters of a later age. They will only induce complacency and delay the inevitable confrontation."

In a section entitled the Historical Argument, the Black Panther Position Paper on the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President, declares:

"Within a decade of the signing of the Declaration of Independence the counter-revolution had begun. Ruling forces tried to use the Constitution to disenfranchise the poor, the working people and, of course, the slaves.

Radical and conservative forces fought back, after the army had put down a series of worker-farmer rebellions, and managed to attack the 'Bill of Rights' as a series of amendments to the Constitution.

"But from that time on the Executive Branch has swollen steadily usurping power from the courts. The king-like Executive has pre-empted the decision-making process inherent in the original checks and balances plan. The Executive by claiming to represent 'all of the people' gets around representing any of the popular interests and instead becomes, inevitably, the captive of special interests. The last several decades have revealed the complete emergence of the Royal Executive."

In the section entitled The Moral Argument, the Position Paper briefly reviews how the original American Dream, as proclaimed in the words carved at the base of the Statue of Liberty, has become twisted and distorted, and asserts:

"Ours, then, has become a sacred task. It is the collective task of the American people and future generations of Americans, to shape and hone and refine this dream 'til it be real. It is not the charge of one part of us, but of the whole; not of one race, but of many; not of one party, but of all; not of one man, but of all of us. We duly elect our representatives to the Congress so the voices of America can be heard, and our will be done."

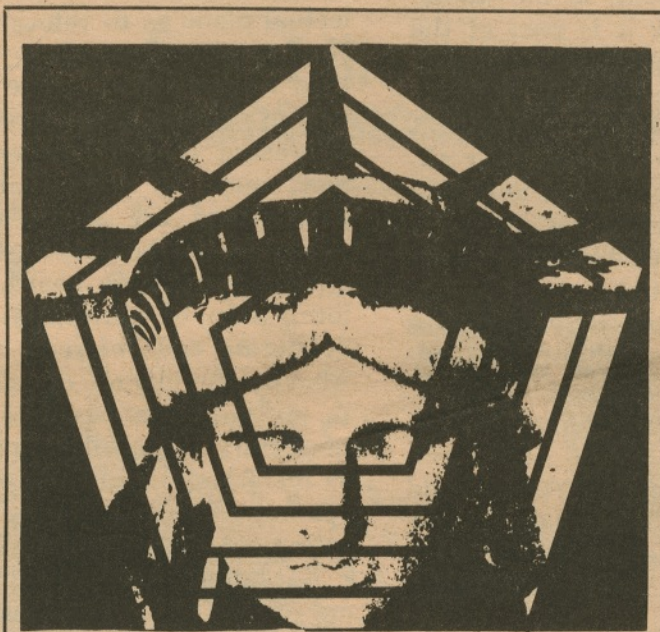
(Write for your copy of this important document to Black Panther Party, Central Headquarters, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621.)

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

President Nixon's intimate relationships with organized crime chieftains is exposed in 'Operation Gemstone: The Great Watergate Conspiracy', by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee. Previous excerpts of his work have detailed how Nixon gave his buddies "a piece of the action" in the heart of the U.S. government. This week's selection begins an expose of the roots of the clandestine spy network Nixon formed to aid in the establishment of a police state.

Organized crime and big business have teamed with the third partner in the marriage contract, Intelligence. Beginning with World War II, a secret group came into existence: they were called the "10/2 boys" - 10/2 equalled the "plans" section for the CIA. Originally military, the CIA became civilian controlled during the post war years. Re-named the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) - still another attack on the English language, the 10/2 boys, the OPC, supported organized crime in Asia and E. Howard Hunt was part of the gang. OPC went out of control in Korea and almost brought the United States into war with China.

The China Lobby, Civilian Air Transport (CAT), Tommy Corcoran, and others worked in



The head of the Statue of Liberty is superimposed on the symbol of the Pentagon, headquarters of the CIA and U.S. military.

collusion with Chiang Kai-Shek's Koumintang. The Koumintang controlled opium trade in the Far East. Money from opium trade flows into "legitimate" businesses, chiefly in the In-

dustrial - Military complex. As the FBI made its deals with the Italian-American crime syndicate for the Sicilian invasions of WW II, so the CIA found itself in the role of the biggest "pusher" in Asia in order to "save China".

Frank Wisner was head of the OPC during the period just prior to the invasion of the Bay of Pigs. He was found dead after the Bay of Pigs. Was it suicide? Thoughtful investigators have begun to question the inordinate number of "suicides" among the 10/2 boys, and their hired operatives. General Robert Cushman, late of the CIA, was the CIA's liaison to the White House during the 1950s. He was Richard Nixon's military aide when Nixon was Vice-President. Richard Nixon was the "Action Official" for the Bay of Pigs. A key operative in the Bay of Pigs was E. H. Hunt, who had direct contact with Cushman and Nixon. Cushman was easy to persuade in the Operation Gemstone CIA connection. And Nixon knew Hunt long before the Watergate break-in!

Shortly after the nine men were arrested in Miami in July of 1972, Hunt went into hiding in Los Angeles and stayed with a lawyer, Mort Jackson, a former colleague from his 10/2 days.

The argument today within the CIA is between the right wing and the left wing. The debate is simply a reflection of the larger contradiction of capital, itself: save the Empire or save the dollar. The "Cowboys" want to save the Empire and continue the war in Asia; the "Yankees" want to save the dollar and end the war. Thus, the Pentagon Papers leak, the increasing tempo of attacks on Nixon's secret Cambodian War, Watergate and White House criminality in general.

Richard Nixon's plan to spy on all America is, in part, traceable to his love for the FBI, for

NIXON CONTINUES TO USE "EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE"

(Washington, D.C.) - Apparently, Nixon plans to go on opposing the Constitution and the laws of the land by claiming "executive privilege". The claim is made to counter any move to bring Nixon within the domain of the machinery of justice.

Nixon's list of self-proclaimed executive privileges is long and still growing. It is also unprecedented. Not until the time of the Nixon presidency and Watergate has the American government — all 200 years of it — experienced a phenomenon such as executive privilege.

The recent addition to Nixon's list of executive privileges is his refusal to honor a court order and testify in the California trial of his former aide, John D. Ehrlichman. Other executive privileges include: not having to testify or turn over subpoenaed documents and tapes to the Senate committee investigating Watergate, the special Watergate prosecutor and the courts; not having to answer publicly or in the courts for crucial missing portions of these materials; impounding congressionally - appropriated social program funds and not having to pay his legally assessed amount of taxes.

Nixon, with his privileges, does not accept the duties and responsibilities of a citizen of the United States. Citizens must obey the laws, the courts and the Constitution. But Nixon

seems to favor one set of rules for the citizens of the U.S. and another set for himself. The rules that Nixon applies to himself give him the power to rule absolutely, unhampered by the guidelines others must follow.

The ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee, which is charged with bringing the impeachment issue before Congress, is acutely aware of Nixon's efforts to use executive privilege to stop impeachment investigations. "Executive privilege in the face of an impeachment inquiry must fall", said Michigan Representative Edward Hutchinson recently.

More weight was given to the ranking Republican's opinion when special minority counsel on the impeachment inquiry, Albert E. Jenner, endorsed Hutchinson's statement "100,00 percent". Any White House effort to resist a subpoena could be included "in the consideration of whether articles of impeachment should be brought", Jenner added.

As the time of impeachment approaches, additional claims of executive privilege can be expected. The claim can be expected when the Senate votes to remove him from office. At that time, Nixon undoubtedly plans to call out his "palace guard" to protect the sacred office of the White House, to defend his throne, to the point of violence, under the claim of "executive" privilege.



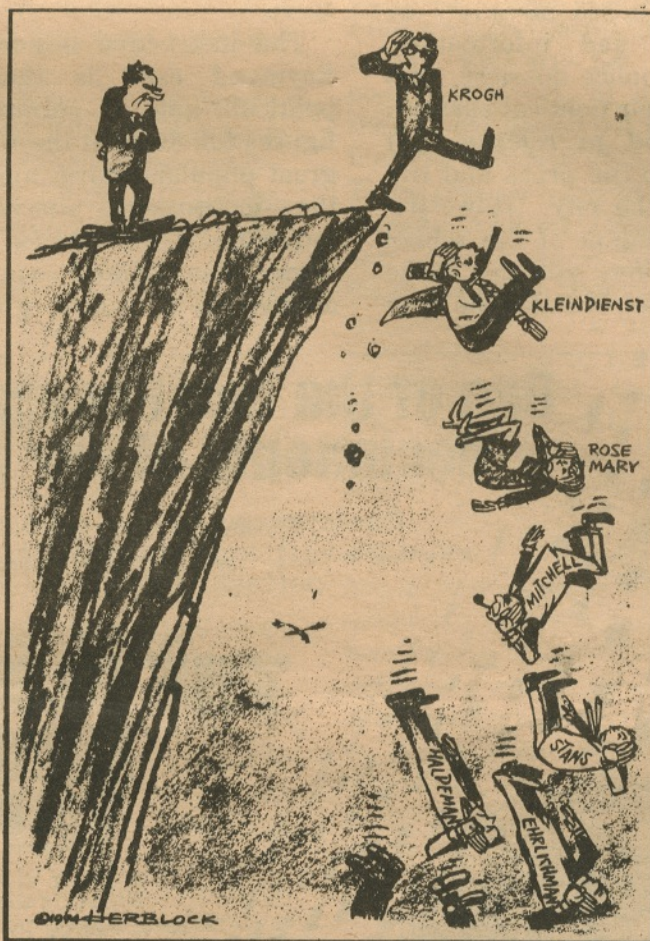
"Executive Privilege" is the modern term for "Divine Right of Kings".

Dick Tracy, the all-American hero fighting crime everywhere. During the 1940s he sported a hat, brim turned in a way that reminds the onlooker of the hat that Dick Tracy used to wear. Even Nixon's stance, in photos taken with other "crime-busters", evokes the FBI recruiting poster style. Unfortunately, Nixon never could join them, as he was turned down when he applied shortly after finishing law school. It is ironic that it was the FBI that dragged its heels on establishment of Nixon's super spy agency for domestic intelligence.

WORLD WAR II

The world of secret intelligence that Richard Milhous Nixon believes in was born and flourished in the era of World War II. Great Britain provided the model for international spy work, but recognizing the danger to a democratic society of a secret intelligence agency operating in peacetime, British War-time Intelligence was formally dismantled in public ceremonies in Parliament. In America, the secret intelligence mentality flourished and fed the public appetite for paranoia and hysteria while the Rosenberg's supposed theft of atomic secrets established the need for secrecy and protection. Daniel Ellsberg was to have been Richard Nixon's Alger Hiss of the 1970s with the familiar refrain of supposedly stolen "National Security" documents - but the public appetite for fictional spies had waned. Matured and disillusioned by the deaths of their sons, the growing awareness of corporate criminality, of the destruction of our environment, the American public no longer would buy the "communist threat."

The American public had wearied of war and their adulthood was reflected in the cynicism about all public institutions, and in fact, a growing sizable minority was vocally opposed



'Hall to the Chief'

to spying and informing, a growing minority that threatened to stop the war machine.

The origins of Operation Gemstone are found in the "dirty tricks" department of the Central Intelligence Agency. For thirty years, this secret team has approved and conducted covert activities in foreign countries. Overseeing their work has been the 10/2 group - a committee of men whose primary responsi-

bility has been to ensure that whatever occurred would happen in a way that the United States or the President could deny or disavow.

The committee's membership has changed through the years. So has its name. Today it is known as the "Forty Committee" derived from a national security memorandum re-defining its duties. But it is the same 10/2 group from the 1950s. Currently its members are Henry A. Kissinger, who serves as chairman; William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense; William J. Porter, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, CIA Director, William E. Colby and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Thomas Moorer. The addition of the head of the military is a particular innovation with Richard Nixon. So too, was the addition of John N. Mitchell during the period that Mitchell was Attorney General.

Although none of the five presidents to whom the committee reported ever signed any papers authorizing their activities abroad, the committee kept them informed on the activities of the CIA.

From its inception, the CIA has engaged in violence and terrorism. The politics of violence require secrecy. Therefore, the committee itself was kept a well guarded secret, for it was the violent and illegal arm of American imperialism.

The penchant for secrecy created the use of code numbers for the committee. First "10/2", then "54/12", then "303", then the "40"; but always the same group.

Richard Nixon is running a Police State in this country.

Wayne Morse, 1973

THE GLASS HOUSE TAPES

By C.R.I.C. and
Louis E. Tackwood

The Glass House Tapes is a chilling book, cold because of the extent of the American police state that is exposed through the testimony of just one man. From his personal knowledge as an agent provocateur, Louis Tackwood knows more about the Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section, his employers, than most other Americans. We reprint here an excerpt from this expose, written jointly by Tackwood and the Citizen's Research and Investigation Committee [CRIC] of Los Angeles.

TACKWOOD: "Georgia Street, right here, this is Georgia Street on 13th and Georgia. Let me explain something to you for your own benefit, look over there at all those cars that Intelligence and C.C.S. have. They look like regular cars. See it looks like a regular parking lot where people park. But those are all police cars. I'll tell you that now, okay. It's on the other side of that building there—the new convention center. It goes all kinds of ways. That's Georgia—see all them new cars.

"The whole third floor is the Intelligence Department. You don't see any police cars do ya? All of these cars are the personal cars of Intelligence, C.C.S., and S.I.I. men, but the city bought them, they just use them as if they were their own cars. They are all equipped with radios and a different radio channel from the black and whites, and they're all kinds, see my point, jeeps, Cadillacs, everything.

"It's a big secret but they plan to put all police intelligence divisions in this one building, even the F.B.I. is going to have their liaison man here. Intelligence is on the second floor. The third floor is going to be where they keep all the computers, files, and everything, right there on the third floor. Georgia Street is supposed to be condemned. It's not supposed to be in use anymore, see my point, As far as the public is concerned it's not even occupied. It used to be a regular police station, the Georgia Street Division it was called.

"Now they say that they got some funny little desk called the Bureau of Public Information, or something like that, but that's not what it really is, jus' try and get

some public information from them, you'll get your ass blown off."

The Thirties scandal that shook Los Angeles was one of the rare moments when the public has been able to view in sharp relief the prurient intercourse between police, politicians, business, organized gangsters and the mass media. Perhaps more significantly, it demonstrated that intelligence bureaus are organized as a political instrument by those who wield power, economically, socially and politically. Power in the hands of the intelligence bureaus has many uses, but its most immediate one has always been the enhancement and expansion of the police establishment.

The recent use of intelligence files by the Chief of Police in Philadelphia against school board members was similar to Kynette's use of them thirty years earlier. Richardson Dilworth, a former Mayor of Philadelphia, accused Frank Rizzo of threatening school board members by claiming he had information, contained in police dossiers, that would ruin their political careers. He threatened to release that information to the press and run them out of the city. Dilworth, who was president of the school board at the time, said that while Rizzo was Chief of Police he kept

dossiers on thousands of citizens in Philadelphia and in this case used the files to intimidate rising public opposition to police methods being used in the schools. Frank Rizzo became Mayor of Philadelphia.

The broader function of intelligence has been and is the defense of a social system that places private property rights above civil and human rights and protects the right to profit, and the control of government by those who own the property. Corruption and brutality are always incidental. Corruption may be widespread throughout the ranks of the Police Department as the Knapp Commission has exposed it to be in New York's police force; or it can be penny-ante payoffs for traffic tickets to individual officers. In either case it is incidental to the life and function of the police establishment. Individual morality does not influence the expansion or control of police intelligence or the power of the police and those whom they serve.

The instructive lesson of the Raymond case is that while political and administrative figures fell away in the wake of a great popular reform movement, the institutions survived the individual personalities in new forms. The scandal exposed the alliance of a "ruling group" of

which intelligence was an indispensable instrument. It swept the "corrupt" politicians out of office, it abolished the "Red Squad" but it did not touch the basic function of police intelligence, nor the business interests that it served. It could not do that without calling into question the basic premises of the police establishment, without questioning the values by which the society is ruled.

TACKWOOD: "They found out that the coalition wasn't happening in Santa Cruz, they found out that it was taking place in Berkeley. So they sent me up there to work on the election. With the good wishes of C.C.S. from down here and enough money to spread around. I found out who was going to work as campaign manager in the election so I went right along with it. I worked in the campaign, helped plan it, and everything.

"I met D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons. Those are the two who got elected as Councilmen. I met Ron Dellums, and I met the coordinator of the Free Angela Davis Committee, and they got a dude up there too. Let's see, his name is Franklin Alexander. I followed him quite a few places—where white folks gave lots of money and I just picked up the names. I was working with the Black Caucus.

"How should I put it... I am the coordinator of the D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons thing. But not officially. And they have a coalition between the Black Caucus and the Whiteradicals, my job is to break it up, if I can."

The early growth of police power in Los Angeles was engineered by two imposing personalities, Police Chief James Edgar Davis and the Captain of Detectives in Intelligence, in charge of the Radical Bureau, William "Red" Hynes. They were associated in the very early stages with the establishment and growth of a police intelligence bureau whose responsibility became the control and surveillance of ideas of social and political movements. The birth of police intelligence gave rise to a whole new genre of police work.

Following the Palmer Raids and the organization on a Federal level of the Radical Division of the Department of Justice under J. Edgar Hoover's leadership, every metropolitan city founded their own intelligence division. They each adopted a variety of names and labels: in Los Angeles it was the "Red Squad"; in New York it was BOSS; and in Chicago it is known as the "Gang Intelligence Unit", but there is a common denominator.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

One of the most revealing documents of our time.

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America is at stake in **THE GLASS HOUSE TAPES**

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Intercommunal News

SCHOLAR WARNS : SOUTH AFRICA WILL SEIZE SOON-TO-BE LIBERATED TERRITORIES

(London, England) - A Rhodesian-born scholar warns that the Republic of South Africa will seize portions of Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia before allowing these territories to be liberated from colonial rule by African freedom fighters.

A survey, published recently by the International Institute for Strategic Studies here and written by Anthony Wilkinson, states that if Portuguese-ruled Mozambique or Angola seemed on the brink of falling into the hands of "Black nationalist regimes" through revolutionary means, "South Africa may be prompted to take control of parts of these territories".

Wilkinson compares such action to that of Israel's occupation of Syria's Golan Heights,

Jordan's West Bank of the River Jordan and Egypt's Sinai and the Gaza Strip, in the belief that such extended frontiers were indispensable to Israeli security against surrounding Arab states.

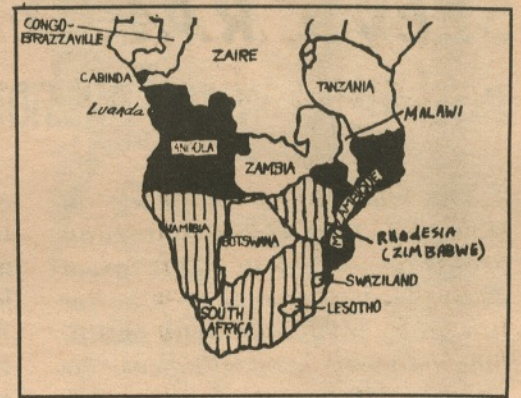
In southern Africa such a strategic perimeter might include the Cunene River complex along Angola's southern border, the Caprivi strip and the Zambezi River in Rhodesia and Mozambique, including Lake Kariba and Cabora Bassa, the survey states.

If this were to happen, Wilkinson writes, it could lay the basis for possible confrontations between South African armed forces and militant African states, in addition to guerrilla activity in occupied territory, on the pattern which has developed in the Middle East since 1967.

On the future of the minority regime in Zimbabwe the survey said that in contrast to South Africa "it is most unlikely that White Rhodesia will have the human or material resources to maintain in the long run credible resistance to the mounting pressures for African majority rule".

If guerrillas acquire the ability to expand their numbers significantly, the report states, it is doubtful whether rule by the White minority, less than five per cent of the total population, could be sustained.

The author said it was conceivable that, if there was uncontrolled conflict across the Zambezi, especially if it threatened to draw in any of the major powers, South Africa "would be prepared to countenance and assist in a



controlled implementation of majority rule in Rhodesia in return for a restoration of an acceptable measure of regional security".

A report on the survey published in the *Daily News* of Tanzania, states that the speculations of the writer suggest that the techniques of hijacking, kidnapping, letter bombing and other "international terrorist" acts could be expected to follow such South African aggression and disruption. □

APARTHEID STARTING TO CRACK

(Capetown, South Africa) Apartheid in South Africa is beginning to crack. The rapidly escalating movement among the African people within South Africa, together with the growing pressures of African liberation successes on its borders are the reason.

Last week the Johannesburg City Council announced measures to eliminate what is called here "petty apartheid". These are practices of discrimination against the city's Blacks and coloreds not imposed by national law.

In broad terms, reports *The New York Times*, this means that African Blacks will be permitted to use "public" facilities previously denied them. These facilities include parks, museums, libraries, art galleries and the city zoo. Also various municipal department services will now be opened to Blacks as well as Whites.

Similar action has been taken recently by the municipal authorities of some other cities, including Durban where striking African workers tied up the city's industrial plants recently forcing major concessions in wage rises and improved conditions. □



STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST GULF

[Madison, Wisconsin] - More than 100 University of Wisconsin students demonstrated last week against Gulf Oil Company recruiters interviewing prospective employees on the Madison campus. Carrying placards, the students were protesting against Gulf's exploitation of Africa and the Third World.

WHITES "ROAST" AFRICAN BOY

(Capetown, South Africa) - Godfrey Lambert, an eleven-year-old Black South African child, was picking up loose pieces of coal at a railway yard in Capetown when he was seized by three White railway workers. As punishment for "stealing" coal, the three men first brutally beat the youth, then they stripped him, smeared grease all over the child's body and sadistically held him in front of a blazing locomotive fire until he was nearly "roasted" to death.

Young Godfrey suffered excruciating third degree burns and now has a strong fear of White people. He refuses to go near Whites unless he feels he is with someone who can protect him.

The three evil racists were only given six lashes each and a suspended sentence. Mrs. Lambert, Godfrey's mother, is suing the three Whites for \$15,000. Friends and contributors have formed a fund to aid Mrs. Lambert pay the legal costs of the lawsuit.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SOMALIA SEEKS RAPID DEVELOPMENT

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT SIAD BARRE

The Democratic Republic of Somalia in East Africa is intent on rapid development. The great determination to achieve a better life for its people without sacrificing dignity and respect, is sharply expressed in the following interview with Somali President Siad Barre. The interview is reprinted from Africa magazine.

AFRICA: While in Somalia I have been able to see a number of very impressive instances of self-help or self-reliance, including one by which a vast area of dangerously shifting sand dunes is being brought to a standstill with the help of many thousands of volunteers. How important is this movement for your general economic or social development?

SIAD: Our movement for self-reliance was born at the very beginning of the Revolution in October, 1969, and ever since has not ceased to contribute decisively to the nation's development. But you must realize that the movement is part and parcel of a planned strategy. We are just now ending our Three-year Development Plan and our Five-year Plan is starting.

So that our self-reliance schemes fit into these broader development programs which cover every aspect of our national development — economic, social and political. Self-reliance means that we are making full use of our mental and physical resources in order to make true what we have been dreaming about. Participating in the self-reliance movement the people of Somalia may now feel proud to be putting into effect achievements that they have not been able to make before. This is the importance of self-reliance.

AFRICA: Now this is clearly something of considerable interest to the rest of the African continent and it is evident that Somalia's position is generally becoming more significant in the world than it has been in the past. Next year your country will be host to the Summit Conference of the OAU. How do you see the part of your country in this Organization?

SIAD: Here in Somalia we believe in African unity and work for it, promoting whatever will help the OAU in its noble aim of unifying our continent. We see our role as

contributing whatever we can, very sincerely. But we have no ambitions of leadership. We leave such ambitions to other African countries which are demographically bigger than us and are economically better off. Besides, we have no faith in theatricals or in making one individual or one nation more prominent than others. We trust in cooperation.

But, mind you, before anything else we want to fight our enemies right here, at home, the enemies of hunger, disease, poverty and ignorance. Only when successful in this battle can we make our useful contribution towards the goal of African unity, in accordance with our possibilities.

AFRICA: The Organization for African Unity has now also decided to help solve what is probably your greatest national problem, that is the problem of the Somali people living in neighbouring countries. An eight nation Reconciliation Committee has been appointed under the chairmanship of Gen. Gowon of Nigeria. Do you now expect an early solution of this intricate problem and what settlement would you regard as fair and lasting?

SIAD: Well, fair and lasting would have been such settlement as would give the people a chance to choose their own destiny. Giving the Somali people a right of self-determination would be for us an ideal solution of the problem. As to other solutions, we have been making it abundantly clear ever since the Revolution that we favor negotiation and compromise arrived at around a conference table, in a spirit of responsibility and African brotherhood.



AFRICA: You have adopted "scientific socialism" in your country as a doctrine of your development. This really means marxism-leninism, or, to call a spade a spade, communism. Furthermore, you have established very close relations with the USSR, and for that matter with People's China. How does this affect your relations with countries that have a different social system, in Africa or Europe? Is there still scope for close and fruitful relations between such countries and Somalia?

SIAD: If you look at the basic documents of our Revolution you will notice in black and white that we want to be friends with all countries which believe in friendship with us. That is why, as you say, we have excellent relations with the USSR and also with China. Yet, we have also excellent relations with other countries, including those in the western world, like Italy and other countries of the European Economic Community. Indeed, we are willing to cooperate with any country that believes in mutual respect and cooperation with Somalia, on the basis of equality and non-interference in internal affairs.

AFRICA: Soon after your movement came to power in Somalia in 1969 you took over a large number of businesses, including banks and commercial organizations. Does that mean that there is no longer any future for either foreign or domestic capital investment in Somalia?

SIAD: It is true that we have nationalized certain companies. But we have done so because they were concerned with key-sectors of our economy and because they failed to take into account our national interests. They were only here to exploit us. We welcome foreign investment, provided that it does not come here to suck our blood but is willing to share fairly the profits with our own people.

Anyone sincerely wishing to work with us for mutual benefit will find Somalia's doors wide open. Two important conditions must be met as far as foreign capital in Somalia is concerned: there must be no interference with our political affairs and there can be no question of anyone coming here merely to exploit.



President SIAD BARRE of the Democratic Republic of Somalia.

AFRICA: I have myself seen here some admirable pre-investment projects being carried out with the help of United Nations agencies, under the auspices of the UNDP. These schemes cover a wide range of your present and future development, from fisheries to livestock raising, from education to mineral resources. But in which particular fields of your economy would foreign investment be specially welcome?

SIAD: I must first of all go back to what we have discussed earlier, to our idea of self-reliance. We want to reduce our dependence on foreign aid, however well-meaning it might be. The tempo at which we must go forward to get anywhere is such that I cannot reasonably ask any foreigner working in my country to keep pace with it. I cannot ask a foreign teacher or expert to work 16 or 18 hours a day. Yet these are the hours I work and Somalis have to work to make progress in development.

Having said that I must emphasize that we are not blind to the need for interdependence of nations or private interests. There are many fields in our country's economy in which foreign capital would find a useful part to play. For instance, we have recently discovered some 170 millions tons of iron ore that now await utilization. There are many prospects in rangeland development and farming, including cotton growing. Small or medium-sized industries, based on our raw materials and produce, can also be developed.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL SECRETLY VISITS U.S.

HIGH LEVEL TALKS HELD

(Durham, N.C.) - Cloaked in secrecy, the South African Minister of Information has just completed a two-week visit to the United States to put the case of South Africa's White government before American policy makers, report's *Africa News*. South Africa is calling it the most comprehensive and highest level talks between Americans and South Africans in three decades.

The Cabinet Minister, Dr. Connie Mulder, left South Africa quietly, and only after he saw American Vice-President Gerald Ford last week did the South Africans lift their official silence. Apparently, they feared that publicity might arouse public opinion making it difficult for Ford and other politicians to meet Mulder.

Radio South Africa, the official government broadcaster, is terming the trip "highly significant", and says it symbolizes "the refreshing new outlook foreign policy which the present U.S. administration has adopted". The radio reports that the talk with Ford, which took place in a "friendly atmosphere", discussed how South Africa and the United States can be of mutual assistance to each other in such matters as the energy crisis.

South Africa has won isolation and hostility internationally as a result of its all White government that controls a Black African country. Mulder's U.S. trip is part of a publicity blitz being waged by South Africa to improve that image. Recently, full-page ads defending South Africa's racial policies have appeared in several U.S. newspapers.

Mulder, who is often mentioned as a possible future Prime Minister of South Africa, met with top leaders during his time in the United States. Among the congressional officials he saw were Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, House Majority Leader Tip O'Neil, Chairman Thomas Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Senate Minority Whip Robert Griffin. In addition, the Minister talked with two prominent conservative Republicans — Governor Ronald Reagan of California and Senator John Tower of Texas. □



Impoverished South African workers line up for a meal at a "workers canteen".

"PUSHED AROUND, INSULTED, DEHUMANIZED" STORY OF SUFFERING IN WOMEN'S ARMY

The armed forces have begun a drive to double the number of servicewomen by 1977. The actual number enlisted in the Women's Army Corps [WAC] is 31,500. Planned enlistment for 1977 is 80,800. This plan was formulated because of the failure of the armed forces drive to recruit men for the all-volunteer army. The following report, which originally appeared in RECON, a progressive monthly newsletter on military affairs published in Philadelphia, is an eyewitness account of the glorified servicewoman's life written by a woman who recently retired from the Women's Army Corps.

"My story, as most, starts with a recruiter. In my last year of high school I was wooed by every service, so, coming from a lifer family, I listened. The Army recruiter laid out a beautiful life and future for me. I would receive the school of my choice and be stationed where I wanted. I wanted to be a Lab Technician and stay close to home so he promised me both—and I got it in writing (I wasn't too dumb).

"In Basic I got screamed at, pushed around, insulted and dehumanized, not to mention pneumonia along with seven other women because our male drill sergeant had us stand formation for hours and crawl in icy mud until we were wet and frozen.

There was so much harassment that many women were terrified rules and SOP (standard operating procedure) were disgusting and seemed to fluctuate between wanting us to be sexy for the officers to being ashamed of our bodies. I just prayed to get through all that so I could get on with my career.

"My career was short-lived. When I showed my contract to my CO, he laughed and threw it away because it wasn't signed. The recruiter told me he wasn't allowed to sign it and that someone at my first base would take care of it. My CO said I was a liar and that I'd better straighten out. Chalk one up for the recruiter.

"The training I got I already had. They wanted me to work in



Servicewomen in training. Their life in the Army is a story of exploitation and oppression.

ISRAELI DOCTORS STERILIZE ARAB WOMEN

(Milan, Italy) - Palestinian women living in Israeli-occupied territory are being sterilized without their knowledge, an Israeli doctor has charged. Dr. Avan Bedirsky, in a recent story in the influential Italian newspaper, *Corriere Della Sera*, said that other doctors working in the maternity ward at Naharim Hospital systematically sterilized Arab woman who gave birth by caesarean section.

Numerous articles have appeared in the Israeli press over the past few years in which the rising birthrate among the Arab population in occupied Palestine was viewed with alarm, the newspaper said.

The involuntary sterilizations have touched off strong protests from the women of the Palestinian Liberation Front. They have called on all progressive women and women's organizations for assistance in halting the barbaric sterilizations. The Palestinian sisters have also called for the strongest condemnation of the racism of the Zionist occupying forces.

an office. I had joined to escape just such a career. When it came time to be assigned I was sent to Ft. Meade, even though on my contract I had chosen three bases in the West near my home. When I talked to other WACs I found they too were being tricked and assigned according to the whims of the Army. So began my exciting career at Ft. George Meade, Maryland.

"When I got here they forgot all about my office skills and assigned me to give the initial shots to incoming soldiers—poor guys! I was no nurse and didn't know what I was doing. There

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL FINDS

CHILEAN REGIME TORTURES POLITICAL PRISONERS

(New York, N.Y.) Torture of political prisoners, with the aid of foreign "experts", has taken place on a large scale in Chile since the September coup that overthrew President Allende's government, Amnesty International (AI) said last week. AI called for a tribunal of enquiry into the torture charges, with international participation.

The statement was based on the report of a three-man Amnesty International mission which visited Chile in November to investigate the reported gross violations of human rights that followed the coup. The mission consisted of Professor Frank Newman, distinguished Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, Judge Bruce W. Sumner, presiding judge of the Supreme Court of Orange County, California, and Mr. Roger Plant, an Amnesty International researcher on Latin America.

LETTER

"The report of our delegation has convinced us that torture has taken place on a large scale and was still continuing at the beginning of November. Subsequent reports indicate that it continues even now", AI Secretary General Martin Ennals said in a letter to the head of the ruling junta in Chile, General Augusto Pinochet.

"I feel, however, obliged to say that, contrary to some statements issued by Chilean governmental officials abroad, there is substantial evidence of a persistent and gross violation of the most fundamental human rights", Mr. Ennals said. These included torture, political persecution, detention without charge or trial and executions. A copy of the mission report was sent to the Chilean government.

During their seven-day visit, the mission members interviewed government ministers and officials, foreign ambassadors, lawyers, prisoners and ex-prisoners and their relatives, priests and journalists. They went to the national stadium in Santiago where approximately a thousand political prisoners were still being held, spoke to many of them and saw visible signs of torture on some of their bodies.

The mission's report said that electric shock and beating had been employed during interrogation of prisoners and that foreign "experts" had been present,



Chilean junta leader PINOCHET.

despite vigorous denials of this by the Foreign Ministry.

"Those charged with handling prisoners at the national stadium readily admitted that Brazilian police had been present at interrogations and that they were there to teach Chilean interrogators their methods", the mission's report said. "In fact, reference was specifically made to a four-day course given by Brazilian police at the Ministry of Defense."

Brazilian exiles told the mission that six of their countrymen had been tortured in Chile by Brazilian police. □

SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION ARMIES

(Oakland, Calif.) The people of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola are locked in battle to gain their liberation from Portuguese colonial rule. The United States government, as well as the governments of the major Western European countries are donating heavily to the Portuguese colonial regime's barbarous war effort. Guns, planes, napalm and ammunition are made in the U.S., with taxpayer's money, and shipped straight to Portugal for use in the African colonies.

We ask that you donate badly needed blankets, warm, sturdy clothing, medical supplies, shoes and office equipment to the African people's struggles for freedom in southern Africa.

In the Bay Area bring the badly needed supplies to: The Recycling Center, Sacramento and University Avenues in Berkeley; the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) office, 49th and Tele-

DELLUMS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

— the phenomenally high military budget, the unfair tax system and corporate subsidies — there can be no success in keeping prices at reasonable levels."

The congressman proposed that the country can only obtain long-term economic stability by adopting "a rational set of priorities" He pointed out that prices and high unemployment will continue to spiral upwards as long as the Nixon administration blames America's economic ills on social programs instead of ending the real cause — "billion-dollar hand-outs" to administration friends.

Expressing doubt that the President and the Republicans in Congress will do much about the economic problems, Dellums called on his fellow Democrats to work hard during the current session to reverse the economy. "We could have full employment, little or no inflation, a rising standard of living, and an equitable distribution of goods", he said. He added that fair economic policies will only be achieved by a strong, Democratic majority veto in Congress. □

Africa In Focus

ARAB LEAGUE

Oil ministers of member states of the Arab League last week recommended to their governments the establishment of a fund to compensate African countries for the recent steep rise in oil prices. They will also recommend major loans to African nations on easy terms and other forms of financial assistance. Initial capital allocated for the fund was \$200 million. The conference was called by the Arab League to aid underdeveloped countries of Africa which have been hard hit by the recent increases in oil prices.

CONGO

Congolese President Marien Nguabi signed a decree recently announcing the abolition of eight foreign petroleum companies' operations in the People's Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), effective January 12, 1974. A national company for oil exploration and production has been set up to conduct these operations. Under the decree, the eight foreign companies — including Shell, Mobil and Texaco — will transfer their properties, shares, rights and interests to the newly set-up national company. It also stipulates that any attempt to sabotage the transferred properties and any action to hinder, obstruct or stop the supply of oil products and industrial oils to the Congo during the transfer will be punished by law. President Nguabi, in a speech to the National Assembly, denounced foreign oil companies in the Congo.

LIBERIA

Even Liberia is getting into the act! President William R. Tolbert has declared that Liberia's Constitution, flag, national anthem and national slogan — "Love of Liberty Brought Us Here" — must be changed. The proposed changes reflect demands in recent years from Liberian youth that the present flag — a copy of the U.S. flag with red and white stripes and a single white star on a blue background — be discarded. President Tolbert recommended that a national committee be established to study possible changes.

graph in North Oakland; The Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street in East Oakland, and the Liberation School at Castro and Noe



FRELIMO guerrillas live and work in the dense south African jungle.

Streets in San Francisco.

Items may also be sent to the Liberation Support Movement, Box 338, Richmond, B.C., Canada, for direct shipment to the African people's liberation armies. □

ENTERTAINMENT & SPORTS

COMMONWEALTH GAMES

BAYI OF TANZANIA BREAKS 1500 METER RECORD



FILBERT BAYI setting a new world's record in the 1,500 meter race.

(Christchurch, New Zealand) - In a brilliant climax to the tremendous showing of African athletes at the 10th Commonwealth Games last week, Filbert Bayi of Tanzania set a new world's record in the 1,500 meter race by beating American Jim Ryan's long-standing record by .9 seconds.

Bayi, a 20-year-old Tanzanian Air Force mechanic, received a thunderous ovation from the 35,000 spectators at Queen Elizabeth II Park here when he crossed the finish line with a time of 3 minutes 32.2 seconds after leading the field from the onset. Bayi was followed by John Walker of New Zealand, who edged out the great Kenyan track star Ben Jipcho, who sprinted the final yards in a valiant attempt to capture his third gold medal of the Games.

Bayi's record-smashing run culminated in an outstanding showing for athletes from African Commonwealth nations, who walked away from the prestigious sporting event with seven gold medals in men's track and field events. Kenya, led by Ben Jipcho and John Kipurgat, finished second in the men's track events with six gold medals.

Jipcho is considered the greatest African runner to emerge since fellow Kenyan Kipchoge Keino dominated the long distance track a few years ago. Jipcho won the steeplechase, for which he proudly holds the world record, and he also took the gold medal in the 5,000 meters. Kipurgat won the 800 meters in one of his best performances to date.

Joshuah Owusa of Ghana triumphed in the triple jump on the final day of the games as his powerful legs propelled him a distance of 54 feet 1 3/4 inches. The Kenyan relay team also boosted its team's collection of gold medals by winning the men's 1,600 meter relay in 3 minutes 4.4 seconds. African women also fared well at the Games, the most outstanding victory being won by young and promising, Modupe Ashikoya of Nigeria who earned a gold medal in the women's long jump.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Americans Are Not Beautiful

They are called *My* ¹

Which my brother says means beautiful.

But they are not beautiful:

They have too much hair on their arms like monkeys,

They are tall like trees without branches,

Their eyes are green like eyes of boiled pigs

In the markets during the New Year.

Their hair is blonde and not black,

Their skin is pink and not brown,

Their cars frighten cyclists in the streets,

Their "flying machines" ² and their "dragonflies" ³

Drop death on people and animals

And make trees bare of their leaves -

Here Americans are not beautiful.

"But they are,

In their far away country"

My brother says.

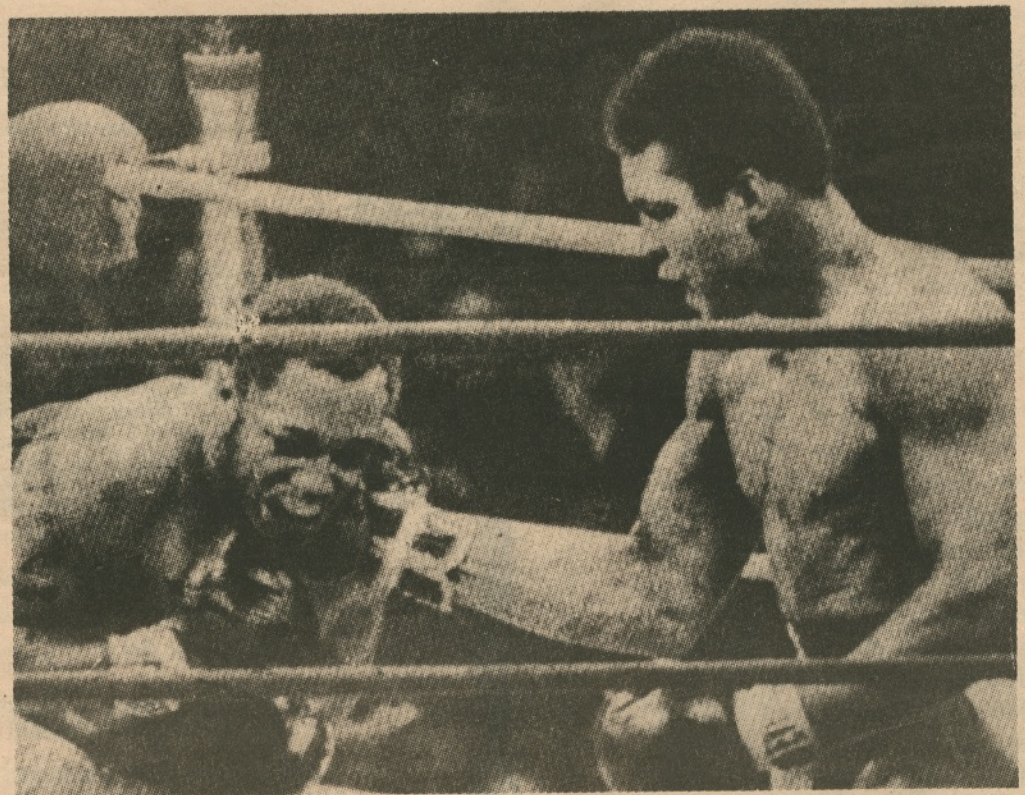
¹ Americans are called *My* [me-e] which means beautiful in Chinese and Vietnamese.

² planes.

³ helicopters.

By Hoang Son
Age 14

People's Champion MUHAMMAD ALI connects with former heavyweight champion JOE FRAZIER's jaw in the eighth round of their twelve round fight. The "Super Bowl" \$10 million bout in New York's Madison Square Garden ended in a unanimous decision for Ali. Foreman's next.



"THE HARDER THEY COME": DEPARTURE FROM BLAXPLOITATION FILMS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The movie *The Harder They Come* (see THE BLACK PANTHER, November 10, 1973) is symbolic of a growing number of Black films that the movie industry is deliberately suppressing from the Black community. The film is a beautiful, poignant, realistic portrayal of the oppressive conditions Black people face in the West Indies, specifically Kingston, Jamaica. The main character, Ivey, a popular singer portrayed by Jimmy Cliff, is like the majority of young Black men of today who refuse to passively accept their oppression and are rising up in protest.

At this writing, *The Harder They Come* has not received the onslaught of publicity that such Black films as *Shaft*, *Superfly*, and *Coffy* have received in the Black communities throughout America. *The Harder They Come* has real content, revolutionary content. It shows Black people rising up against those people and institutions that would keep them enslaved forever, including other Black people. Therefore, it is not the kind of film that the major movie companies would be willing to produce. The movie moguls have only two basic desires in the production of Black films—economic exploitation and psychological exploitation of Black people.

Consequently, *The Harder They Come* will not be found in the big movie houses across the country—for the very reason that it is a truly good Black film. It is reported that three Black people involved in the film's production have been mysteriously killed. This demonstrates the lengths that the oppressor is willing to go in order to keep Black people from seeing the truth about their condition.

We must begin to demand now that *The Harder They Come* and other Black films like it be as heavily publicized in our communities as the Blaxploitation films are. We must also continue to protest and boycott these Blaxploitation films wherever we can. We are spending our money to see movies that in most cases have nothing positive to say about the Black experience, about our very real, unglamorous, struggle to survive. Movie tycoons are getting rich off of the money that we spend viewing Blaxploitation films. We must step up, our demand for Black films of high quality and content.

Meanwhile, be sure to watch your local theaters for *The Harder They Come*. It is a Black film that all of us must see in order to keep our perspective in the midst of these Blaxploitation films of low quality and little or no content. □

JA

SOMALIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

AFRICA: Somalia has been consistently supporting the Arab cause in the Middle East crisis. But recent Arab policies in regard to oil being used as a weapon have hit both enemies and friends. They have also hit Somalia. Is there hope for specific arrangements being made with the Arabs so as to prevent their oil boycott from harming you?

SIAD: The question doubtless concerns a matter of some gravity. If you ask for my view I will say that the Arabs should distinguish between friends and enemies, and if they want to use their power, any kind of power they might have, they should use it against their enemies and not their friends. Consequently, the Arab countries should be showing understanding and tolerance in regard to those who have been supporting their case. That is my point of view. □



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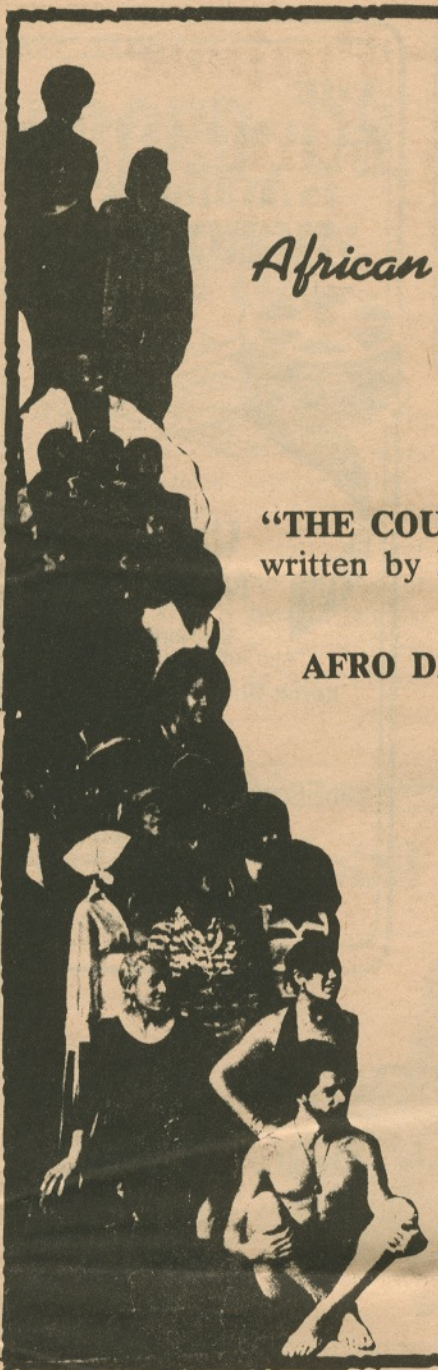
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CHINA IN ASIAN GAMES

(Tehran, Iran) - The People's Republic of China will participate in the Asian Games to be held here in September. The organizing committee for the games has expelled Taiwan. Deputy Prime Minister, Gen. Ali Hojat - Kashani, in announcing China's participation, stated that Taiwan is a province of mainland China and "There can be only one China as a member". He added that without mainland China's presence "There will be no Asian Games".

The U.S.-controlled International Olympic Committee which only recognizes Taiwan, is expected to try to disrupt the games by forbidding member countries from taking part. □



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OIL PROFITS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

for the quarter ending December 31, were up a record 52% for them. And Cities Service reported a 50% jump in the fourth quarter.

For Exxon, 1973 meant a total net income of \$2.44 billion, up from \$1.53 billion in 1972. Listed on the *Fortune* 500 list as the second largest American corporation, Exxon, with total revenues of \$28.5 billion now stands on the brink of becoming the world's second \$30 billion corporation. General Motors reached that level in 1972. Since 1964, Exxon (formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey) has grown steadily from an annual revenue level of \$11.9 billion to its current \$28.5 billion mark.

Much of Exxon's record profit rises were direct results of the Arab oil boycott. For example, it gave them the opportunity to sell their more expensive Venezuelan oil. Western Hemisphere earnings for Exxon outside the U.S. were up nearly 50%, mostly because of gains by Creole Petroleum, Exxon's Venezuelan subsidiary.

But, it was Exxon's Eastern Hemisphere operation that returned a startling 83% increase in profits. This huge jump resulted to a great extent because these operations were not subject to price controls as were Exxon's domestic operations. Also, like other huge, multinational corporations, Exxon cleaned up on the dollar devaluation, earning over \$150 million from speculation in foreign currencies.

Asked why Exxon had broken precedent to conduct a public press conference to announce profits, Jamieson admitted that the company was concerned with the "attack on us about secrecy" and it was to deal with the fact that "our public image is at a low ebb".

While the "public image" of oil companies is at a low point, the government view of these huge corporations is still favorable. Like the Senate Watergate hearings, which seemed more interested in getting apologies than facts, the Senate hearings into the oil industry seemed content to hear oil executives say they are "embarrassed" that they've reached record profits during a national crisis. □

(Thanks to *Liberation News Service* for this story.) □

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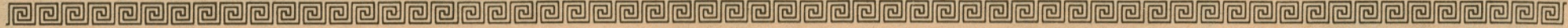
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Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

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

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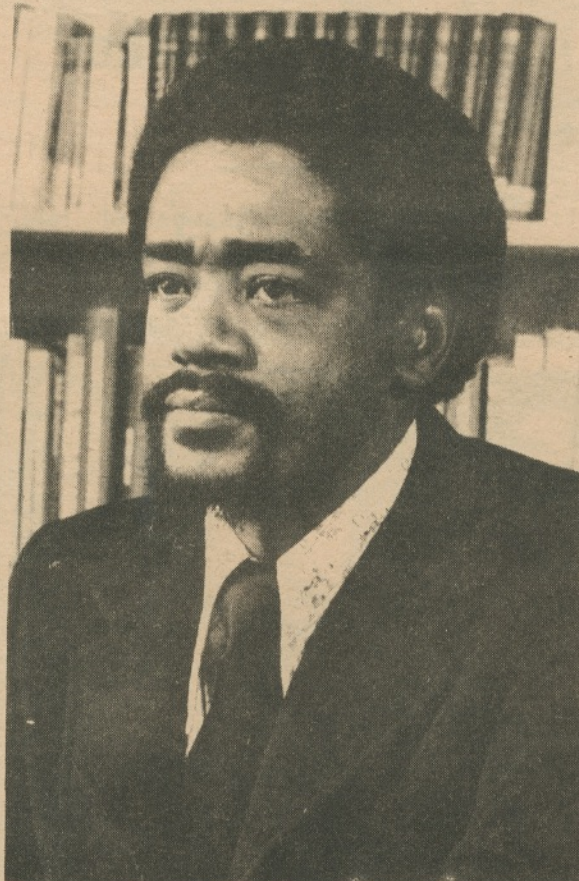
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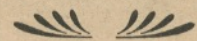


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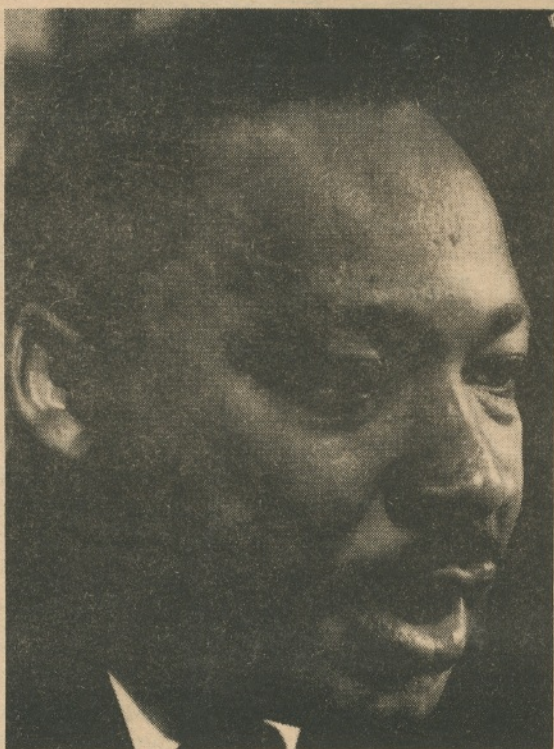
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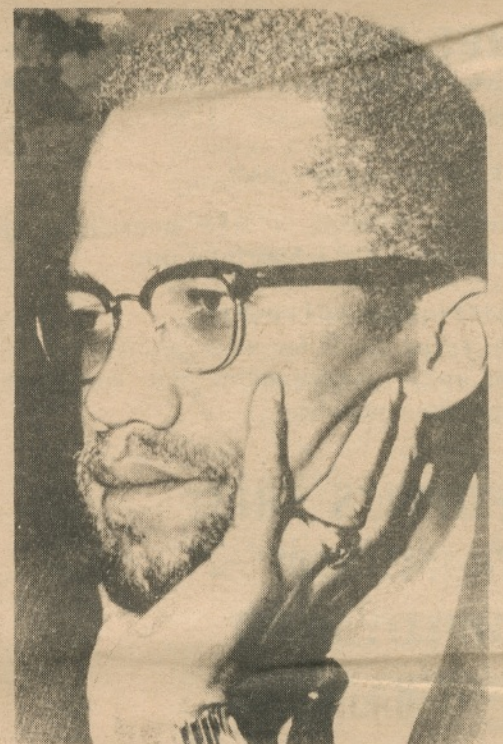
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