

# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1974 25¢



## WINSTON-SALEM FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE OPENS



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[Charles Moffett]

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# Editorial

## POLICE ASSAULT BAY AREA BLACK COMMUNITIES

The East Bay Black communities of Oakland and Berkeley are rapidly becoming occupied zones. Police are everywhere, uniformed and in plainclothes, stopping, questioning and searching law abiding citizens indiscriminately. Tensions are mounting as the residents of these communities grow increasingly incensed at this racist, police state assault.

The added burden of police harassment and intimidation on communities that already suffer from an unemployment rate at least double the national average; that receive only a fraction of the services provided White communities; that provides the two cities' menial task force, cannot be expected to be tolerated without resistance.

Despite the racist assumption that the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army unit that claims responsibility for kidnapping University of California coed Patricia Hearst was led by the White woman; despite the fact that the two persons charged with the murder of Oakland Superintendent of Schools Marcus Foster are White and despite the fact that there is no evidence establishing that the recent San Francisco killings were all committed by Blacks, it is the Black communities that are receiving the impact of the "investigations" and the slur of guilt.

The racists can not have it both ways. They can not believe on the one hand that Whites will always lead Blacks by the nose, even into the fires of Hell, and, on the other, that Blacks planned and directed the series of horrors that has been inflicted upon the Bay Area and have succeeded in eluding massive police efforts at discovery.

The assault upon the Black community is deliberately intended to so incense our community as to provoke members of it into reckless and adventurous defensive acts. Such a reaction from within our communities would provide the excuse for increased police repression of our communities, inevitably leading to armed confrontations, the

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HIGHWAY ROBBERY

## COMMENT

### PRISON LOCK-DOWNS NOT NEW

The Prisoners Union, based in San Francisco, California, began two years ago and has grown into a strong organization comprised of over 15,000 members inside the walls of California's prisons with strong outside support groups of ex-prisoners and other interested citizens. The Prisoners Union publishes a national newspaper, The Outlaw, which presents news of the prison struggle and provides a forum for prisoners' grievances.

The following is an editorial reprinted from the January 1974 issue of The Outlaw regarding the vicious lock-down still underway within California prisons.

The recent lockup in San Quentin, Folsom, Soledad, Vacaville and Tracy and the rules of conduct that are being implemented are very familiar to a lot of convicts. I have copies of the "new" rules for Folsom and San Quentin and they remind me of when I was doing time in the '40s and '50s,

I remember when three or four cons walking the yard or hallway would be told, "OK, break it up—gangs aren't allowed," or if you had a rug on the floor it was a five day beef and 30 days' loss of privileges. These and many more are petty harrassments.

These harrassments are designed to put all convicts under a constant stress and are a violation of the First Amendment right, freedom of assembly. But then everybody knows convicts don't have rights.

All of the supposedly new rules are nothing more than a digression to what the old line guard has always believed penitentiaries should be run.

It is up to us not to react violently to this because this is exactly what they want. We can walk that walk and talk that talk and not play the man's game.

And it is his game that we are playing in and if we become

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

## Letters to the Editor

To my comrades,

I was talking with a good brother here in Soledad prison O-wing Adjustment Center and he was telling me about the program that the Panthers have set up in order to help as many brothers as they can that are incarcerated and also the rest of our brothers and sisters that are not.

It is very seldom that I can get any kind of knowledge of what's happening on the streets as far as the struggle goes. I tried to get things fixed up here so that I could get the Panther paper, but the pigs wouldn't go for it. Therefore, if it's possible, I would like to correspond with a sister out there that is involved in the struggle for our beautiful people in capitalist Amerika.

...I'm off into the struggle. I am a revolutionary, by all means! I'm 24 years of age, 5 foot nine and weigh 160 pounds. I love to read Black history books. I also do a lot of studying on the history of my Black brothers and sisters over in the Motherland of Africa.

Power to the People  
Leonard Frazier  
Wapandoza  
Soledad, Calif.

Dear Sir,

I am presently an inmate in the Illinois State Penitentiary, Menard

Branch. For the past six years of my confinement I have been intensely studying criminal, civil and business law.

Last week I sent a Writ of Certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court on my criminal case, since I had exhausted state remedies. Over the past six years I have filed countless law suits in *forma pauperis* against the prison officials for inhumane treatment and violations of my constitutional, civil and human rights...

I am 24 years old and I have several requests of you. First, I would appreciate any of the below items:

1. Monroe V. Pape, 365 U.S. 167 (1961)
2. Cooper V. Pate, 378 U.S. 546 (1964)
3. In re Jordan U Cal. 3d 930 (1972)
4. "Prison Law Reporter" and "Emerging Rights of the Confined".

I do not have any money to pay for the above materials. Any old or used copies of the above or similar materials would be appreciated. I would also appreciate the names and addresses of any lawyers who might be interested in taking cases on a contingency fee basis.

Last, but not least, the names and addresses of any young ladies (or men) that sometimes can write poor lonely me! Thank you.

Albert J. Sullivan #40075  
Box 711  
Menard, Illinois 62259

### THE BLACK PANTHER

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

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

# WINSTON-SALEM FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE OPENS

(Winston-Salem, N.C.) - The Winston-Salem Branch of the Black Panther Party has officially begun operation of the Joseph Waddell People's Free Ambulance Service following over four years of intensive training and hard work to obtain funds for the program. The program, warmly welcomed by the Black community of Winston-Salem, operates on a 24-hour emergency basis and from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on a non-emergency or convalescent

basis. The services provided by this survival program are absolutely free, a desperately needed aid to Winston-Salem residents who are charged \$25 one way or \$45 round trip by the slow county ambulance system.

The service operates with a strictly volunteer staff, and has at least one ambulance constantly on 24-hour alert. The vehicles are radio-dispatched and surpass all government standards. The program now has an emergency



Inside view of the modern ambulance which will hold four patients.

ambulance and two non-emergency vehicles to transport the convalescent to the doctor, clinic, or hospital.

Members of the staff have gone through long months and years of training to man this badly-needed program. Twenty brothers and sisters have completed extensive Emergency Medical Technician training at a number of colleges and technical institutes in North Carolina and are now certified ambulance attendants. Other volunteers man the offices and the radio dispatch operation.

The Winston-Salem Branch of the Black Panther Party began working to implement the program in 1969 after several incidents occurred in which extremely ill Black people were refused transportation to the hospital by Forsyth County ambulance attendants because they did not have the required \$25 fee.

Initial funds for the program were donated by generous Winston-Salem citizens and college

students throughout North Carolina. The Branch received a grant from the National Episcopal Church General Convention Special Program to purchase the vehicles and equipment.

On October 12, 1973, the Joseph Waddell People's Free Ambulance Program was granted a franchise by the Forsyth County Commissioners. This achievement culminated several months of struggling and negotiating with the county on the right to operate both emergency and non-emergency services. At the meeting where the County Commissioners voted to grant the franchise, over 400 people jammed the meeting, demanding nothing less than an emergency and non-emergency franchise for the program. Representatives from several Black organizations, including the NAACP, Welfare Rights Organization, and Senior Citizens and Civic Clubs came forth in the meeting to express the necessity of the ambulance service.

The People's Free Ambulance Service was named in memory to Joseph Waddell, a member of the Winston-Salem Branch of the Party, slain by officials at Central Prison in Raleigh on June 12, 1972. "Joe Dell", as he was called by his comrades, supposedly died of a "heart attack" while in prison. Fellow inmates feel that authorities gave him drugs to induce heart failure.

The Branch plans to expand its present services, obtaining more ambulances, non-emergency vehicles, a large garage and more equipment.

Now the people of Winston-Salem have the security of a people's ambulance service to depend on when ill. □

# RALLY FOR JUSTICE FOR TYRONE GUYTON

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton will sponsor a community rally on February 16 at the Community Learning Center in East Oakland. The rally, featuring a broad cross-section of guest speakers together with live entertainment and free refreshments, will include a special message from Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, Tyrone's mother.

The Oakland-San Francisco Bay Area has been flooded with petitions, leaflets and fact sheets focusing public attention on the case of young, 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton. Tyrone was murdered by three White Emeryville policemen on November 1, 1973. In particular, the rally will serve


notice of the Black community's sense of outrage and disgust over the failure of the Alameda County Grand Jury to indict the policemen involved and the subsequent failure of the local district attorney to prosecute them. When a flood of letters to the district attorney's office failed to move the case closer to a just conclusion, the committee was formed. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, January 26, 1974.)

Almost immediately upon its inception, the committee drew a step closer to victory. When the state's crime lab released its latest report, the Emeryville policemen's most repeated lie was finally exposed—at no time

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Sister ELAINE BROWN addresses a meeting of the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton at the Community Learning Center. [Committee Chairperson MALCOLM KELLEY is standing, center.]



We Celebrate  
Your Life

HAPPY BIRTHDAY  
HUEY P. NEWTON  
Born: February 17, 1942

# STUDENT'S INTERESTS STRESSED IN LEARNING CENTER'S MUSIC PROGRAM

## INTERVIEW WITH DIRECTOR CHARLES MOFFETT

One of the most popular programs at the Intercommunal Youth Institute, as well as one of the most valuable, is the Music Program, headed by Brother Charles Moffett. Charles, who also directs the Community Learning Center's after school Music Program is by the children's estimation a "fantastic" teacher. His views on the Music Program follow the concluding portion of Herb Kohl's interview with Ms. Ericka Huggins, the model school's director.

### PART 3

KOHL: Do you have any intention of going beyond the age of eleven? It seems that after eleven, one is condemned to go back to public school. Or is it a matter of thinking that the children will be strong enough and skilled enough to handle it? ERICKA: Well, for the children who are ten or eleven now, we worry a little, but we do know that they are very strong individuals. Nowhere in the public school system do the children use criticism and self-criticism. The older children have been confronted with the public school system before and they ran into some very harsh situations. They



CHARLES MOFFETT directing the Intercommunal Youth Band.

asked the teacher, "Why?" and the teachers told them to "Shut up"

The children who are very young, from 4 to 8, are our major concern. They have not been touched too much by the public school system and they are some of the most beautiful children in this school. They are free of a lot of things, and they face all learning experiences like sponges. We hope that by the time the 4 year olds become eleven and are ready to leave, we will have something created for them.

KOHL: Now, we turn to Charles Moffett, Director of the Community Learning Center's Music Program. Charles, will you tell us something about the Music Program?

CHARLES: The music department consists of studies in woodwind, brass, string and percussion instruments. The advancement of the students depends on the interest of the individual.

Music is making the children aware of their feelings and helps them to read at the same time. They are putting out their feelings into a mathematical concept. Together that is how we are integrating basic educational skills with a "music education"

KOHL: Let's say a six year old comes to you because they are interested in music. What is the first thing that you would do?

CHARLES: I would surround him with as many different instruments as possible. That way he could tell what he wants to learn to play; I would let him be completely free with it. I would encourage his choice and let him go ahead without every stopping him. I try to construct their positions with the instruments with-

out ever saying, "no", I might demonstrate the use of the instrument with me holding it the correct way.

KOHL: Is there a point at which you introduce some type of self-discipline, begin something that would be like formal instruction? Or, as the kids grow, do you do it in a totally individualistic manner to reach a particular person's needs at that moment?

CHARLES: When you speak of self-discipline, are you speaking of the self-discipline of adults or the self-discipline of students? Do you mean discipline the children according to the adults desires or are we going to break down and say that's self-discipline within itself? It's like teaching students from a book. You haven't adjusted the student to the book, but the book to the student.

KOHL: What are the other activities of the band? Is there a place where people can listen or is the band willing to perform concerts?

CHARLES: Yes. We're very definitely ready to perform on almost any occasion.

KOHL: What have they done?

CHARLES: We played at a Christmas party in San Francisco, and we play here every Sunday. We play for different fraternity and sorority affairs, for style

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## BLACK HISTORY

### ON FEBRUARY 12, 1793

The first fugitive slave law was enacted by the U.S. Congress on February 12, 1793. The law, which was testimony to the vast numbers of runaway slaves, made it a criminal offense to harbor a fugitive slave or to prevent his or her arrest.

### ON FEBRUARY 12, 1909

Stirred by a rebellion in the Black community of Springfield, Ill., in August, 1908, a call for the convening of a national conference on the "Negro question" was issued on February 12, 1909, the 100th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was born.

### ON FEBRUARY 17, 1942

Huey P. Newton, co-founder and leader of the Black Panther Party, was born in Monroe, Louisiana, on February 17, 1942.

### ON FEBRUARY 14, 1957

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was organized at a meeting held in New Orleans, Louisiana, on February 14, 1957. A nonviolent direct action group, the SCLC named the young Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as its first president.

### ON FEBRUARY 15, 1961

Outraged U.S. and African militants disrupted a United Nations Special Session on the Congo with a long and sustained demonstration honoring the slain Congo Premier Patrice Lumumba on February 15, 1961. Betrayed by traitorous agents of U.S. imperialism, the progressive Lumumba was kidnapped, tortured, and then executed on January 17 or 18, 1961.



### "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 MOTOWN RECORD CORP.

## FREE FILMS

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

FEB. 21: STORMY WEATHER

FEB. 28: PINKY

MAR. 6: THE DUTCHMAN

MAR. 14: PORGY AND BESS

MAR. 21: A RAISIN IN THE SUN

MAR. 28: NOTHING BUT A MAN

APR. 4: SOMETHING OF VALUE

APR. 11: BLACK ORPHEUS

APR. 18: THE LEARNING TREE

APR. 25: JACK JOHNSON

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

## CONFERENCE ON ALABAMA- U.S. PRISONS PLANNED

(Birmingham, Ala.) - An important conference on the penal system in Alabama and the United States is to be held here this weekend. The conference has three purposes, says its sponsor, the Committee for Prisoner Support in Birmingham (CPSB). They are:

"1. To set forth and analyze the central issues concerning the American penal institution, with very special reference and attention to Alabama.

"2. To present as much information as possible, from all sources, to facilitate the above analysis.

"3. To make the CPSB a viable, effective organization working for progressive change in the penal system of Alabama."

The third purpose is "crucial", says a CPSB brochure announcing the conference. "It is a well-documented fact that many issues concerning prisoners are similar to those concerning non-prisoners and that many of the issues concerning the American penal institution are similar to those concerning America", it says.

"Thus, dealing with these issues should be of importance to us all", the brochure continues. "Furthermore, many prisoners are actively moving to improve prison conditions and often public support for such movements makes the difference between success and failure. This is a second reason that a prisoner's support group is needed in Birmingham."

The conference will conduct nine workshops: Bail and Pretrial Release; Political Prisoners and Repression; Alabama Prisons; Community Involvement; Legislation and the Penal System; Prison Health Sentencing and Plea Bargaining; Parole and other Post-Prison Issues, and Court Monitoring.

Many well-known community activists will serve as workshop leaders and resource people.

The two-day conference will be held at St. Paul's Church, 1500 Sixth Ave., North, in Birmingham, on February 15 and 16. □

## MEDIA DISTORTS ATMORE REBELLION

### "OUTSIDE AGITATION" BLAMED

(Montgomery, Ala.) - Reports from the men inside of Atmore State Prison Farm concerning the recent peaceful demonstration there and the bloody repression that crushed that protest are strongly at variance with media accounts of the January 18 incident.

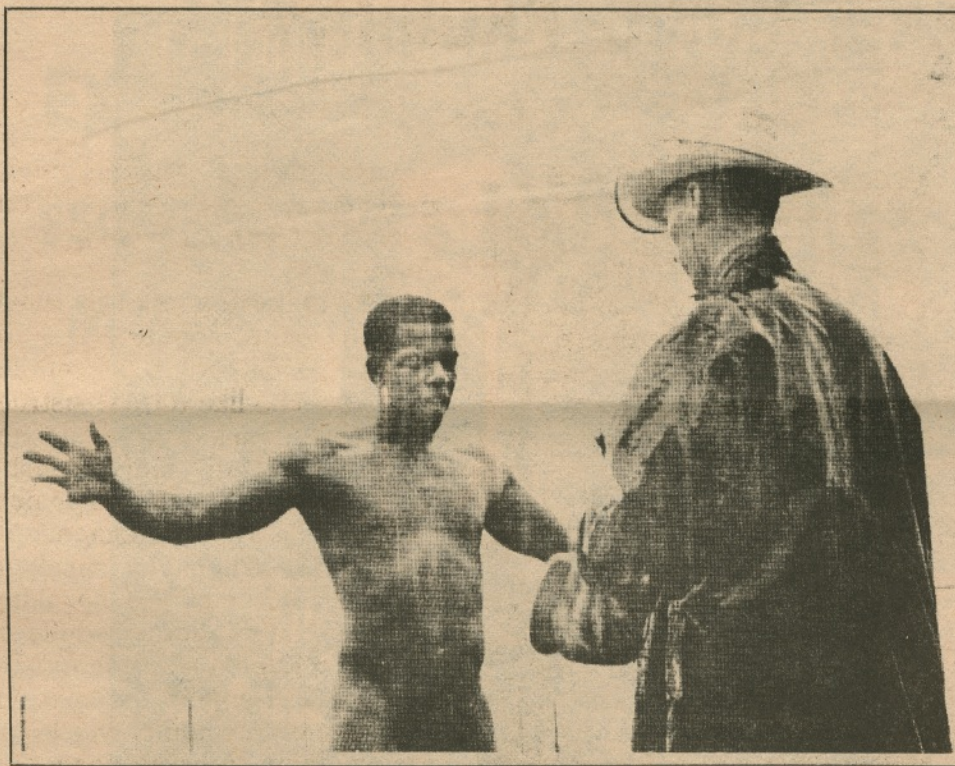
Alabama State Representative Maston Mims is quoted in the *Mobile Press* as having said that prisoners were, "stirred up from (sic) outsiders just to get somebody, to kill somebody". Mims, who is the chairman of a state legislative committee on the prison system, and Atmore Warden Marion G. Harding insist that "outside agitation" of the Black Panther Party and other organizations was the sole cause of the violence in which one prisoner and one guard were slain.

However, the prisoners inside the Atmore segregation unit where the rebellion took place have ridiculed the charges of outside agitation and said the protest was a result of the "gruesome and brutal" conditions within the institution. Brother William Boyd writes from within the prison that the protest started peacefully with the taking of two hostages. These "publicity" hostages were well-treated and safe until prison authorities sent twelve gunmen into the segregation unit to smash the demonstration.

In the wild and willfully indiscriminate shooting spree that followed, thirty-one casualties were inflicted. Brother George Dobbins was killed in the volley while one hostage and twenty-eight Atmore inmates were wounded. The other hostage guard was also killed during this attack.

Warden Harding refused to negotiate with prison inmates and took the hard line. Just as in the Attica rebellion of 1971, death was the result.

State and prison officials are attempting to place the blame on the Black Panther Party and the



*Conditions on America's prison farms, not outside agitators, cause rebellions.*

## ATTICA 18 DENIED TRANSFER FROM AUBURN PRISON

(Rochester, N.Y.) - The Attica 18 have been denied a suit asking that they be transferred from Auburn Correctional facility to the Erie County Jail. The conditions at Auburn led to a suspicious fire that raged through one of the isolation cells. Brother Otis McGaughey suffered burns on over 40 percent of his skin surface. Brother Otis would have



*Prisoners in Attica's yard during the rebellion.*

access to burn treatment if he were at the Erie County Jail.

Guards at Auburn throw lighted matches into the cells of all prisoners and give added attention to harassing the 18 Attica indictees. The court has refused to grant proper medical treatment to the injured man as well as end harassment for all 18. The state

police apparatus has also been tapping the phones of at least one of the defendant's lawyers.

State Supreme Court Judge James Moore is stalling on a state investigation to expose the wiretap of defense attorney Donald Jelinek's phone. Jelinek is the defense committee co-ordinator for Attica Brother Rhaam Karanja who is now also being held at Auburn, N.Y. Assistant Attorney General Maxwell Spont says there is no need for an investigation but since then it appears that the Attica Brothers Defense Committee office in Buffalo is also bugged.

Although on many issues the N.Y. prison system authorities seem to have all the answers, the tragic Thanksgiving day blaze was a case of "fire of undetermined origin". For ten minutes the inferno licked at Brother Otis' clothes and skin and five minutes later, according to prison officials, he was taken to the infirmary. According to a nearby isolation cell witness, the officials are lying. Brother Steve Merkel says Otis was taken, still smoldering to the next empty cell in the isolation block and only after suffering through much additional agony was he taken to the inadequate prison infirmary. In view of the hostile, racist attitudes of the Auburn guards towards most prisoners, much less the Attica Brothers, most observers familiar with Auburn believe the witness. □

# DEMONSTRATION TO SUPPORT

## LEAVENWORTH PRISONERS

(Leavenworth, Kansas) - The Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee (LBO/DC) will conduct a demonstration and vigil on February 18 in front of Leavenworth Prison to protest the illegal actions of the prison authorities, announces a LBO/DC news release.

LBO/DC has charged prison authorities with illegally holding 26 men in solitary confinement since July 31, when an inmate rebellion ended in an agreement with the warden that no reprisals would be taken and the prisoners' grievances would be acted upon.

As a result of the rebellion three inmates, Odell Bennett, Alf Hill and Alfred Jasper—all of them Black—have been charged. Odell, who has been on a month-and-a-half long hunger strike in protest against the inhuman conditions of solitary, has filed a suit calling for his transfer to the Federal Medical Center.

Bureau of Prisons policy statement number 7400.7 says: "When it has been determined that an inmate is on a hunger strike, he shall immediately be admitted to the hospital as an administrative admission"

Odell's motion charges that prison officials have "completely ignored the controlling administrative requirements and done nothing" and that their inaction constitutes "callous inattention and gross negligence, in violation of Odell's rights under the Fifth and Eighth Amendments".

Odell is now seriously ill, but numerous requests from concerned citizens have not persuaded officials to transfer him from solitary.

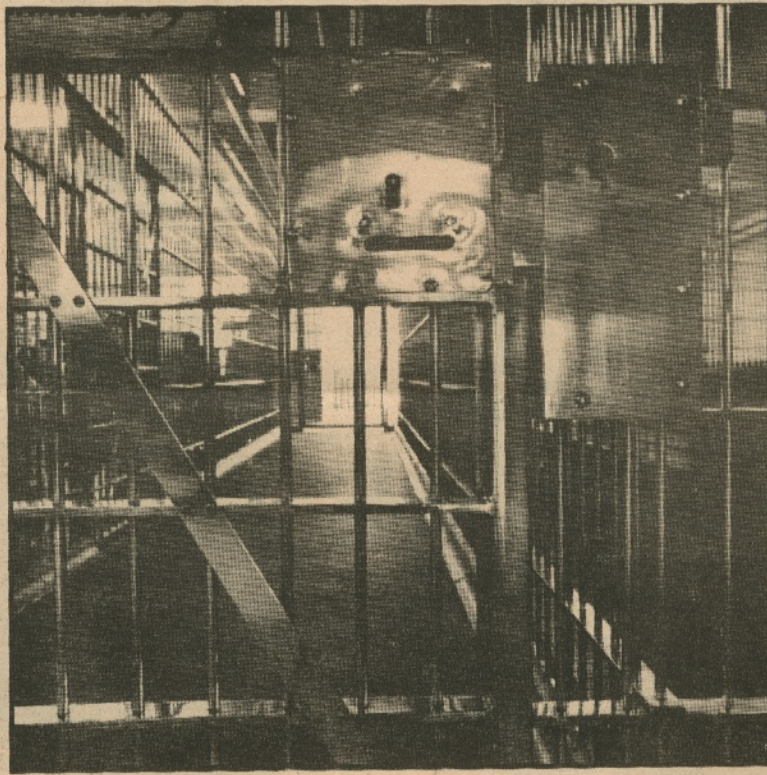
The demands of the demonstration and vigil, the LBO/DC declares, will be:

"1. Drop the frame-up charges against Odell Bennett, Alf Hill and Alfred Jasper.

"2. Comply with the July 31 negotiations of 'no reprisals', and release all 'Leavenworth Brothers' from the hole.

"3. Comply with the July 31 '13 grievances'.

Militant anti-war priest Father Phillip Berrigan will participate in the demonstration and vigil and



*Prison bars are a demoralizing sight, especially from behind.*

lead a car caravan to the prison from the University of Kansas.

The charges against the three "Leavenworth Brothers" stem from incidents since the July 31 uprising. Odell is charged with assault on a federal officer and mutiny. Alf Hill and Alfred Jasper have these same two charges plus a third charge of possession of a deadly weapon by a federal prisoner.

The trials are expected to start in Topeka, Kansas, in the early spring. All three of the brothers are active in the Leavenworth Prison Chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization.

During the July 31 rebellion, a committee of six prisoners, on

which Chicanos, Whites and Blacks were equally represented, negotiated the release of four hostage guards. More than 40 men were originally placed in solitary as a result of the rebellion.

Within months prior to the uprising four inmates died without an explanation being given, several petitions for better conditions went unheard, numerous work stoppages occurred and hunger strikes ended with prisoners being placed in solitary.

More information about LBO/DC or the demonstration and vigil may be obtained by contacting the LBO/DC, P.O. Box 5818, Kansas City, Missouri 64111. Or phone: (816) 753-1619. □

## PRISON LOCK-

## DOWNS

## NOT NEW

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

violent he will deal to us from the bottom of the deck.

With Behavior Modification under his hand, they will try to convince enough people that all convicts are sick and need their behavior modified, i.e., psychosurgery, lobotomies, electric shock and so on.

Any act of violence is going to strengthen his hand. Man, we are

holding a bust out hand and our only hope is to get a new deal and a new unmarked deck without the joker.

This is going to take some time; it isn't going to happen overnight and they are not going to open the gates and turn everyone loose. Each of you are convicts, the kept, and they are the keepers.

What we have to do is stay cool and keep organizing peacefully for our constitutional rights. Eventually society will see that it is impossible for a human being to come back into society with good will in his/her heart after being treated like an animal for X number of years. And there are a good number of people that realize this and the numbers are growing. □

## DRINKING WATER UNFIT IN COMPANY TOWN

(Harlan, Ky.) - Drinking water in the Brookside coal camp in Harlan has been declared unfit for human consumption by the Harlan County Health Department.

The water, which is supplied to the residents of the Brookside camp by the Duke Power Co., was found to be six times as contaminated as the maximum allowable bacteria count that the county permits.

The County Health Department made the test after many residents of the small mining town, including several children, became seriously ill. The test revealed the bacteria count in the water supply was 24. The danger level is reached when the count is any higher than 4.

The Duke Power Company owns the town, the mines and the water supply. Although a high percentage of the miner's miserable pay is taken back by Duke Power in payment for the miner's rent, the homes have neither plumbing nor running water. The entire community must rely upon a common water spigot.

Most of the town's residents work for Duke in the Brookside mine. They have been on strike since July 28, 1973, to gain a medical program and demand safer conditions in the mine. And while federal inspectors have already listed at least 10 serious violations of mining laws, the company has refused to make repairs or change these hazards. In fact the company now refuses to allow inspectors to go back into the mines.

Duke Power Company's disregard for public and employee health and safety is one of the more blatant examples of the lack of concern for the people by American corporations. □

## LARGEST WEAPONS SUPPLIERS

(London, England) Four countries — the United States, the Soviet Union, France and England — are the world's largest suppliers of weapons. International arms traffic has more than doubled over the past two years. It is believed that over \$10.5 billion worth of guns, bombs, ammunition and other military hardware was sold to guerrillas, hired mercenaries and feuding South American countries during 1973. □



Voting for the first time in their lives, Black residents of Washington, D.C., line up at the polling place.

## BLACK POLITICAL PROGRESS IN SOUTH

(Atlanta, Ga.) - The election of 363 southern Blacks to local offices and two legislative posts in 1973 reflected continuing minority political progress, according to a survey conducted by the non-partisan Voter Education Project, Inc. (VEP).

The 1973 elections were highlighted by such historic moments as the election of Maynard Jackson as the first Black mayor of Atlanta, Georgia; Coleman Young as the first Black mayor of Detroit, Michigan; Clarence Lightner as mayor of the predominantly White city of Raleigh, North Carolina; Hermanze Fauntleroy, Jr., as the first Black mayor of a Virginia city; and sixteen other Black mayors in the South.

The VEP data, compiled by Information Specialist Barnetta Jackson, showed that the largest number of victories were obtained in the election of 253 Blacks to town city councils and commissions. Blacks were elected for the first time to city councils and commissions in such places as Darlington and Aiken, South Carolina; Fort Lauderdale, Fort Walton Black, St. Augustine and Orlando, Florida; and Palmetto,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

## BAY AREA GOV'T. WORKERS WIN RIGHT TO INSPECT UNION RECORDS

(Oakland, Calif.) - East Bay government workers won enforcement of their right to inspect their union's financial records in a suit in Alameda County Superior Court last month. The court's decision represents another in a series of recent victories for the Rank and File Committee, a multi-racial group of workers who have been organizing in support of the rights of the members of the United Public Employees Union, AFL-CIO. The union represents county and local government workers in Alameda County and the East Bay.

The Rank and File Committee filed suit against Local 390 after discovering large, unexplained or questionable expenditures in un-

After the union denied the committee permission to inspect

the records, members filed suit in December.

Superior Court Judge Bostick ruled that because there was sufficient reason to doubt the legality of the union's financial practices, he upheld the committee's request for a writ of mandamus compelling examination of the books dating back to 1972. The union leadership had tried to demagogically avert the suit of the rank and file members by submitting a sketchy and insufficient audit to the court. Even the superficial audit showed that the union's bookkeeping practices were inadequate.

Should any important questions be raised by the committee's inspection of the records, Judge Bostick indicated that he may expand his order to include financial records before 1972 and order the union to compensate the Rank and File Committee for its legal expenses.

The major opposition to the workers' demands is wielded by Paul Varacalli, the union's Executive Secretary and the man who controls the union's executive board. The committee accuses the union of failing to process and press member's grievances. They also charge that Varacalli, who acts as union negotiator at contract time, has negotiated behind closed doors without the union negotiating committee and has failed to submit proposed contracts for ratification by the membership.

Varacalli succeeded in being re-elected Executive Secretary in the December union elections after having his major opponent, Tom King of the Rank and File Committee, thrown out of the union on charges that he maintained membership in dual unions. However, the organizing efforts of the committee paid off in the elections. They captured two of the three seats on the union's important Board of Trustees. Varacalli must now work with a board of trustees controlled by the Rank and File Committee, his political opposition.

The Rank and File Committee is greatly encouraged by these outstanding recent victories, and is looking forward to further struggles with union leadership around which to rally more workers' support. □

## DELLUMS' CORNER



## ASKS VETERANS BENEFITS

(Washington, D.C.) - California congressman Ronald V. Dellums has appealed to Representative William D. Dorn, Chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, to bring about speedy consideration and passage of the proposed Veterans Education and Rehabilitation Amendments of 1973.

In a letter to Dorn, Dellums called for quick passage of the bill that will increase the current rate of subsistence allowances and will extend the time limitation for a veteran to complete an educational program.

Commenting, Dellums said, "The money should be some incentive to pursue more useful skills, not at simply a subsistence level — they have been on a comfortable living standard."

He continued to explain that the current educational allowances for veterans are inadequate and urged members of the Veterans Affairs Committee to pass this vital legislation.

In another development, Dellums recently received a 100 per cent voting record from Women's Lobby, Inc., for his votes during the 92nd and 93rd Congresses on five issues of vital importance to women.

Dellums was among forty members of Congress who received a perfect score from the women's group. The five issues of importance to women were: the Child Development Amendment; the Wiggings Amendment to the Equal Rights Amendment; the Froehlich Amendment to Hogan Legal Services Amendment; the Fair Labor Standards Act to increase the Federal Minimum Wage, and the vote to override the presidential veto of the minimum wage bill.

Women's Lobby, Inc., is a national organization working for legislation providing pension and tax reform, quality child and health care, a minimum wage for domestics and an end to discrimination in credit and education.

## BRIDGE OVER TROUBLED WATERS

# SECURITY GUARDS RAID DRUG TREATMENT CENTER

(Berkeley, Calif.) - The Bridge Over Troubled Waters drug rehabilitation residence on Scenic Avenue was taken over last week by seven private security guards on instructions of its Executive Director, Jack Goldberg, who feared trouble after he fired two Black staff members.

The staff members, Rodrick Evans and Russell Weaver, both addiction specialists, charge the program's administration, headed by Goldberg, with racism and a total lack of concern for the resident members of the program. Forty-five of the 50 residents are Black.

In a staff meeting Goldberg announced the firing of Evans and Weaver for being "non-supportive of the staff and inciting the house against the staff". Evans, who is a member of the Black Panther Party, was accused of provoking racism.

Evans told THE BLACK PANTHER that the all-White administration of "The Bridge", is shot through with racism. He said that only the day before his own firing, a Puerto Rican member of the staff, Roberto Santiago had been forced to leave by the administration for some alleged minor infraction.

Evans said the program had at one time been a good one that strove to meet the needs of the drug victims who voluntarily joined it. "But it is now all but closed because of the racist administration's new plans to make the program what it wants it to be rather than what the program members feel it must be in order to serve their needs."

He said that members of the program were leaving the residence daily in search of more meaningful aid and assistance in their effort to keep the "monkey off their back". Evans said he and Weaver, both of whom had formerly been drug victims, were loved and respected by the members of the program, and their firing was a result of their defense of the members of the program against the administration.

A dispute arose over the decision of the administration to expel a resident because he lied about having had an alcoholic drink while on leave from the residence. Expulsion for this resident meant he would be returned to prison, since residence was a condition of his parole.

Evans and Weaver opposed the decision to expel the brother and urged some lesser punishment, but they were outvoted. When the decision was announced to the house (as is the custom) the entire membership questioned it and expressed their disapproval.

Using the rehabilitation techniques of the House, the members called for a group rap session, called a "game", in which staff and members are all encouraged to express points of view freely and honestly. In the "game" Evans and Weaver expressed their honest opinion about the decision of the administration to expel the resident who had lied. On this basis, the director, Goldberg, charged both with "non-support of staff" and racism, and fired them.

Evans and Weaver said the program was there to serve its residents, not its administration. They both insisted that the racism of the director and White staff members prevented them from implementing a program which truly met the needs of the residents, most of whom are Black. The two plan to move toward the implementation of such a program. □

## ATMORE REBELLION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Nation of Islam. Although Warden Hardin declined to say who his "outside agitators" were, his assistant, John Braddy, information officer for the prison system, is quoted in the *Mobile Press* as saying that "sects of the Black Muslims and Black Panthers have influence on some prisoners". In any event the protest "was confined to a segregation unit" and only "a band of malcontents" were involved, according to prison officials.

Black inmates led the demonstration, "simply because most of our prison population is Black", Braddy said, belying the state's contention that "Black rabble-

## POLICE ASSAULT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

declaration of a State of Emergency and finally the abrogation of basic democratic rights for all.

Why Oakland and Berkeley? Because Oakland is the home of the Black Panther Party, the only



TYRONE GUYTON

## TYRONE GUYTON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

did Tyrone Guyton fire a gun at the policemen. Even the grand jury could not easily dismiss this latest disclosure; it voted to reopen the case. Its new consideration will begin February 18.

Guest speakers at the community rally will include: Bobby Seale; Percy Steele, Executive Director of the Bay Area Urban League; Pastor J. Alfred Smith of Allen Temple Baptist Church, and representatives from the offices of Rep. Ron Dellums, U.S. Congress; Willie Brown, Ken Meade, and John Miller, California State Assembly, and Tom Bates, Alameda County Board of Supervisors. □

rousers" and not wretched prison conditions were the cause of the disturbance.

The fact that prisoners on the Atmore "mainline" (general prison population) are trying to organize a defense fund for their brothers inside the so-called segregation unit indicates that they are with them. Most accounts of the demonstration do not "leak" from the segregation cells to the public. Mainline reporters are bringing out the truth about the protest.

"Long Live the Spirit of Brother George Dobbins", rings the slogan memorial to the slain Atmore brother, from the end of William Boyd's letter. William Boyd is a mainline prisoner. So Warden Harding's claim that the rebellious inmates "have no consistent influence with the prison population", is also revealed as a lie. □

revolutionary organization of power in this country. Because Berkeley has demonstrated its ability to elect publicly proclaimed radicals to city office, proving to the country that it can be done. □

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### GENOCIDE DEBATE CONTINUES

(Washington, D.C.) - The Senate has failed to defeat a movement headed by a small group of Southern senators to block ratification of a 25-year-old United Nations agreement to outlaw genocide. By a vote of 55 to 36 or six short of the required two-thirds margin, the Senate failed to cut off debate on the agreement, which declares attempts to wipe out national, ethnic, racial or religious groups by killing or causing "serious bodily or mental harm" to their members an international crime.

### "SLAP IN FACE" O.K.'D

(St. Louis, Missouri) - The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit ruled recently that a police officer may use "a quick punch in the stomach and a few slaps in the face" to subdue a "violent" prisoner. The court upheld a Green County, Mo., federal court ruling dismissing a police brutality complaint by an inmate against two deputy sheriffs.

### 700 FAMILIES TO GO HOMELESS

(Newark, N.J.) - The Newark Housing Authority announced last week that it would close down the Stella Wright Housing Project on April 7, leaving 700 families homeless. The families are participating in a four year old rent strike, the longest protest of its kind in the country, which has cost the Housing Authority \$6 million in rents. The Newark Tenants Organization said they would continue the protest anyway and the tenants would stay on at the projects. "They're threatening to cut off things we don't have anyway", they said.

### FOOD FOR WAR PROGRAM

(Washington, D.C.) - The Food for Peace Program, established to feed the hungry of the world, has been perverted into a food for war program in Southeast Asia. The sinister change has been manipulated quietly by the National Security Council. Of the \$1 billion worth of food that is shipped abroad for the needy, the council has insisted, according to classified documents, that half should go to bolster the military strength of Cambodia and South Vietnam.



# FILIPINOS DENIED U.S. CITIZENSHIP WORLD WAR II VETERANS FACE DEPORTATION

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Despite risking their lives for the U.S., thousands of Filipino veterans of World War II are being denied the right to become naturalized U.S. citizens.

In 1940, the U.S. promised citizenship to Filipinos who served in the U.S. Army during World War II. However, before the law expired in 1946, only a few Filipino veterans knew about their citizenship rights or were allowed the opportunity to apply. Since 1940, approximately 150,000 veterans in the Phillipines have been denied their rights, and in the U.S. there are presently several hundred Filipino veterans who not only are being deprived of their citizenship rights but face possible deportation.

### VIGOROUSLY FIGHTING

The San Francisco-based Filipino American Veterans Committee (FAVC) is vigorously fighting this outrage. Late last year, in a 6 - 3 vote, the Supreme Court ruled against a court effort to obtain citizenship for a Filipino veteran. At this point the FAVC concluded that its only alternative was to work in unity. FAVC is bringing its case to the community and is initiating legislative action. On behalf of the organization, California Congressman Phillip Burton has introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives Bill H.R. 11963, a watered-down version of the original 1940 bill which will give permanent residence to Filipino veterans who served in World War II and to their dependents.

The veterans fear that even the watered-down version of the bill may not get through the Judiciary Committee, which is presently preoccupied with Watergate matters.

In 1945, the U.S. gave an American vice-consul permission to begin naturalization proceedings for Filipinos in accordance with the 1940 law. The Philippine government immediately responded to this action by claiming that Filipino men would leave the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

# SURVEY CLAIMS BLACK PRESS SUPPORTS ISRAEL

## LEADING BLACK NEWSPAPERS EXCLUDED

(New York, N.Y.) - In what the American Jewish Congress (AJC) calls a nationwide survey of the Black press—that did not include the two most widely read Black newspapers in the country—the AJC claims that only one Black newspaper did not support Israel in its coverage of the October, 1973, Middle East war.

In a press statement issued last month, the AJC claims to have studied 15 (out of the several hundred) Black newspapers across the country. But those 15 newspapers did not include either **THE BLACK PANTHER** or *Muhammad Speaks*, the two most widely read Black newspapers in

the country and the only nationally circulated Black newspapers.

The statement "explains" that these two papers were not included in the survey "because they were regarded as ideological journals rather than newspapers". Martin Hochbaum of the AJC Commission on Law, Social Action and Urban Affairs, who conducted the study, is quoted as saying, "Both were strongly anti-Israel, as expected"

Commenting on the reputed findings, Naomi Levine, Executive Director of the AJC is quoted as declaring: "The results of this study challenge the frequently-



Palestinian Freedom Fighter LE-LAH KAHLI.

expressed view that the Black community is at best indifferent to Israel and at worst hostile to the Jewish state."

The statement declares: "By and large, according to the study, news coverage 'of the war' tended to be straight forward, relying heavily on wire service copy or rewrites of daily newspapers stories.

"In the 'favorable to Israel' newspapers, both editorials and columnists supported the Israeli cause. In the 'mixed' publications, editorials and columnists were frequently on opposite sides of the issue. In the one anti-Israel newspaper, news and feature articles were vehemently opposed to American foreign policy as well as to the Israeli cause."

Consistent with the Zionist fiction that the Palestinian people do not exist, not one mention is made in the three page, legal-length, single-spaced release of Palestine, the Palestinian people or the Palestinian cause. In this way the impression is left that those who disagreed with the AJC on the October, Middle East War had only a negative position to take against Israel. In fact, **THE BLACK PANTHER** defended the rights of the Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian people to regain their usurped territory from Israeli military occupation.

Black people all across this country followed the lead of African states and personalities across the continent, in condemning the imperialist Israeli threat to Egypt, the northern gateway to Africa. Contrary to the charge made in the AJC statement, nothing that appeared in **THE BLACK PANTHER** in its coverage of the Middle East War was either anti-Semitic or slanderous. Rather, everything was anti-Zionist and condemnatory of Israel. □



## "SICKLE CELL ANEMIA: FACT OR FICTION?"

[Oakland, Calif.] HENRY SMITH, coordinator of the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics, is being prepared to test a sister for Sickle Cell Anemia before the cameras of KTVU Channel 2. The sample test was part of a program aired twice last Sunday, "Sickle Cell Anemia: Fact or Fiction?"

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# TESTIMONY BEGINS IN WOUNDED

## KNEE TRIAL

(St. Paul, Minn.) - Eight women and four men, two of whom are part-Indian, began hearing testimony here this week as the government opened its case against American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks for their courageous role in the 71-day liberation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, last year.

On January 7, the day before jury selection began, the defendant's six lawyers, who include famed attorneys William Kuntzler and Mark Lane, filed two motions which, at this writing, are under consideration by the court.

The first motion relates directly to the heart of the defendants' treaty rights as a sovereign Indian nation by challenging the U.S. government's jurisdiction in indicting Means and Banks.

The second motion seeks to dismiss the cases because of the government's "reign of terror". This motion details numerous incidents of harassment and intimidation of the Oglala Sioux people by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and Tribal President Richard Wilson's vigilante "goon squads". In addition, the motion describes the harassment of Wounded Knee supporters by the FBI, the state of South Dakota's judiciary bias against Native Americans and the federal government's complicity in hiding the truth about AIM leader Pedro Bissonette's murder at the hands of BIA police and the police state on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

The historic, highly political trial has brought about governmental harassment of the defense in the courthouse. The government operated "security system" intimidates visitors at several check points within the federal building, creating a police state atmosphere around the trials and fear of AIM and its supporters in the minds of the American people. Angry defense attorneys, jostled at one point by U.S. marshals, have been unsuccessful in ending this harassment even after discussion with presiding Judge Fred Nichol during jury selection.

Jay Shalman, head of the jury selection group, hailed the selection process as extremely successful. Following twenty-six peremptory challenges—twenty for the defense and six for the prosecution—the jurors, most of



*Oglala Sioux marching along road in Wounded Knee stop to talk to supporters in car.*

whom are under the age of 30, were chosen. They include a young woman librarian who has studied Indian culture; a political activist at the University of Minnesota who is taking one-fourth of her sophomore year off to serve on the jury; a 27-year-old trade union leader; a Mexican American, 32, who considers himself part-Indian; a woman research analyst, 43; and a postal clerk, 53, who is part-Indian.

Judge Nichol conducted the courtroom questioning of the prospective jurors questioning each juror as much as three hours. The defense followed the systematic jury selection process used in such political trials as the Harrisburg, Camden and Gainesville conspiracy cases. These latter cases resemble the Means-Banks case in that the government has deliberately singled out some leaders and has tried, through a fraudulent set of facts, to create a "conspiracy". They hope to undermine the new, progressive, political movement among Native Americans, led by AIM.

Marlon Brando's appearance in the courtroom on January 25 was a highlight of the trial. He offered his support and help in bringing the trials to public attention. Brando commented in an exclusive interview with the *Minneapolis Tribune*: "Those really on trial here are the American people. I should say, more specifically, the American conscience." □

### JOLO BOMBED

(Jolo, Philippines) - Philippine jets bombed and strafed suspected rebel positions in a vain government attempt to retake two Moslem-controlled towns on the island of Jolo.

# FILIPINOS DENIED

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

territory if given American citizenship. Consequently, in September, 1945, the Commission of Immigration recommended that the vice-consul's authority be revoked. The recommendation was carried out.

The U.S. reappointed naturalization officers in 1946 to continue the naturalization proceedings that ended with the expiration of the 1940 law on December 31, 1946. The handful of veterans within earshot of General Douglas MacArthur were the only ones to be naturalized.

The FAVC needs your support. Write your congressperson and urge him/her to support H.R. Bill 11943. □

## BLACK PROGRESS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Summerville and Commerce, Georgia.

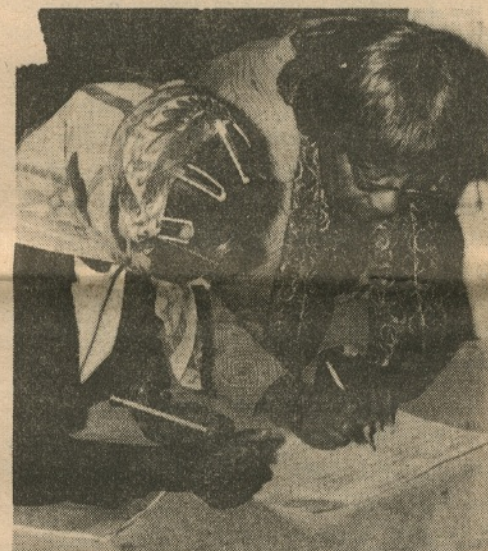
Black candidates won four of the seven city council seats in Petersburg, Virginia (scene of the Civil War battle which led to the surrender of General Robert E. Lee at Appomatox), including the election of the youngest Black official in Virginia.

Black women won several victories in the 1973 elections in the South, including the distinctions of being the first elected to the city councils of Dallas, Texas and Petersburg, Virginia. A Black woman, running as a write-in candidate, won a position on the Williamson County Court in Tennessee.

The second largest number of Black political victories were in school board victories, which accounted for 63 wins in the eleven southern states.

The following is a breakdown by office of Black officials elected in 1973: municipal governing bodies, 253; school boards, 63; mayors, 19; election commission, 14; municipal clerks, 4; state house, 2; police chief, 2; and one Black victory in the positions of vice-mayor, town marshal, county-quarterly court squire, county court, criminal district clerk, and fire marshal.

Stanley Alexander, VEP research director, commenting on the significance of the 1973 Black victories, said: "In what is considered an off-year for politics, meaning the absence of national or state elections, the election of 363 Blacks to primarily local offices is an obvious indication



*Black people gain political strength with voter registration.*

that on-going programs of registration and citizenship education are essential to continue the momentum of Black political progress."

VEP Executive Director John Lewis said: "The election of many officials may not have attracted a great deal of attention outside the communities in which they occurred, but such is the nature of the quiet revolution now building in the region. Of course, many Blacks who sought election in 1973 were defeated, and the Black victories represent only a minute fraction of the total number of officeholders elected last year."

"In 1974," Lewis asserted, "the VEP will concentrate its resources in areas of greatest need to deliver non-partisan programs of registration, educational seminars, training workshops, and voter mobilization tours to stimulate greater awareness of the crucial task of using the ballot as a tool for much-needed change." □

# IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

## CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H ERIKSON AND HUEY P NEWTON

*In the following excerpt from In Search of Common Ground, Professor Erik Erikson, the world renowned psychiatrist, continues his in-depth discussion of "identity" with Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party at a seminar of Yale students:*

**ERIKSON:** You see what I mean? I fight him to bring out the angel in him, so that the angel can bless both of us. So I did not mean to imply that you, Huey—and I mean you personally now—were *teaching hate*. None of your writings at the time of the

founding of your Party would substantiate that. Rather, you created a confrontation which did not allow for ambiguities and ambivalences (that is, half love and half hate) because only such a situation permits the eventual emergence of a communality. Any other situation fosters the kind of "love"—and God knows there is plenty of it around—which is based on reciprocal exploitation and a reciprocal cutting down of the other's dignity. For exploitation, too, breeds exploitation. The slave, in his symbiosis with the master, undermines the master's dignity in many, sometimes subtle ways. The exploiter, in turn, sometimes hates the exploited to the point of wishing him dead, just because his victim reminds him of his own absurdity. So one must force the exploiter up against the wall of his own absurdity, as it were, before he can gain insight. Even Gandhi's nonviolent methods often seem infuriatingly coercive to, say, the soldiers who had to fight those unarmed and yet advancing masses with clubs and guns. Gandhi, in fact, had deep conflicts about the implicit aggressiveness in his massive non-aggression: he knew very well that the masses often did not understand either armed love or unarmed militancy, because, as I said yesterday, they had not known what it means to be armed in the first place. For that very reason, Gandhi was probably the most exultant about the time when a mountain tribe of well-trained warriors, the Pathans, executed a perfect (and perfectly disciplined) occupation of a city which was then in the hands of a British regiment. So much for that.

### INNER PROCESS

Now back to the questions about identity and pseudospecies. Like all concepts, they are not worth more than what they help clarify in actuality. This also assumes, I guess, that both of them stand for processes with marked inner contradictions, such as the positive and negative identity—the lasting tension between which makes identity something both strong and yet vulnerable. And it should be clear that such concepts are always both personal *and* communal.

The very term "identity," of course, is apt to sound to communalists as too individualistic and to individualists as too conformists, even though it really means to describe processes of

development which in themselves are independent of any "isms"—although "isms" determine their conscious content. For example, whether the historical period emphasizes individualism or conformism to norms and roles and stances, the individual has to find his own identity in either. But that also means that either "ism" is, for a while, a communal integrator.

If and where individualism is a dominant ideal, it can emphasize uniqueness only by way of a communal agreement which, for a while, makes individualism a life-style admired and fostered in the whole society, even if its perfection is by definition truly accessible only to an elite. Such an elite, in turn, must shoulder some responsibility for its own comportment, so as to keep the claim of uniqueness from getting out of hand and, in fact, from becoming antisocial. But then any life-style sooner or later brings forth a kind of shady "elite," which attempts to get away with something and to cover its tracks with rhetoric: before long, rhetoric makes an empty stance, a pretense, and a stereotyped role out of any liberating life-style.

### IDENTITY

It makes sense, then, to speak of an eventual conspiracy between individualism and capitalism. But then I have to remind you that I am not speaking of mere ideal images or moral models, mere passing trends and fashionables styles. I am speaking of an *inner process* in every individual and in every generation involved, a process which, when things go reasonably well, guards for a while both the identities of the elite and of that majority which accepts its clues from the elite. And it is an inner process which, for a while, guards the dialectic relation of the generations and thus the sociogenetic process.

I hope I do not sound too relativistic when I attempt to show the relativity of changing political and cultural styles. But there always lurks alienation and identity confusion and eventual insurrection and violence within these processes. It follows that if individualism as a cultural trend has passed its prime, then there will soon be a generation that grows up with vague ideals of individualism, that learns in college to admire the masters of a passing life-style and yet finds out before long that if you want to



HUEY NEWTON and ERIK ERIKSON at a book party at the Community Learning Center, Feb. 10, 1974.

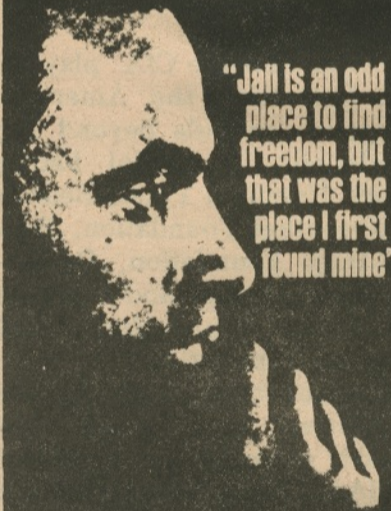
really "succeed" you must develop ruthless irresponsibility under the guise of pious individualistic verbiage. And if you "can't make it," you are the suckers, and you feel, to use a more noble word, "alienated."

In the meantime, however, individualism in its period of flowering has served to establish another of those steps in human consciousness which make it ever clearer what a free man *could* be. The caricatures of decay cannot hide the true face which had been revealed, and which may well be an irreversible part of any future and more universal model of personality.

Maybe you can see now what I mean when I say that for a while a man's identity may be in line with a developing life-style, while at another time he may have to defend it, for example, by insisting on his right to be an individual in the midst of a life-style which, in fact, robs him of genuine individuality by forcing him into counterfeit individualistic roles. As you said, he may then feel that he can regain individuality only by loyally joining a communal group which stands against the prevailing life-style—or by going through a phase of inverted individualism where his inner life becomes his one and only community. (Incidentally, doesn't every writer go through such phrases, repeatedly and creatively? And if he is a novelist or dramatist, he can invent a cast representing his inner community and put it on the stage or in a novel which almost seems to have superior reality.) Today, though, all too many people can keep their inner community alive only by the use of drugs.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

## 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

# ANOTHER CRISIS BREWING FOR WATERGATE PROSECUTOR

(Washington, D.C.) - Another crisis within the Watergate scandal is in the works. Nixon has again refused to turn over important Watergate documents and tapes. This time the materials have been requested by Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski. The White House refusal was contained in a confidential letter from presidential counsel James St. Clair to Jaworski.

Once again a confrontation between Nixon and a governmental party responsible for administering justice in the Watergate scandal has become imminent. In a previous confrontation with former Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox, Nixon resolved the conflict by firing Cox. Now the present prosecutor faces a similar fate, if he does not reverse himself and cooperate with Nixon.

It is senseless for the Justice Department's Watergate inquiry to continue if the chief person under investigation can fire the prosecutor the very moment he asks for materials necessary to carry out his job, although these materials may contain evidence of Nixon's crimes. Justice is absurd when Nixon, at will, can get rid of men charged with enforcing the laws. Under these circumstances the only "laws" are those Nixon designates.

Nixon, preparing the way for his absolute rule, is only opposed by the power of the people. From all indications, the representatives of the people, Congress, will try to stop Nixon this spring with a concrete move for impeachment.

Recently the impeachment drive gained momentum when the House of Representatives voted 410 to 4 to give its Judiciary Committee sweeping subpoena powers, including the power to issue a call for Nixon himself to appear. Now the committee can demand papers, tapes and other White House evidence for its investigation. If Nixon refuses to comply with the committee, this in itself would be grounds for impeachment.

As one Watergate crisis after another unfolds, Nixon proves himself more intent upon retaining his throne. As he sinks deeper into criminality, the task before us and Congress becomes clearer. If we don't resolutely press for his removal, he will become further entrenched in his position of absolute monarch and increase his blundering and plundering. The extent to which he succeeds is up to us.

But even when Nixon is removed, what is to prevent further presidential abuse of power?



The answer is the total elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States as set forth in the recent Black Panther Party proposal. We must act now to safeguard ourselves from future Watergates, cover-ups and conspiracies by pushing to eliminate the Executive branch of government.

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

"Operation Gemstone: The Great Watergate Conspiracy," by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee [CRIC] describes the unholy alliance formed during World War II between big business, organized crime and intelligence. The purpose of this merger is to create a supersecret spy network to expand and maintain U.S. financial and military interests abroad. Last week's excerpt explained how the CIA began its involvement in covert activities in foreign countries. This week's selection details the CIA's clandestine relationship with U.S. foreign-based businesses and the formation in 1970 of a domestic intelligence gathering system.

In the years following 1947, the CIA expanded its initial authority for preserving American interests against foreign subversion abroad into subversion of foreign governments. In the 1960s, it was widely rumored that many of the U.S. companies in Vietnam, particularly Philco-Ford, Alaska Barge and Transport, and Pacific Architects and Engineers employed agents of the CIA.

Vietnam is not the only theatre of operations for the CIA. Other fronts or private concerns employing CIA operatives are United Fruit Co., the law firm of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, New York, conspicuously CIA-linked by its alumni serving as deputy directors or as in the case of former Carter alumni, Frank G. Wisner, setting up CIA Plans Division, the so-called department of "dirty tricks." A CIA conduit for subsidy of such oil-linked CIA fronts as the American Friends of the Middle East is the dirty tricks department.



The intelligence fronts for the CIA play an important role in protecting the American dollar. CIA intelligence extends beyond big business to foundations. A partial listing includes the Andrew Hamilton Fund, Beacon Fund, Benjamin Rosenthal Foundation, Borden Trust, Broad-High Foundation, Catherwood Foundation, David, Joseph and Winfield Baird Foundation, Dodge Foundation, Edsel Fund, and the Pappas Foundation.

Some of these foundations work in the United States. Others work in foreign countries. One classic example is the Pappas Foundation. The CIA in Greece built up the left and the right in order to destroy the center, which is exactly what was to be done in San Diego, and the front being used in Greece was the Pappas Foundation. The "Action Official" for the coup in Greece was none other than Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew, just as Vice-President Richard M. Nixon had been the "Action Official" for Cuba.

Men on foundation boards have one foot in official intelligence and one foot in corporate intelligence. Looking at the boards of large corporations, one sees the same names appearing as presidents of universities, as directors of non-profit foundations, men like John McCone, formerly director of the CIA, now a vice president of ITT, McGeorge Bundy, former assistant to President Kennedy and key war planner, now president of the Ford Foundation. And the private corporations have their own diplomatic intelligence agencies such as Intertel, a vast international intelligence

# ESTABLISHMENT MEDIA IGNORES B.P.P. PROPOSAL TO ELIMINATE PRESIDENCY

(Oakland, Calif.) - Despite a widespread popular interest shown by readers of THE BLACK PANTHER in the Black Panther Party's proposal for the elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President, the establishment media have ignored this historic document.

The Position Paper contains a concise, clear, in-depth argument supporting the proposal. The Black Panther Party has asked the country to debate the proposal and is confident that Americans sincerely desirous of preventing future presidential electoral conspiracies will see the necessity of the elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President.

In last week's issue we printed excerpts from the Historical Argument and the Moral Argument sections of the Position Paper. This week we present excerpts from the section entitled The Legal Argument. This section argues in the words of the U.S. Constitution that document's intent as regards the Executive.

"It cannot be argued that the U.S. Constitution does not provide for a President", states the Position Paper, "for that is self-evident. However, the Constitution clearly does not allow the President powers that Congress does not deem necessary and proper. With this general theory in mind", the Position Paper continues, "the argument can be

extended to our present historic place, which has revealed, most recently, in the Watergate affair, the evils and potentially greater evils of the presidency.

"The events of these times strongly suggest the necessity of a Congressional act, *supportive of Constitutional intent*, that could transfer the executive authority and its incumbent duties out of the hands of one man, without violating but rather enforcing the supreme law of the land."

The Position Paper lists four Constitutional points in support of its proposal: "1. The Constitution of the United States of America states, in Article 1, Section 8, that Congress shall have power to: '...make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into



Oliphant, Denver Post

"Just a small group of activists."

execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof'.

"2. The Constitution designates few powers to the President, and none without some form of Congressional consent..."

"3. The Constitution does not allow the President the power to administer any action carrying the weight of a policy decision under any such aegis as 'executive privilege'. The very offices of the executive department are created by Congress, the heads of which are only nominated by the President..."

"4. Besides outlining the limited powers of the President, the Constitution further provides safeguards against abuse of presidential authority...Not only does Congress have the power to impeach a President, but, also the power to diminish or increase its own powers of the executive department or of any other department or branch of the government, which changes in law shall become the Supreme Law of the Land..."

The proposal was published two weeks ago in a special supplement of the February 2, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.

The actual proposal reads simply: "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."

Refusal of the establishment press, radio and television to touch this important event is an expression of the desire of those who own and control the media in the U.S. to wish the proposal out of existence. □



New York Post

"It's his secret information, but he doesn't want to hurt the guy. . . ."

combine of gambling and vice money working in an investment consortium. Howard Hughes is part owner of Intertel. The public relations firm of Mullen Company, which represents Hughes is an intelligence front. Employer of E.H. Hunt, Mullen was a prime mover in the founding of the Young Americans for Freedom and VIVA, originally a Victory in Vietnam group, two more intelligence - propaganda cold war fronts.

### NEW BREED OF COWBOY

The new breed of "Cowboy", marginal but strategically located agents, work closely with private investigators and their agencies, some of whom, like the American Security Council, maintain their own files on alleged subversives as a service for private employers. The close cooperation between the para-military organizations and right wing agents of the intelligence agencies can be seen in the make-up of those who actually committed the break-ins at Watergate and in California.

The ITT revelations of subversion in Chile and its willingness to work with the CIA to overthrow Allende there is not surprising. Many of the multi-national corporations, like United Fruit, as well as ITT, have long staked their profits on maintaining an equilibrium of oppression and poverty in such Latin American countries as Brazil, Uruguay and Bolivia. The history of CIA involvement in Cuba, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, is a story almost too familiar for Americans.

The CIA has been the primary support for the drug traffic from the Golden Triangle as well. It has trained Tibetan loyalists within the United States. And the CIA has offices throughout America, most with their telephone numbers listed.

In recent years, the CIA has established covert American actions through the formation of dummy corporations like the Josephine & Winfield Baird Foundation, the Gibraltar Steamship Company, or the Zenith Technical Enterprises, Inc. The list is not exclusive but the secrecy of the CIA perpetuates continued use of secret fronts as long as it exists.

It has utilized the massive resources of academic institutions by funding research projects in as many as 150 foreign countries. The National Student Association has been for more than 20 years a CIA front. The CIA is everywhere. From agents assigned to various locales, to leaders of foreign countries who operate under CIA orders. Among the Operation Gemstone participants with CIA connections: Charles W. Colson, James W. McCord, G. Gordon Liddy, E. H. Hunt, Dorothy Hunt, Frank Sturges, and all the Cubans and all their lawyers. And these are only the ones we know about. The CIA never reveals its covert operatives. During the Pentagon Papers trial, CIA analyst (he has since been fired) Sam Adams explained that he was only able to testify because he was not a covert agent.

TO BE CONTINUED

# THE GLASS HOUSE TAPES

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

*The use of paid agent provocateurs, like agent Louis E. Tackwood, is nothing new in the "dragnet-mad" world of big city police departments. The following excerpt from The Glass House Tapes documents the roots from which the modern police state grew and flourished.*

"Red" Hynes and James Edgar Davis were prime movers in creating one of the prototypes of the intelligence bureaus that became a model for other police agencies around the country.

We must look at both the men and the social context in which they existed and flourished.

The history of the L.A.P.D. is an exposition of violation against the civil rights of workers: of violence, bloodshed, treachery and illicit activity. During the years when Red Hynes was developing his skills as a "fink" and James E. Davis was learning how to get his bread buttered, the L.A.P.D. was developing its method of enforcing the "open shop" policy for Los Angeles.

From 1919 until 1925, police arrested 504 union organizers and political activists on the charges of Criminal Syndicalism. It was not necessary to prove these men and women had committed any crime for a conviction to be obtained. No industrial sabotage had to be shown, no burnings of fields, or bombings of factories. Political association or sympathy with radical and socialist groups or ideas was sufficient for conviction. One hundred twenty-four convictions of up to fourteen years in San Quentin were obtained in those five years, many under the supervision of the "Radical Bureau," through the conjured up testimony of police agents and informers. As the La Follette Report (the report of the congressional committee looking into industrial espionage) states:

"It is clear that espionage has become the habit of American management. Until it is stamped out, the rights of Labor to organize, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly will be meaningless phrases. Men cannot meet freely to discuss their grievances, to organize for economic betterment; they may not even express opinions on politics or religion so long as the

machinery of espionage pervades their daily life...."

Prosecution of political ideas, unlike prosecution where there is evidence of a criminal act, could only be obtained through the use and growth of a network of spies "finks" whose sole function was to "get the goods" on people and break the unions.

Criminal Syndicalist trials were costly and the public grew weary of witnesses who by their own admission could not be trusted to ever tell the truth. An easier method was found to destroy political organizations outside the courtroom: the Red Squad.

While Hynes was busily infiltrating the I.W.W. in San Pedro in 1923, his cohorts in the Bureau were inveigled by the shipping barons to deliver the final blow to the strikers by arresting 300 of them *en masse* and prohibiting the union from meeting in the harbor district during the strike. There was great protest to this action by such men as the crusading author Upton Sinclair, who came to San Pedro to aid the imperiled strikers. Hynes and his friends treated notables no differently than the strikers. When they tried to hold a rally in support of the I.W.W. strikers, all were arrested by Hynes and the squad on charges of "con-



The members of CRIC with Louis Tackwood [in center, with white cap].

spiracy." The case was later dismissed.

When Davis was made Chief of Police, his first command to Hynes was "to redouble his efforts against Labor." Hynes carried out this command vigorously, making "mass arrest" one of the Red Squad's favorite tactics. In every strike such as the meatpackers' strike or the furniture workers' dispute, the Red Squad used mass arrests and beatings, did strike-breaking duty, and acted as armed guards for the owners. Strike-breaking proved to be a profitable enterprise as well. According to the La Follette Reports, the L.A.P.D., particularly the Red Squad, received \$145,000 for their work in the three-month long strike. Hynes himself received close to \$6,000 for his strike-breaking services in the years 1934-1935 (although such extracurricular activity was forbidden to the intelligence bureau by official policy).

The Red Squad profited by their "intelligence" activities as well. They were sent around the state in the pay of the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchant and Manufacturers Association to collect data on "effective" organizers who were then branded as Communists and blacklisted. The La Follette Committee describes this use of anti-Communism as a ploy. "Although, as the investigation reveals, the employer directs his spy forces against any kind of union activity, he cloaks his hostility under the pretext that he is defending himself and the country against Communism." Among those branded as Communists were such famous "Reds" as Phillip Murray, head of the steelworkers, Walther Reuther, John L. Lewis, Heywood Broun, David Dubinsky, Victor Reuther and Harry Bridges. By branding them such they hoped to win public acceptance of their ruthless means of breaking the back of labor.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

**One of the most revealing documents of our time.**

Confessions of a former police agent expose a vast, frightening and expanding domestic-intelligence network.

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

The Story of an Agent-  
Provocateur and the  
New Police-Intelligence  
Complex by  
CITIZENS RESEARCH  
AND INVESTIGATION  
COMMITTEE and  
LOUIS E. TACKWOOD

\$1.75  
**AVON**

## MAN FREEZES TO DEATH

(Milwaukee, Wis.) -A 71-year-old man froze to death here last week after the so-called Wisconsin Public Service Corporation turned off his heat when a bill went unpaid. Harold Radtke's brother had been paying the bill for him but the company forgot to contact him. Radtke was found frozen solid, face-up on the floor.

### Write Us

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

# Intercommunal News

## REP. DIGGS REPORTS ON AFRICAN DROUGHT, BRAZIL'S TIES WITH AFRICA



A victim of famine in drought-stricken West Africa.

(Washington, D.C.) In a report entitled, "A Study Mission to Brazil and Africa", Representative Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, discusses the current situation in the drought-stricken countries of central Africa and Brazil's relationship to Africa.

Representative Diggs recently returned from an extensive tour of Brazil and several African countries. Following his visit to Brazil, Mr. Diggs visited Senegal, Upper Volta and Niger, three of the African countries hardest hit by the drought. (The other three are Chad, Mali and Mauritania.)

Congressman Diggs writes: "Responsible officials advised that the food shortfall (shortage) might be at least as great this coming year. Rains were spotty, irregular, and completely stopped in mid-September, when the grain needs moisture.

"The people will be facing starvation again very soon unless action is taken immediately. More grain must arrive at the major ports now through May when the roads become impassable.

"In Uper Volta", Congressman Diggs continues, "I visited a road improvement project, made possible by the \$25 million amendment I sponsored to the Foreign Assistance Act for immediate relief to the Sahel (region of the drought).

"Sahelian officials unanimously told me their major priority is utilization of their precious water resources by irrigation schemes, construction of dams and the use of underground water. Other priorities are reforestation, livestock improvement and rural development.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## NEW MOZAMBIQUE MASSACRE REPORTED

### PORTUGUESE TROOPS KILL 17 VILLAGERS

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - A new Portuguese massacre of African villagers in Mozambique's Tete Province has been reported. The Tanzanian *Daily News* writes that, according to the reports, 17 villagers were murdered in cold blood at the village of Nhacambo on January 6 by troops of the Portuguese colonial army.

The paper says that the massacre was calculated beforehand — unlike earlier Portuguese-executed massacres that appeared to have been acts of spontaneous vengeance — and was carried out by African soldiers disguised as FRELIMO guerrillas with the purpose of discrediting FRELIMO.

The colonialists first reported the massacre through a South African press agency on January 10. They then took reporters to the spot and introduced them to an old man who said that "FRELIMO troops" had gone to the village yelling "kill, kill".

Then, according to the colonialists, the head of the Portuguese Red Cross showed the reporters 68 photographs that he said were taken in his presence and provided "absolute proof" that people were murdered.



Portuguese atrocity in Mozambique.

There were, however, no bodies. The Portuguese said they had been buried.

The final piece of "evidence" produced by the Portuguese that FRELIMO was responsible was a letter conveniently left behind by FRELIMO claiming responsibility and even naming the guerrilla commander allegedly in command of the operation.

FRAMING F.R.E.L.I.M.O.

The *Daily News* writes: "Until word is received in Tanzania from the FRELIMO forces in Tete, it is not possible to say with certainty what really happened, but if there really was a massacre — and remember there are no bodies to prove it — there can be little doubt that the Portuguese sent an African unit into a village which they themselves control with the specific task of murdering people and framing FRELIMO.

*Daily News* staff writer Iain Christie recalled something FRELIMO's President Samora Machel told him during a working visit last September among the guerrilla forces. President Machel said: "Agents are sent into the liberated areas wearing uniforms and carrying equipment identical to ours and presenting themselves as FRELIMO militants. Their job is to commit crimes against the people which are then blamed on FRELIMO."

Christie refers the reader to a *Newsweek* story that appeared in the January 14, 1974, issue, of terror squads of African colonial troops in Mozambique. These units are led by a White officer

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

## INTERNATIONAL LAWYER COMMENTS ON INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU

In September, 1973, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde [PAIGC] proclaimed the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau. By January, 1974, 72 countries, not including the U.S., had recognized the new republic.

The Angola Comite a Dutch group supporting the people's liberation movements in southern Africa, asked three noted Dutch experts on international law to give their opinions on the issue of independence for Guinea-Bissau. This request was made because, so far, most objections raised to recognition of the New Republic



PAIGC National Assembly voting to proclaim Guinea-Bissau an independent republic.

by Western governments, particularly the U.S., have been based on interpretations of international law. In the following reply, written by Professor Jhr. Mr. H.F. van Panhuys, the question is raised as to whether there isn't even an obligation to recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

To the Angola Comite  
Da Construastraat 88  
Amsterdam

Dear Mr. Kuiper,

In connection with the question you raised with me regarding the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

## NIGERIAN IN U.S. LOSES SCHOLARSHIP

### POLITICAL VIEWS DISAPPROVED

(New York, N.Y.) - A foreign student at Montana State University has had his scholarship terminated because a letter containing his political views reached the Agency for International Development (AID) which sponsored his scholarship.

Abubakar S. Ibrahim, a 25-year-old Nigerian student, had written a letter to his father in early December expressing disenchantment with certain U.S. policies and discussing South African politics.

The letter reached the university's foreign student advisor, Helen Simpson, who said it had already been opened by the post office. She then telephoned AID in Washington and discussed the letter with Robert Doan, Program Specialist for International Training, because, she said, it was "something I had to do." She said she felt AID should be informed of Ibrahim's attitudes because the federal government was picking up the tab for his education.

#### CREATE PROBLEMS

Ibrahim received a call from Doan who told him, "If I hear any more about you, I am going to create enough problems for you in Nigeria so that even your country won't accept you."

Dr. Richard B. Landis, director of the university's Center for Intercultural Programs, said that Ms. Simpson had "acted highly irregularly" in reporting the contents of the letter to AID. Landis later contacted Doan, who informed him that Ibrahim should not stay at MSU and that his AID funding would expire on January 23.

However, AID terminated Ibrahim's funding in late December, thus preventing him from registering for the next term at MSU. He is now in Washington meeting with the Nigerian ambassador to see if his country will pay for his education.

University authorities are still investigating to determine who opened the letter.

In a letter to his fellow students at MSU Ibrahim wrote: "It is better for foreign students to realize they don't have the right to their own views in the land of the free."

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

# LIBERATION STRUGGLE QUICKENS IN ARABIAN GULF

(Liberated Zone, Arab Peninsula) - In a telegram to the Support Committee for the Liberation Movement in the Gulf, the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG) warns: "Iranian military campaign against liberated zone. Arouse public opinion."

Later reports from Western sources confirm that 3,000 more

soldiers of Iran have been sent to Salallah, the capital of neighboring Dhofar, the only major area still under the control of the forces of the Sultan. The committee further reports that these soldiers are now engaged in fierce battles against the revolutionary forces of the PFLOAG.

Recent war communiques from the PFLOAG indicate that the pace of the struggle has quick-

ened. Reports of downing British airplanes indicate that the people's war in Oman is entering a new phase, states a special supplement communique to *Gulf Solidarity*.

"It is clear that the forces of the Sultan (of Oman) and his British 'advisors', even bolstered by contingents of Jordanian secret police and Iranian soldiers, can not cope with the revolution", asserts the communique. "The Nixon Doctrine is clear in its plans for such contingencies. The U.S. puppet regime of the Shah (Iran) has been shored up militarily for years in order to step in and preserve 'law and order' for U.S. imperialism in the Gulf."

The committee points out that troops near the border with revolutionary Yemen are ominous as well. "The imperialists are well aware that the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is the firm rear area of the revolutionary forces throughout the Arabian peninsula."

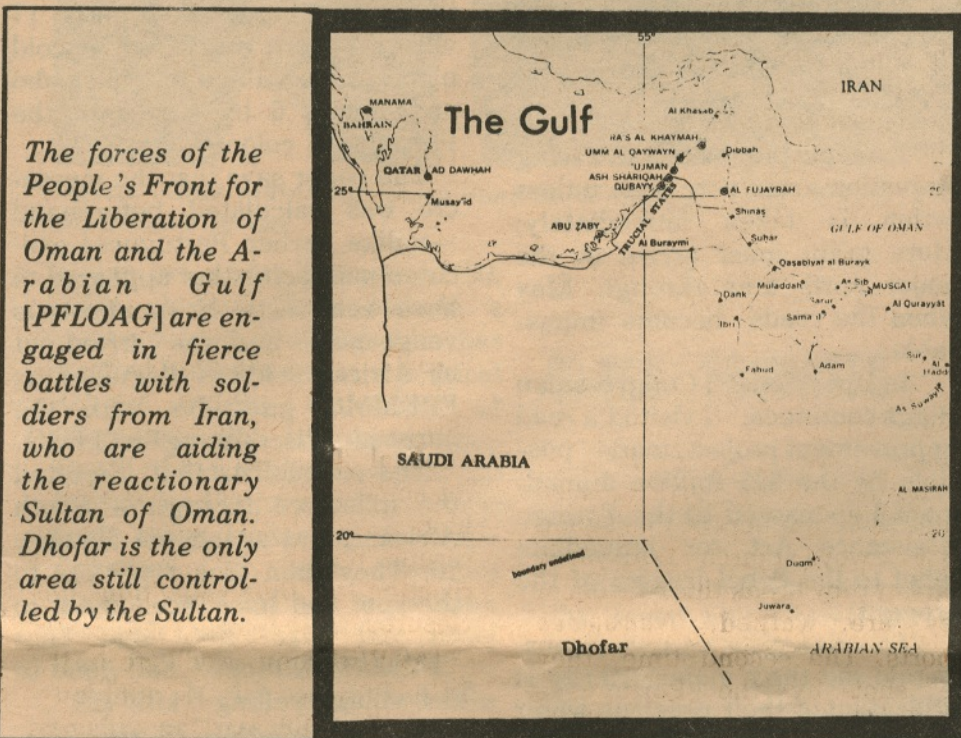
#### REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

The revolutionary forces around the Gulf will never allow this vicious attack to go unanswered, writes the support committee. The Iranian people in particular have already begun to demonstrate their solidarity with their Arab brothers and sisters by struggling against the Shah's reactionary aggressiveness. Last year 28 "martyrs died while opposing the \$3 billion arms purchase of the Shah. This show of solidarity will certainly grow into the unified struggle of the peoples of the Gulf and Iran against their common enemy."

Concluding, the statement declares: "The task of the progressive forces is clear. U.S. imperialism, weakened by its defeats in Vietnam and throughout the world, is attempting to defeat revolution by proxy, through 'third' parties such as Iran.

"We must mobilize against the new attacks on the revolution in the Gulf. PFLOAG has called on progressive forces to begin immediate educational campaigns to inform the people about the struggle in the Gulf. We must respond."

Write to *Gulf Solidarity*, P.O. Box 40155, Station C, San Francisco, California 94140, for information about the struggle of the people of the Gulf for liberation from tyranny and imperialist exploitation. □



## DIGGS REPORTS ON AFRICA

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

"They all agreed that the underlying problem of desert encroachment requires a long-term program with large injections of capital to stabilize and develop water and other resources in the area. We need a broadly-based commitment to cooperation with Africans according to their own aspirations for a life free from hunger to restore the Sahel to its ancient role as the breadbasket of Africa.

"Thus", concludes Congressman Diggs in his report on his visit to the Sahel, "in the Foreign Assistance Act the Congress enacted my amendment pledging U.S. support for a long-term comprehensive African Sahel Development Program."

In the section of the report discussing his visit to Brazil, Congressman Diggs points out: "The Foreign Minister of Brazil, a country of more than 40 million Blacks, had visited last year some nine African states to encourage the development of Brazil-African relations in line with Brazil's need for markets.

"While Brazil seeks trade outlets in Black Africa", Mr. Diggs stresses, "South Africa remains its largest trading partner and Brazil continues, with the United States and South Africa, to be among the few United Nations members staunchly supporting Portugal.

#### BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY

"I talked with Brazilian officials on the directions of Brazilian foreign policy. I returned convinced that Brazil cannot carry water on both shoulders—developing economic ties with Black Africa while continuing to be one of the mainstays of colonialism in Africa.

"The cost to Brazil of its United Nations voting record is being brought home. But, even if Brazil were to change its current support for Portugal and endeavor to play a bridge role between Africa and Portugal, no influence is likely to be significant on Portugal as long as the United States continues to undergird Portugal economically, politically and militarily."



U. OF CALIF.

# PETITION DRIVE SEEKS END TO INVESTMENTS IN S. AFRICA

(Santa Cruz, Calif.) - The Third World Coalition of the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California (UC) has launched a petition drive to end UC's complicity in apartheid. Citing UC's holdings of over \$312 billion in companies which operate in the apartheid countries of South Africa and Rhodesia, and in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, the petition demands:

"1. The immediate divestment of UC holdings in those companies.

"2. The immediate establishment of a representative committee drawn from students, faculty, community leaders and administrative personnel to advise and to investigate the best means for the effective divestment of the mentioned holdings and the reinvestment of such funds in economic establishments which recognize their social, moral and ecological responsibilities."

### THIRD WORLD COALITION

An article published by the Third World Coalition in the UC Santa Cruz press asks: "In what ways does UC uphold its responsibility as an educational institution? In what ways do the use of public monies to support corporations which lend critical aid to a racist system advance the true public interest?"

UC plays a major role in providing the necessary business capital in the firms which exploit Africa, the article says. The university has well over \$100 million invested in the six largest corporations in which it does business. These corporations are among the most exploitative in the world.

In IBM, the university has invested \$31,403,120; in General Motors, \$30,626,702; in General Electric, \$13,110,874; in Caltex (owned jointly by Standard Oil of California and Texaco), \$11,955,835; in Ford, \$11,784,125, and in ITT, \$9,327,619.

These corporations continue to get rich at the expense of the African people, who must perform back-breaking slave labor in order to survive in their own land. However, the growing movements for liberation in Africa provide hope for an end to the oppression of the people. □



*The University of California has investments in corporations which exploit Black South African workers, such as the mine workers shown here.*

## MOZAMBIQUE MASSACRE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

and always wear FRELIMO uniforms, identical down to the boots.

The *Newsweek* article also states that members of this squad must always march ten yards apart. If they break this rule once, they are warned, *Newsweek* reports. The second time, they are shot by the Portuguese officer. Christie comments: "This gives an idea of the ruthlessness inside the colonial army. One can imagine how they behave towards non-members."

Perhaps the most hideous aspect of the matter, writes

## NO RIGHTS FOR AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

(Adelaide, So. Australia) - Australian Aborigines the native people of Australia, are among the most oppressed, exploited peoples in the world. The de jure (legal) subjugation of the Aborigines is kept intact by the Queensland's Aborigines Act of 1971 and the Aborigines Regulations of 1972. These racist laws keep the dark-skinned Aborigines mercilessly at the heels of White Australians just as the "Jim Crow" segregation laws did Black people in the U.S.A. up until just a few years ago. Only

South Africa's "apartheid" laws rival the Queensland Act for racial bigotry in the world today.

Under the Act, every possession that an Aborigine has is under the "management" of his district officer. The district officer, who is usually also the local police officer, can sell an Aborigine's property without his consent or authorize any other White person to buy or sell his property for him. Under the provisions of the employment section, the district officer may take part or all of an Aborigine's pay without his knowledge or consent.

Under one portion of this section, a native Australian may be payed less than the minimum wage if he admits he is aged, sick or slow in his work. Under a third provision of this section, an Aborigine must ask the district officer for permission each time he wants to spend his own money. All of this in the land where the Aborigine people have lived long before the White man knew it existed.

An Aborigine's court rights are not equal to a White man's and he must apply for residence on the land upon which he lives.

All of the mingling and residence regulations are designed to ensure that all valuable land, minerals and resources are kept to the advantage of the rich White

Christie, is that massacres by colonial troops disguised as FRELIMO militants are not unusual. This has been practiced for some years. There have been more and more incidents in recent months, perhaps as a reaction to the Wiriyaumu disclosures.

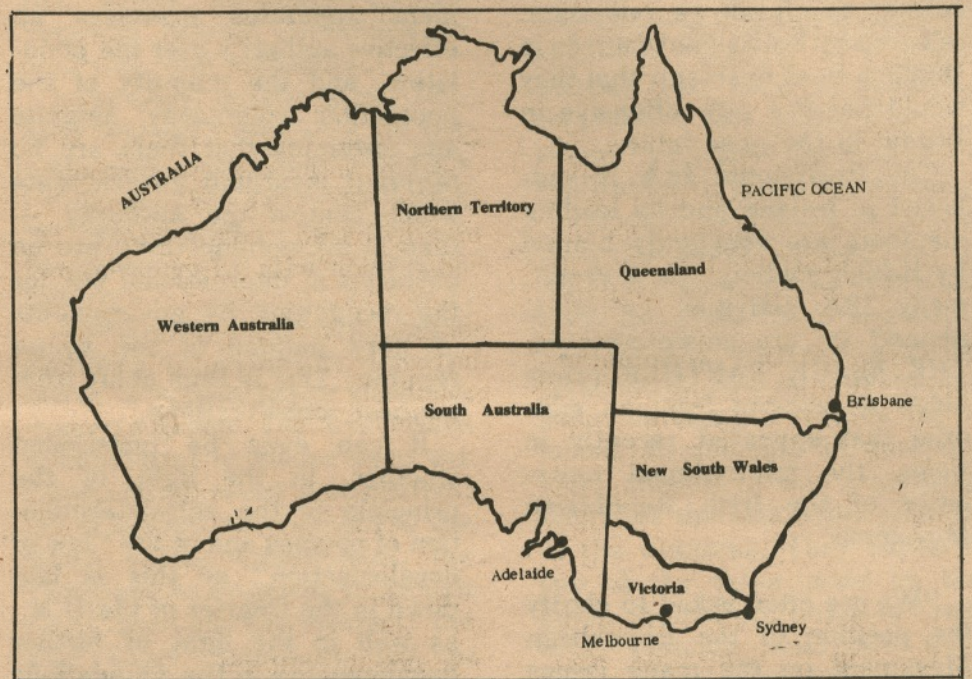
(At Wiriyaumu, a village in the Tete Province of Mozambique, more than 400 African villagers were massacred by Portuguese troops in December, 1972. The report was brought out of Mozambique by Catholic missionaries, and published widely in European newspapers.) □

## BLOODLESS COUP IN UPPER VOLTA

(Ouagadougou, Upper Volta)

In an apparently bloodless coup, the army of this small, West African country seized power, suspended the constitution and dissolved the National Assembly. General Sangoule Lamizana, head of state for eight years, will apparently remain President.

Information is sketchy and reports are unreliable, but it appears the action was a result of internal political rivalries. Ouagadougou, the capital, is the headquarters of a large-scale program to relieve the drought and famine in the sub-Saharan region. It is also the focal point for the \$1.5 billion, 10-year program of dam building, well digging and irrigation that the six drought struck nations are hoping will make the region self-supporting. □



## SWAHILI DICTIONARY

(Kinshasa, Zaire) - A 700-page, 300,000 word dictionary of the Swahili language has been published in Kinshasa. Swahili is one of the principal languages in Eastern Africa. □

capitalists. No Aborigine can challenge the Australian corporate state's claim to his land. The regulations do say that Aborigines have a right to benefit from profits resulting from mining ventures on their land, but no mention is made of exactly what or how much they have a right to. CONTINUED ON PAGE 21

# 50- POUND BOMB KILLS 11 BRITISH SOLDIERS

## IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT SPEAKS OUT ON STRUGGLE IN IRELAND

(London, England) - A 50-pound bomb, apparently concealed in a suitcase and believed to be the work of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, smashed through a bus load of British soldiers on February 4, killing 11.

As a result of the attack, the most deadly bombing in Britain since the present wave of hostilities in Northern Ireland began in 1969, the British government has announced a full-scale review of its "security measures." One possibility mentioned — one which the government claims it does not want to take — is the introduction of identity cards in Britain.

Spokesmen for the Provisionals, who represent the oppressed Irish Catholic community in Ireland's long-time struggle for political independence, have remained silent concerning the bombing. This is not unusual. The Provincials have a policy of making no comment about their activities in Britain. In Northern Ireland the Provisionals will generally confirm or deny involvement.

### OFFENSIVE

The bus bombing — 11 killed, 14 injured eclipses anything that the IRA has been accused of doing in England so far. The act seems to fulfill a decision, released by Provisional sources in Dublin a week or so ago that they would begin a new offensive in Britain in the near future.

The Provisional IRA is outlawed in Ireland and its leading members are constantly hunted by British soldiers. As a result, many IRA activities go unexplained or are misinterpreted. THE BLACK PANTHER prints below an excerpt from an editorial that appeared recently in *Eolas*, the international newsletter of the Irish Republican Movement:

"We are often asked to clarify the position of the Republican Movement on the many issues affecting the Irish people...The complexities of the political situation in Ireland often lead to simplistic conclusions and hence a failure to grasp the correctness of the Republican Movement's policies.

"The ultimate Republican goal is the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic based on

the traditional national territory of the Irish people the thirty-two counties of Ireland. Obviously the pursuit of that goal requires the use of certain tactics and strategies as it is impossible to proceed from the present condition of the country to the establishment of a socialist society.

"Basically, Ireland as a whole is under the control of foreign domination, politically, economically and culturally. The entire economic sub-structure has been thoroughly penetrated by Anglo-American Imperialism and multinational corporations.

"Superficially it might appear that there is a measure of political independence in the Southern part of the country, but any superficial observation of even the most recent political events would show that the 26 County

## GUINEA-BISSAU

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

recognition of Guinea-Bissau, I would like to give you my opinion by the following:

If the situation is indeed such that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, declared independent by the independence movement P.A.I.G.C. last September, has a territory at its disposal where a properly functioning government apparatus exercises an effective authority over the population, and the majority of the population voluntarily submits and assuming that there are no different insurgent governments which contest the authority — then in my opinion there are no obstacles in international law for the recognition by governments of third nations of the young republic. This is thus apart from political considerations.

It can even be questioned whether, in the light of the principle of the self-determination of peoples and of the "law of decolonization" as this is laid down in the Charter of the U.N., as well in the light of further developments in the foundations of the Charter during the period of 1945 to the present, an obligation rests upon third nations — if the above conditions are met — to recognize the new nation, or in any case to avoid everything which could possibly be construed as "non-recognition" In my opinion, this also gives significance to the resolu-



Pickers outside Santa Clara County jail protest against capture of IRA supporter in California.

Government is directly subject to the political influence of the British Government. The attitude of the British government is clearly one of a sovereign parliament dealing with an inferior, insignificant offshoot...

"In the North, British control is obviously more evident; 18,000 troops on the streets, concentration camps, daily arrests and constant harassment of the people and Republican activists is enough to demonstrate the totali-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 21

tion passed on the 2nd of November this year by the General Assembly of the U.N.; I am relying upon an article in the N.R.C.—Handelsblad of the 3rd November, 1973, for the contents of this resolution.

I do not consider the question, whether the obligation to recognize I refer to (respectively, the obligation to avoid actions or statements which would imply a non-recognition) involves a recognition in the usual sense (either de jure or de facto), or rather a recognition as "actual government"

I would not want to go so far as to take the position that the governments of third nations are also obligated to establish diplomatic relations with the newly-formed state. That always remains a question of expediency and policy.

As I informed you earlier, I do not have time to substantiate the above through a literature study or to test this by means of documentation. In particular, my ideas about the "obligation for recognition" are really no more than a "thought which crossed my mind", a contribution to the discussion over this subject, and as such open to criticism.

Perhaps I will get around to working out these thoughts in a publication at some later date. I have no objections to your making this letter public, but then in its entirety.

With kind regards,  
H.F. van Panhuys.

## Africa In Focus

### NIGERIA

Three major universities in Nigeria — at Lagos, Ibadan and Benin — have been closed by the government in the wake of widespread police action against students demonstrating in memory of a student killed during a protest three years ago. Student protests have also taken place at the universities at Ife and Zaria. The clashes appear to have arisen out of a government ban on a proposed student march from the town of Ibadan to Lagos.

### TOGO

The President of Togo was injured recently when a plane in which he was traveling crashed. The crash, on January 24th, was believed to have been caused by sabotage. President Etienne Eyadema and several of his Cabinet ministers were injured. Two French advisors and two Togolese were killed. The Minister of Information pointed the finger when he declared that presidential decisions about the liberation of their national economy did not meet with the approval of the imperialists and international investors. "Their representatives," he said, "are going to unleash their anger upon us, ending only with the death of our President."

### SOUTH AFRICA

The Special United Nations Committee on Apartheid was informed recently that 250 African workers had been arrested by the South African police following a mass walkout of more than 10,000 African employees at 11 cotton mills in Durban. The committee chairman, Edwin Ogbu of Nigeria, said that cables urging a protest and other measures by the United Nations had been received from the South African Congress of Trade Unions, in Lusaka, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the World Peace Council.

### GUINEA

Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure recently called on African states to enter into open war to wipe out colonial and racial minority governments in Africa. President Toure was speaking at the 1974 opening session of the Defense Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the Guinean capital.

# ENTERTAINMENT & SPORTS

## "THE EXORCIST": ESCAPE INTO MYSTICISM



KITTY WINN and JASON MILLER confronting the demon possessing LINDA BLAIR in "The Exorcist"

(San Francisco, Calif.) The much fussed-over movie, *The Exorcist*, is little more than a horror story with a new twist. Writer-producer William Peter Blatty's innovation in the film is the rite of exorcism or the purging of evil from the demonically possessed, to defeat the antagonist, who in this case is a demon that takes control of the body of an innocent 12-year-old girl.

Under demonic command, Regan (played by Linda Blair), formerly a sweet, cheerful girl, is transformed into a creature more gruesome and much more shock-producing than Frankenstein. The striking cinematic shock effects are the feature that has left an impression on and upset audiences from coast to coast.

The theme, which at best is a portrayal of the struggle between good and evil, is not capable of arousing the exorcism hysteria that has grabbed the country since the advent of the movie. The clever employment of cinematic shock treatments is the key factor responsible for injecting fears of the devil in some people who have seen the film.

The turning toward "demons" as the source of difficulty

is understandable considering the disorder in our society and the misinformation projected by the power structure about the reasons for our problems. Demonic entities provide an easy receptacle in which can be cast blame for what are really the problems of an oppressive society.

Herein lies the great danger, the great threat to the struggle to overcome oppression that *The Exorcist* poses, in the way in which some interpret it. The film facilitates a turn toward mysticism, the supernatural and the unreal in place of the causes of misery and oppression in our society. It threatens to dissuade us from confronting the concrete causes of our oppression.

All of the attempts of modern science, psychiatry and brain surgery fail to transform the child-creature in the movie back to her former self. So, the mother

(Ellen Burstyn) decides there is only one recourse: exorcism.

Father Merrin (Max von Sydow) is called from Iraq to administer the sacred rite. By this time Regan has murdered, masturbated with a crucifix and forced her mother to perform an "unspeakable" sex act on her. The freak-child's blasphemy, however, proves to be more than old Father Merrin can handle, and he dies of a heart attack before the exorcism succeeds.

So, a local Georgetown Jesuit, Father Damien Karras (Jason Miller), takes up for the deceased father. In a melodramatic act of sacrifice, Father Karras invites the demon to "take me" so that the child may live. The demon obliges and the demonically possessed priest takes a suicidal dive from the window. The girl wakes from her ordeal with no memory of her victimization by the devil.

It is significant that prior to the exorcism neither Regan nor her family practiced any religious beliefs. At the end, however, Regan, her old, sweet self again, tenderly kisses the priest that has replaced the deceased Father Karras, signifying that the forces of good have triumphed over evil.

The moral: Turn to religious-mysticism to be saved from evil. In reality, however, we can only be saved from the evils of our world by struggling to overthrow the evildoers who oppress us: Men such as Nixon.

□□□□ B.B.

### TRUCKERS MAY BE CHARGED

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Justice Department is considering filing charges against striking independent truck drivers. The possible charges include fraud, conspiracy and violations of civil rights. □

### INFESTED

Infested with roaches,

Infested with rats,

Infested with debris,

Infested with dilapidation,

But isn't it strange how many of us made it through,

healthy and strong?

only our minds are infested

with yesterday's ways.

But we'll use them,

for tomorrow's day.

Our memories are like

strength and motivation,

to thrust forward and never

return to

what was.

Yes we will succeed because

yesterdays are gone and we

have (from once having nothing)

much to look forward for.

David L. Paschall  
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas

\*\*\*\*\*

### PLEDGE OF NON-ALLEGIANCE

I will not pledge allegiance to the rag of the Divided States of Amerika and to the Republic for which it does not stand; one empire under Richard Nixon with slavery and injustice for all who rebel and so many who don't.

Betsy Rogers  
Wrightsville Beach, N.C.



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# TALKING WITH TOMMY SMITH

## BLACK ATHELETE STRUGGLES AGAINST RACISM

The following article is a story about the current struggle at Oberlin College which originally appeared in the student newspaper, the *Oberlin Review* (December 14, 1973). The writer, Myron Mykyta, is a sophomore at the College and the outgoing sports editor of the *Review*.

Tommie Smith's remarks in the article were made shortly after the resignation of Oberlin's progressive president, Robert Fuller.

Fuller, nationally recognized in higher education circles for his commitment to women and minorities, was the person primarily responsible for bringing Jack Scott to Oberlin as chairman of the college's physical education department. In a recent article discussing his resignation, Fuller pointed out that his greatest joy during his years as president of Oberlin came from observing and participating in the new developments in the college's P.E. department.

It would be an obvious understatement to say that the continued growth of the P.E. program is in serious jeopardy with Fuller's impending departure. In a recent effort to decentralize power and institutionalize those changes he has already brought about, Scott has recommended that Tommie Smith, now assistant athletic director, be named AD. The College Faculty Council—the governing body on the Oberlin campus of two administrators and eight faculty members, all of whom are tenured, male, and white—has thus far adamantly resisted Scott's recommendation and refused to name Smith athletic director.

□□□

(Oberlin, Ohio) - It's regrettable that Smith doesn't mean as much to the Oberlin campus as it means to him. The hours he spends with the Oberlin community, his prestige to the outer world, remain largely unnoticed. But Oberlin is no haven for Tommie Smith.

This doesn't mean that the institution is a militant enemy. Overt discrimination is not seen. No one burns crosses or wears white hoods; but, in less blatant

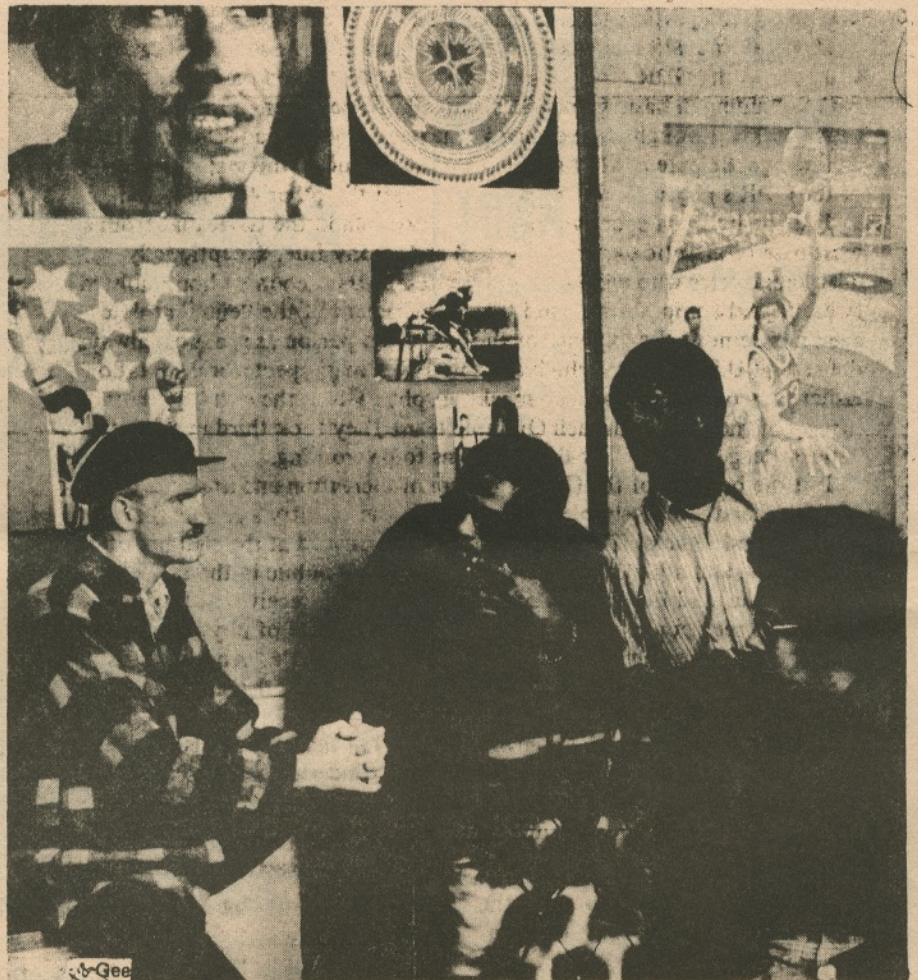
ways, Tommie is made to feel he is an outsider, a visitor on a pass. The administration, as yet, is not shouting, "Black boy, go home!"

A few days ago, I visited Tommie in his office.

Smith's words began bitter, "The administration is fundamentally racist. They don't know how to deal with Blacks. They don't treat us as human beings.

"The College Faculty Council treats us as dogs, as human dogs. They have secret meetings and write memos because they are so scared they can't even blush. They're afraid Blacks will draw attention. Blacks will have the same power they do. Black to them is derogatory; Black is dumb.

"Take Cass Jackson, for example. He knows as much football as any coach on the college level



JACK SCOTT [left], TOMMIE SMITH, PAT PENN [seated] and CASS JACKSON.

today. He was by far the most qualified candidate that applied. But why did the Faculty Council take months to appoint him? They didn't want a Black man in the

spotlight, in such a visible sport as football. There was no other reason for the delay. The fact is that Cass is Black, and to them CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

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CHARLES MOFFETT assisting two of his students.

you choose to play? Are the young people free to choose the themes and melodies and instrumentation or is this something that you give to them?

CHARLES: Getting back to my first statement about feeling, the only way we can possibly put feelings in anybody is that it has to come from their own heart. Therefore, the children are definitely involved in selecting compositions. They are very creative. As a matter of fact, I can't take any of the credit for the arrangements because that comes from the children. That's how I'm motivated — from them, their lives and their desires.

KOHL: How many people are in the band and what is the age range in the band?

CHARLES: Our ages run from six years old to fourteen. I have one assistant working with me who is twenty years old. Fortunately, he's my son, my oldest son.

KOHL: Isn't it true that some of the girls in the band play instruments that are traditionally played by boys or men?

CHARLES: We have some girls eight years old playing the slide trombone. At the same time, since we have limited instruments, the children are willing to adjust themselves to this and willing to play any instrument just to participate. This is our prime objective—participation. □

## AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

One facet of the oppression wrought upon Aborigines by the Queensland Act was borrowed directly from the Union of South Africa's apartheid "passbook laws" This section of the Act requires that an Aborigine must apply for a permit to visit a reserve (reservation) other than the one he has applied for residence upon. This permit is issued only because of acceptable need and for a limited period of time. If this section is violated the offender may be fined \$200 even before he is tried and convicted or even prosecuted. He may also be ejected from his land for such a violation. This law has been used as an excuse to confiscate even more Aborigine land.

The Queensland Act proves the racism and exploitation which the Australian government uses in its dealing with Third World people. American Blacks, including servicemen, are also given a hostile welcome "down under." All over the world, America's allies are the oppressive, racist and reactionary forces that daily confront the people with new indignities and treachery. □

## IRISH STRUGGLE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

tarian grip of the British Government. At the same time, alongside this repression, the entire Northern community is wrent by grave religious sectarian division. This division was deliberately fostered by Britain in the past in order to keep the Unionist Party in power.

"The present British policy is to maintain that division in the working class and unite middle classes in the new Assembly at Stormont. They have now established an Executive which represents the Protestant and Roman Catholic middle classes.

"Republicans therefore consider that there are two battlefronts in the North. One, the fight against the massive daily repression and the other to smash sectarianism and win the unity of the working class. Neither of these two objectives are achievable unless the mass of the people can be involved in the struggle. Our policy is then to engage the mass of the people in a campaign of continuous action against repression.

### SUPPORTS ACTIVITIES

"On the sectarian front we have supported the activities of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in explaining the destructive character of religious hatred, but at the same time the Republican Movement in all of its publications and through its trade union members are demanding a more active committed approach from the I.C.T.U.

"In the South where there is the appearance of freedom but not the reality, the problems are in fact more difficult. Many of the potential anti-imperialist activists have failed to see the real nature of imperialist domination and have turned solely to the Northern struggle where the battle appears to be sharper and the contradictions more acute. Consequently the Republican Movement is endeavouring to mobilize different sections of the people to fight the more 'reformist' issues in order to heighten consciousness as to the true nature of Imperialist control.

"Such issues would include refusal to pay the medieval ground rents, demands for the ownership of waterways and natural resources of mines, oil and gas, to be brought under public control. In some senses this is hampered by the continued violence and sectarianism in the North, but gradually we are establishing the importance of the development of the struggle in the South." □

## MUSIC PROGRAM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

shows and special concerts of our own. Some of the children have had experience in television shows.

KOHL: Have you found any of the children composing their own music? What kind of things do

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## TOMMY SMITH

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

Black is dirt, Black is filth—actually, less than human. I'll tell you the truth. They don't want Cass, Pat (Penn), or myself here."

Perhaps the best service Oberlin could gain from Smith would be to see him as athletic director. The College Faculty Council should be elated at the thought. Tommie as AD would put Oberlin in lights. Publicity, however, would not be the only benefit; Tommie would set a tone of athletic excellence and social awareness. While Ohio State's Woody Hayes may churn out athletic excellence, he doesn't teach social awareness.

So far, the College Faculty Council has turned Tommie down.

"The CFC thinks I'm quick-tempered, radical, a dummy, and not qualified to be AD," quips Tommie. "It's professional jealousy. They're trying to blackmail the P.E. Department.

The situation has reached the point where the College Faculty Council wants to begin a second investigation of the P.E. Department. President Fuller, in attendance at the meeting at which this option was discussed, got up, in a stormy manner told the Council, "You're on a witch hunt," and barged out. Later he was to say, "Some members of the Faculty Council are on a witch hunt. They're out to destroy the New Directions in the P.E. Department in the same way they destroyed me." (Fuller has resigned as Oberlin's president and left the school the first of February 1974.)

Other than the opposition from the College Faculty Council, the

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biggest obstacle preventing Tommie from becoming Oberlin's athletic director is coming from the Women's Athletic Committee a group set up last year to begin developing a women's athletic program. Understandably, women want an increase in their \$6700 budget (some want \$30,000), but instead of asking the power source—the College's administration—for more money, they are battling with the Black coaches over money.

Smith remarks, "It's White women against Black coaches. The White man, who has all the

power, loves to see women battling Blacks, just so long as his power isn't threatened."

This then is the story of Tommie Smith and his quest for athletic excellence. Fortunately, the athletic program he has helped to create here outweighs the obstacles he never built. What will be remembered about him long after he has left the Oberlin spotlight is his talent, his deep desire to improve the body of man. This is what Oberlin will remember in years to come. Tommie Smith's memories may not be half so pleasant. □

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(Being Implemented)

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Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

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Provides children a free nourishing hot breakfast every school morning.

### FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

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Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

## PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

### PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

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

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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

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Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

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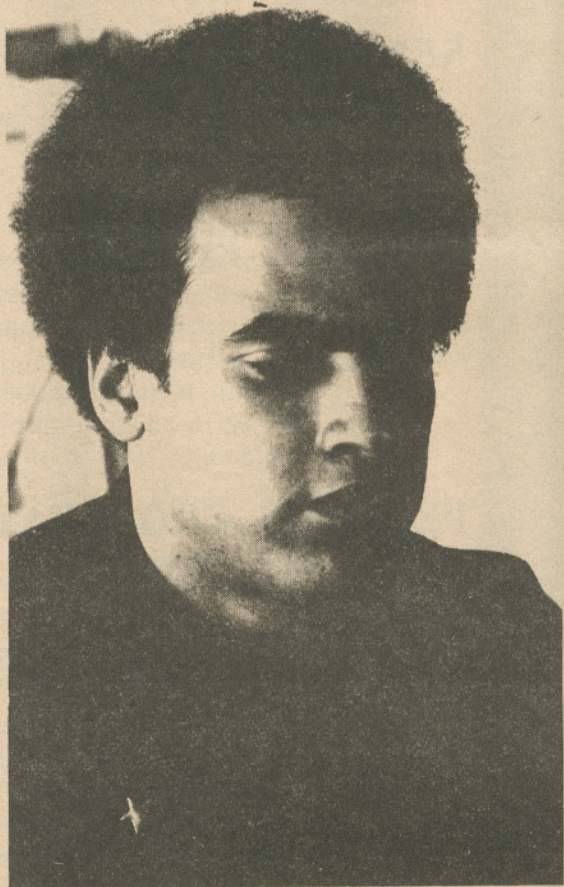
Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

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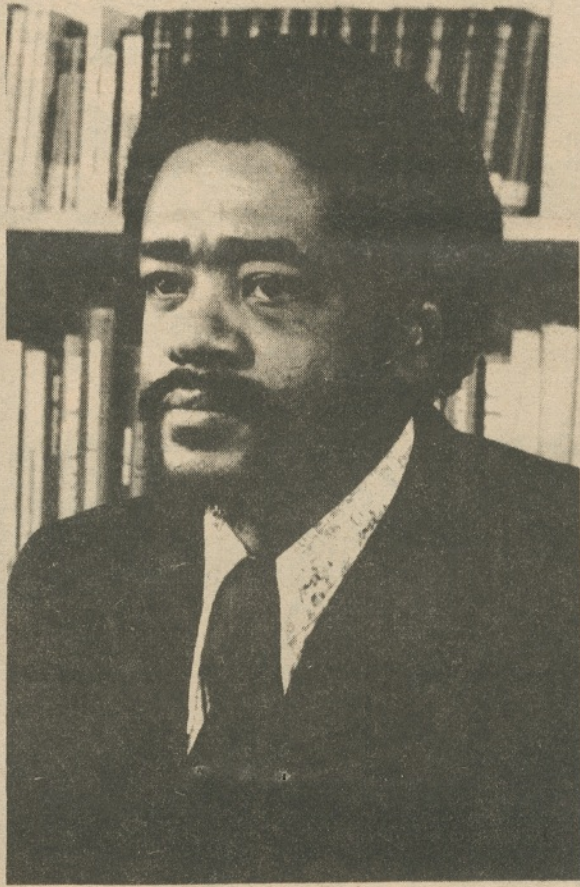
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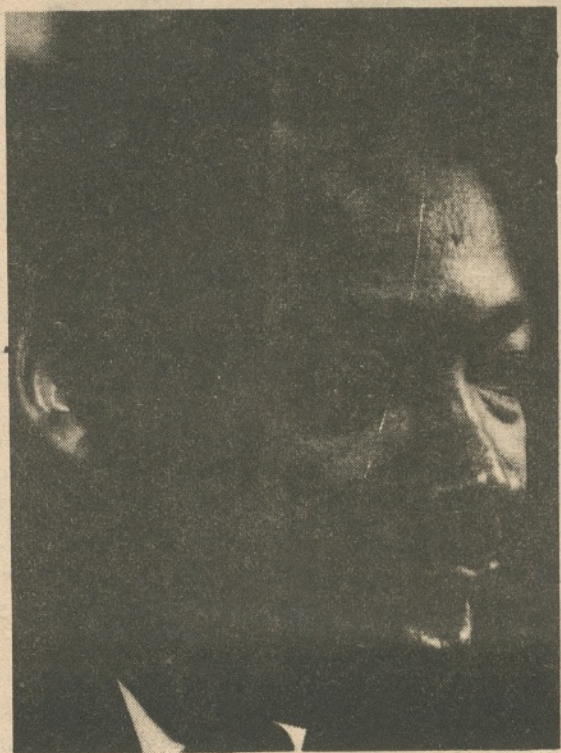
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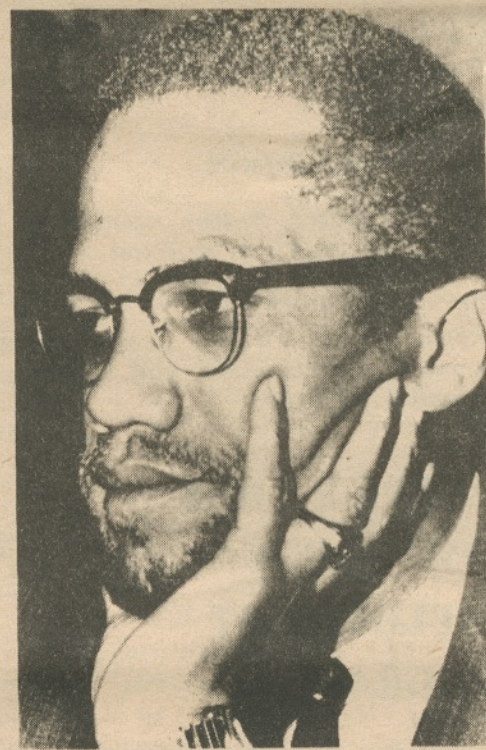
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