

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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25¢



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The window of a former Black Panther Party headquarters at 45th and Grove Streets in Oakland, California, after police shot up office on September 9, 1968.

HUEY P. NEWTON ON S.L.A. "HIT LIST"

See story, page 3.

LAST INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE JACKSON THE PEOPLE'S ONLY FIELD MARSHAL, SEE CENTERFOLD

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George Jackson

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EDITORIAL

THE VANGUARD UNDER ATTACK

1974 is not 1969 or 1971. Today, the Black Panther Party can show concrete evidence of having sunk roots deep in the community of which it is a part. The Party has demonstrated, through hard work, dedicated service and denial, its ability to initiate, build and sustain institutions to serve the community.

We are feeding hungry children. We are clothing ill-clothed bodies. We are searching out the ill and diseased and administering to them. We are caring for and protecting the elderly. We are educating the young to serve. We are bringing loved ones to the incarcerated. We are exposing the horrors that are America's prisons and voicing the demands of our imprisoned sisters and brothers.

In each of these efforts among those we serve, we expose the failure of the established institutions of this land to provide these most fundamental of needs. We are daily raising consciousness to higher and higher levels of understanding that only by taking the institutions of this land into their own hands can the people secure their future and the future of their children.

The survival institutions we initiate with the community belong to the community, are the community. Thus, what is visited upon them must be also visited upon the community. Today, when the armed might of the forces of reaction attempt to strike at us, they will be striking at the community. By doing so they will invite the wrath and resistance of the community.

They know this and so hesitate to move. Rather, they search out those from among us whom they can entice with rewards to attack us from within. Who better to approach than those who were defeated in previous confrontations? What greater reward can be offered than freedom from the hell of America's prisons?

But, this too will fail. We know the game and are prepared. We are armed with determination, conviction and commitment. We are armed with a scientific ideology and theory. We are armed with the love, the gratitude and the respect of those we serve. And, we are armed...with the people. □



"You Were Possessed By An Energy Crisis, But We Exorcised It"

COMMENT

GROVE ST. COLLEGE

SHORT-CHANGED

The following editorial is a forceful argument for the retention of Grove Street College as part of the Peralta Community College District. The decision by the District Board to "phase out" the school is a denial of the educational needs of those East Bay students, particularly in the Oakland-Berkeley area, who have a desire for higher education, but do not qualify for university admission.

These remarks are reprinted from the editorial page of The Daily Californian of April 8, 1974, the influential student newspaper of the University of California, Berkeley, campus.

The decision by the Peralta Junior College District Board to disestablish Grove Street College and replace it with an educational "pavilion" satisfies no one, reeks of secrecy and politics, and ignores the educational needs of Berkeley and Albany.

Our two cities hardly deserve that kind of treatment.

The taxpayers here have consistently paid their taxes and waited, year after year, for the Peralta Board to deliver our promised "fourth" campus.

COLLEGE NOT PAVILION

We have waited patiently for the appearance of a fully-accredited, fully-staffed, and enthusiastically supported community college—not a pavilion designed to supplement educational activity.

Instead, the Board has secretly, and sinisterly, decided that we will now lie down and allow them to phase out Grove Street because of its political activism and spend our money on a facility that will violate the residential neighborhood of North Berkeley with a half-hearted *edifice* of education.

Well, we won't.

The secret negotiations for the purchase of the Hearst Strip from BART for the construction of the proposed "pavilion" has nearly

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Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir or Mam,

I am confined in the United States Disciplinary Barracks here at Fort Leavenworth. I am seeking legal advice to assist one of my fellow comrades. I have sought help from the military legal office here but have gotten nowhere...

On March 16 we (inmates) held a discussion sort of to try to bring about a change in our interests and the administration's. During the peaceful discussion among ourselves a guard supposedly got his throat cut. Nearly the whole wing heard his scream.

A few minutes later we were all locked up six or seven to a one-man cell. After about ten minutes or so the guards came and got inmate Gregory Jackson out of his cell and took him down to the base. Several inmates inquired why he was being taken, but the guards nor the duty officer would tell us anything.

We were lucky to see Bro. Jackson today and he told us that he was charged with attempted murder.

I need assistance in finding a lawyer for Bro. Jackson or any other legal advice. I, along with other inmates, have funds to give in his behalf. I don't know if it would be sufficient, however. We would really appreciate any assistance in this matter.

Yours truly,
William A. Warmack Jr.
322-44-9072
Drawer A
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas 66027

Dear Sir,

I've just finished reading and contemplating on the book TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE by Brother Huey P. Newton. I can honestly say that what started out as just mere reading literature for me became a daily ritual. What I mean by this is that I entered deeply into the book and formed pictures with my mind's eye of each and every situation. I actually carried it around with me each and every place I went.

Like the Good Book it has lifted my state of mind; given me a sense of direction. Most important of all, it has given me a purpose in life. I personally rate TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE and REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE second only to Chairman Mao's writings, which I'm into now.

...If I had to sum Newton's writings in one word it could only be SENSATIONAL. THANK YOU FOR HUEY P. NEWTON. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

Confirmed not Conformed,
Ronald T. Davenport
Detroit, Michigan

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.

GEORGE JACKSON SPEAKS

(Oakland, Calif.) "It really pains me to be misrepresented, and I feel that I have been misrepresented in areas where people were carrying on little button wars, and pamphlet wars, and counterproductive activity in general..."

These were among the last words spoken by Brother George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, in an interview with Max Bloom, a reporter for KPFA-radio in Berkeley, California.

The date of the interview is particularly significant: July 29, 1971, little more than three weeks before George's assassination by prison guards on August 21, 1971, at San Quentin Prison. It was the last interview Comrade George held before his death.

In this issue, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints, in its entirety, this previously unpublished interview. It represents the first of a series of articles THE BLACK PANTHER intends to publish on the writings and thoughts of Comrade George. They will appear under the general title, "There Is Only One People's Field Marshal—George Jackson." (See centerfold.)

We print this particular series at this time for two reasons:

First, in view of the recent publicity surrounding the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and the underground tape communiques issued jointly by her and someone

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HUEY P. NEWTON ON S.L.A. "HIT LIST"

(Oakland, Calif.) - California police officials have put out the word that Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, is on the "hit list" of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), and are believed to be encouraging former anti-Party elements to engage in armed attacks against the Party.

The Black Panther Party has recently received through the mail a carefully composed letter threatening Huey P. Newton and the Editor-in-Chief of THE BLACK PANTHER for statements they made to the press shortly after the Marcus Foster murder and the Patricia Hearst kidnapping, condemning the tactics of the SLA.

The Party has also received through the mail a "Black Prisoners Communique," consisting of a simulated court brief which describes Huey P. Newton as "running dog of the ruling class," charges him with committing "crimes and abuses against the oppressed peoples of America" and demands his "neutralization."

The anonymous "communique" was contained in a mimeographed newsletter of an alleged prison support group calling itself the Sacramento Solidarity Committee, dated March 15. The



Police sources have indicated that HUEY P. NEWTON is on the S.L.A. "hit list."

newsletter maintains that Brother Huey's characterization of the SLA kidnapping places him "in alignment with the bourgeoisie" and adds: "He has betrayed the people and has become an enemy of the people."

The first indication of police knowledge of the SLA's intention to murder Huey P. Newton was contained in a report in the *Stanford Daily*, newspaper of Stanford University in Stanford, California. In a front-page story in its February 27 issue, the *Daily* reports that "law enforcement officials" told the newspaper that Huey P. Newton is included on the SLA's "hit list," but they claimed to be uncertain why.

The letter subtly threatening Huey Newton and David G. Du Bois, came from Susanville, California. Noting press reports of statements by the two about the SLA, the letter states:

"We demand that you confirm or deny the statements made in your name by the news media immediately. If you choose to ignore this demand, then we shall assume that these statements were in fact made by the above mentioned individuals, in the name of your Party."

The letter is signed by the "Chairman" and "Chief of Security" of an organization calling itself the Afro-American Culture Group, with a Post Office Box number in Susanville. The letter ends: "You may think of us as insignificant and presumptuous, but remember, it was your Party that adopted Chairman Mao's slogan: 'A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire.'"

The question has been raised why Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party have been singled out for condemnation and threat when most radical leaders, Black and White, across the country expressed serious misgivings about the SLA and its tactics, but apparently have not been placed on the SLA "hit list."

The sudden and mysterious alleged "escape" on March 29, of Larry and George Stiner from the maximum security San Quentin prison may very well hold the answer. The Stiner brothers were lieutenants in the Los Angeles-

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Brother GEORGE JACKSON.

FALLEN COMRADE

**SAM NAPIER
ASSASSINATED:
April 17 1971**



"Circulate to Educate, Educate to Liberate." Brother Sam Napier was the Circulation Manager for THE BLACK PANTHER at the time of his death. Sam was a tireless worker, going without sleep for days on end, in order to promote, circulate and distribute our Party's newspaper. On April 17, 1971, Sam Napier was assassinated. Sam was bound head-to-toe, gagged, his ears stuffed with cotton, shot in the head six times with a .357 magnum, his body was soaked in kerosene and set afire. His murderers hoped that by Sam's death, they could stop the circulation of our newspaper. They were wrong. Sam Napier lives on in each issue of THE BLACK PANTHER. Long Live the Spirit of Sam Napier!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

YOUTH INSTITUTE

"I LOVE FREEDOM, I LOVE THE COMMUNITY"

Group 5, children ages seven and eight, at Oakland's model school, the Intercommunal Youth Institute, is featured in this week's issue as part of THE BLACK PANTHER's series on the skills groups at the school and the kinds of educational activities the students are involved in. The series is intended to describe a highly successful alternative approach to traditional public school education.

(Oakland, Calif.) - "I love freedom, power and the community." This phrase appears on one of the drawings in Group 5's room at the Intercommunal Youth Institute. The fact that these



Group 5 students at the Intercommunal Youth Institute play with two of the older students.

seven and eight-year-olds love their community, the Black and oppressed community, is reflected in one of their primary Language Arts activities—writing letters to prison inmates.

Tommye Williams, Group 5 Language Arts (as well as Mathematics and Political Education) instructor, explained the purpose of this project: "I tell the children that their letters lift the spirits of the brothers and sisters in prison. We want the children to have love and understanding of each other and other people. Many of them know people in their communities who are in prison, and they understand what that means. Also, they're getting practice in putting the ideas in their heads on paper."

In a society where winning a game is more important than the game itself, students at the Intercommunal Youth Institute are given a different, more human approach. During one Language Arts session, the students were playing an educational game called "Word Throwing." When one of the students exclaimed that his team had won, Tommye advised him, "It's beside the point who wins. We're learning." The children are taught to work together collectively and not to be selfish individualists.

Tommye said that Group 5 children "love to read and read just about everything." Every two weeks they make a trip to the library where each of them has a library card. They are particularly interested in such Famous Black figures as Harriet Tubman and Malcolm X. They also like to read newspapers. They are encouraged to read a variety of subjects so that they will increase their understanding of the real world, one of the primary goals at the Institute.

Mathematical exercises include multiplication times tables; addition and subtraction in two and three digit numbers; telling time; and linear measurements. As part of the process in learning liquid and dry measurements, the children recently made a batch of brownies from scratch.

Science is often one of the more boring subjects for children in public schools, but not so at the Institute. Science is taught on the basis of a conceptual scheme, and 63 concepts are included in the Science curriculum. Steve McCutchen, Group 5 Science instructor, said that while the children are not expected to memorize or be able to identify all 63 of the concepts, they do become acquainted with them and gain an understanding of their working in the real world.

CONCEPTS

Steve noted that science is taught on the conceptual scheme as opposed to the textbook and experiment approach of the public schools because the children need to have a clear understanding of scientific concepts. The public school method, he added, does not give them this thorough understanding.

Presently the students are studying one of the major concepts—the transformation of energy; energy can be changed from one form to another. In order for them to understand this concept, they must first understand the subconcept, that energy is required in order to move an object. Assignments in this unit may include making pinwheels or other instruments to demonstrate principles learned about the wind. Examining the mechanical spring of a toy demonstrates that energy is required to move an object.

Examples of other major concepts are: (1) Matter can be

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BLACK HISTORY

APRIL 14, 1775

The first society for the abolition of slavery was organized in Philadelphia on April 14, 1775.

APRIL 13, 1873

The stillness of a quiet Easter Sunday morning, April 13, 1873, was broken by shrill, hysterical rebel yells as a mob of White racists descended on the small town of Colfax in Grant Parish, La. Over 60 Black men, women and children were slaughtered.

APRIL 18, 1941

Ending a four week long boycott by Blacks in New York City, the bus companies providing service in New York agreed to hire Black drivers and mechanics on April 18, 1941.

APRIL 15-17, 1960

On April 15, 1960, SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) sponsored a meeting at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, attended by over 200 Black college students. At this meeting the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), considered by many the vanguard of the civil rights and voter registration movements in the mid-1960s, was formed.

APRIL 19, 1971

George Braithwaite, a Black member of the U.S. ping-pong team touring the People's Republic of China, commenting on the applause he received, told newsmen on April 19, 1971, that he was singled out for special ovations because "one of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung is that Black people are being oppressed."

APRIL 17, 1973

Culminating an unprecedented, successful whirlwind People's Campaign, Bobby Seale defeated seven other candidates and gathered in over 22,000 votes for Mayor of Oakland — forcing a run-off against the incumbent — and Elaine Brown garnered over 34,000 in her bid for City Councilwoman on April 17, 1973.



"Until We're Free"

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

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available at major record stores near you.

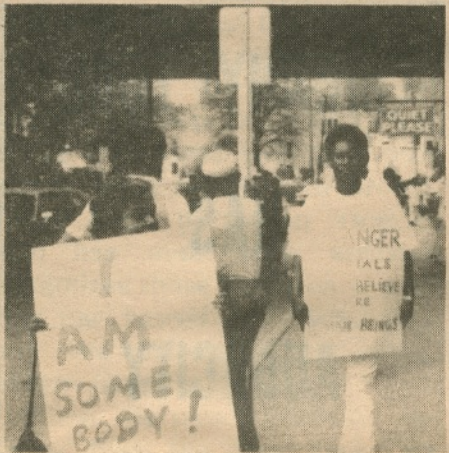
SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY ELAINE BROWN

Album produced and distributed by MOTOWN RECORD CORP

REGISTER TO VOTE

CHATTANOOGA HOSPITAL WORKERS WALK OUT

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) Some 175 Erlanger Hospital workers here, walked off their jobs April 3 after unsuccessful attempts to bargain with hospital officials for union representation. For several weeks the employees, consisting of housekeepers, kitchen help, assistant laboratory workers, nurse's aides and orderlies and some LPN's, had tried to negotiate with Harold Peterson, the hospital administrator, to recognize the Laborer's International Union as their collective bargaining agent.



Hospital workers strike in Chattanooga.

Chancellor Court Judge Hershel Franks had ruled in favor of the hospital and enjoined the union from organizing the employees. With a stubborn racist as head of the hospital and a powerless union, the workers, most of whom are Black, felt they had no other alternative than to demonstrate their determination to control their own lives and walked out.

Erlanger Hospital, is notorious for its attitude toward poor people, who are treated with contempt or purposely left unattended because they are less important than paying patients. Erlanger is also infamous for its treatment of employees. Besides working for inadequate wages, employees are suspended five days without pay if they are late three times.

The hospital provides no maternity leave for the employees, and when the new mother returns to work she returns to the bottom of the pay scale, "as a new employee." Group insurance for employees is inadequate in covering medical expenses. The hospital workers are not allowed to talk to patients, even if the patients are relatives.

Ms. Willie Smith, who has worked three years in the dining room, said, "I feel our Constitutional rights have been violated. We feel that if we want a union to represent us we should be able to have one. Peterson can't think for us. We can think for ourselves."

The local courts ruled against the union on the basis of a Tennessee law which states that government workers cannot have union representation, and Erlanger Hospital is governed by the city and county administrations. This is in direct contradiction with the fact that members of the police department and the post office workers have



Sister IRENE SIMMONS and Brother GERALD EDWARDS.

CHATTANOOGA'S PEOPLE'S CANDIDATES

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) - Gerald Edwards and Irene Simmons, experienced community organizers and members of the Chattanooga Branch of the Black Panther Party, have announced themselves as People's Candidates for Ward Chairmen in the Avondale and Piney Woods precincts. They promise to organize the people of these two precincts on the grassroots level, using electoral politics as a tool for representative government and community control.

In announcing his candidacy for Ward Chairman of the Avondale precinct, Gerald Edwards said, "It is time for the people to control their own lives with their own politics for survival." Ms. Simmons states that she intends to educate and organize the residents of the Piney Woods precinct to unify against lying politicians and to elect righteous representatives of the people.

The two People's Candidates plan an intensive door-to-door campaign in order to inform residents in their precincts of their viable plans for organizing within the Chattanooga political system.

unions to represent their interests.

The hospital officials accused the workers of neglecting the patients with their walkout. Ms. Shirley Brown answered, "We don't want to hurt the patients, but we feel that care for them is being used as a weapon to keep us from having any means to ask for better consideration."

Peterson has so far refused to talk to the employees, even though it was necessary to move many patients to other hospital facilities. Nevertheless, the brothers and sisters have united and intend to stay united against Erlanger Hospital's unconcern for its workers. □

STATES ENACT NEW DEATH PENALTY LAWS

(Washington, D.C.) - Less than two years after the Supreme Court struck down the country's capital punishment laws, nearly half the states have enacted new ones. These statutes must be accepted as Constitutional by the Supreme Court before any executions take place. Meanwhile, death rows in prisons are beginning to fill up once more.

Since the old laws were overturned on June 29, 1972, 22 states have passed substitutes and condemned 74 persons to death under them.

Most of the 74 are Black. The youngest inhabitant is a 17-year-old North Carolinian, Reginald Lampkins, who was convicted of rape. The only woman awaiting execution is Mamie Lee Ward, also of North Carolina.

A bill restoring the death penalty was passed by the Senate on March 13 and now awaits the approval of the House of Representatives.

BLACK STUDENTS FORM NEWS SERVICE

(Washington, D.C.) - Black college students from around the country successfully built the foundations for a *National Black Student News Service*, at a recent communications conference in Washington, D.C., according to a press statement issued by Howard University School of Communications.

The first of its kind in the U.S., the *National Black Student News Service* was created to fill the void of news and information exchange between Black students, and to institutionalize Black student communications, the statement said.

The *National Black Student News Service* [NBSNS] was born at the first Black Student's Communications Service Conference, held March 14-15 at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C.

This was one of the four conferences held simultaneously in conjunction with National Communications For Freedom Week, initiated by the School of Communications of Howard University.

THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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NEW SUBSCRIPTION

RENEWAL

BRUTALITY VICTIM SUES OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT

(Oakland, Calif.) - A claim for damages against the city of Oakland was filed last week for Henry L. Hicks, a 25-year-old brother that was mercilessly beaten and brutalized by Oakland police during a transit bus incident last New Year's Eve.

Brother Hicks, who today carries massive scars over a major portion of his head, was unjustly accused of not paying a fare, dragged off the bus, beaten into near unconsciousness in the street and then charged with assault, inciting a riot, resisting arrest and refusal to pay a bus fare.

On March 5, the criminal charges that were brought against Brother Hicks by transit authorities were dropped and attorney Guy Saberstein who represents Brother Hicks, immediately moved to file a civil suit for damages against the city of Oakland.

At about 2:30 a.m., on last New Year's Day, Brother Hicks boarded a bus, paid his fare and proceeded to a seat. Some moments later the bus driver, Fred Susell, who mysteriously has not been able to be located since the incident, accused Brother Hicks of not paying his fare and called for police when the brother protested and refused to pay a second fare.

A total of six policemen entered the bus, somewhere in the vicinity of 69th Avenue and Foothill Boulevard, and without explanation demanded that Brother Hicks come with them. When he protested, Brother Hicks was brutally dragged off the bus, thrown against the hood of a police car and searched.

When he protested against this brutal treatment, he was attacked by several policemen and beaten into near unconsciousness in the street, now swarming with as many as 14 policemen and many police cars.

HOSPITAL

Brother Hicks remembers arriving at Highland Hospital at around 4 a.m. and being told by the arresting policeman (Officer Asuato) to say nothing about what had happened to the hospital attendants that treated him. When he attempted to answer a nurse's question about his injuries, he was dragged roughly out of the hospital room, sworn at and warned not to tell the nurse or anyone what had happened.

At a second attempt by the nurse to get information about his injuries Hicks was again dragged out of the room and again warned to say nothing. At this the nurse called for a doctor. The doctor



Oakland police brutalizing Black community.

insisted that police remove the handcuffs. While doing so the policeman once again threatened Hicks in front of the doctor to say nothing about what had happened.

Later, at police headquarters, Brother Hicks was charged.

Three court appearances later all the charges were dropped.

Brother Hicks has made an appeal for any witnesses to this brutal violation of his rights to come forward in order to strengthen his case against the city. California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums has taken a personal interest in this case and recommended attorney Saberstein to represent Brother Hicks.

Anyone who witnessed this incident and would like to aid a brother victimized by Oakland police brutality should call Mr. Saberstein at (415) 532-6645. □

GROVE STREET SHORT-CHANGED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

everyone convinced that whatever the Peralta Board is doing, it is not giving us a college, and it is still collecting our money while it insults us with its recalcitrance and its taxation.

Grove Street is a perfect location. Everyone agrees that it, unlike Peralta's new Merritt campus (one hour from Berkeley's flatlands), can be reached by those who will use it.

It is also there. No new construction, in a residential neighborhood, would have to take place. Only an upgrading of its facilities would be needed.

Berkeley and Albany need a community college. Inflation and rising tuition costs at other institutions make community colleges one of the few accessible forms of education for a large segment of the population.

If the Peralta Board refuses to carry out its eight-year-old promise to give us a full educational institution, then we suggest it is

time to reject their "pavilion," sue for our tax money, form our own district and build our college.

A logical choice for a site for that college would be the present Grove Street campus. □

RADIATION DANGER DENIED

(Atlanta, Ga.) Health officials claimed last week that passengers aboard two Delta Airlines flights, in which radiation leaked from improperly shielded shipments, are not in danger. □

JO-NEL'S LIQUOR STORES SUPPORT THE COMMUNITY

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JOHNNY FORD

HAS

AUDACITY

(Tuskegee, Alabama) - The Black opportunist Mayor of Tuskegee, Johnny Ford, has endorsed America's number one human embodiment of racism, George C. Wallace, for re-election to the office of governor of Alabama. Ford had the audacity to proclaim that not only was he himself supporting Wallace, but that the entire Black community of Macon County would vote for this symbol of White Racism.

Ford, also coincidentally, endorsed Richard Nixon for re-election in 1972. In light of recent revelations about the tactics used and the men involved in the 1972 Committee to Re-Elect the President, it is easy to imagine Johnny Ford's motives. Personal ambition, greed, deceit and treachery are behind Ford's "prediction" that Wallace would carry mostly Black Tuskegee city and surrounding, 83% Black, Macon County. As the make-up of these areas suggests, neither has supported Wallace for anything in the past.

Wallace, during previous terms as governor, consistently fought to deny Black people their rights. Through his bid for the U.S. Presidency he sought to turn back the hands of time to pre-Civil War slavery.

Black traitors such as Johnny Ford have no place in our community.

YOUNG LORDS BLAST CHICAGO DRUG ABUSE

(Chicago, Ill.) - On Monday, April 1, Jose Jimenez, General Secretary of the Young Lords Organization here, issued a blistering press statement dealing with the overwhelming problem of drug abuse throughout this city.

In his statement, Brother Jimenez charged the *Chicago Tribune* with "a history of fabricating racist lies" against minorities and other poor people in the city. He also announced a community demonstration against drug abuse, police harassment and urban renewal on May 4, at the Young Lords new office at Wilton and Grace Streets.

The text of Jose Jimenez' remarks follows:

"The Sunday, March 31st edition of the *Chicago Tribune* quotes me as saying, 'The big dealers are making money but not members of the Young Lords, who are selling one or two grams to someone who comes in from the suburbs.'

"It states further that I — Cha Cha Jimenez — described heroin traffic as a sort of "local industry," and that "the police should ignore the pushers."

"This is more than just an isolated misquotation. The *Chicago Tribune* has a history of fabricating racist lies against Latinos, Blacks, Native Americans and other poor of this city.

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PONTIAC PRISON PLACED ON LOCK-UP

INTENSIFIED TERROR CAMPAIGN BEGUN

(Pontiac, Illinois) - Pontiac Correction Center has been placed on lock-up until further notice. Warden James Fike ordered the suspension of normal prison activity and Pontiac's guards have instituted an intensified terror campaign in retaliation for a peaceful inmate demonstration.

The largely Black prison populace staged a peaceful demonstration in the dining room to protest conditions and call for improvements. The demands included: better food for prisoners, better variety and quality voca-

tional training, an end to harassment of prisoners and a thorough investigation made by members of Black and oppressed communities of a recent murder. The demonstration was also a call for the hiring of more minority and particularly Black guards.

These grievances are the same as those that have been heard from other Illinois prisons. Inmates of both Stateville and Menard prisons have recently submitted similar lists of complaints to the Illinois Department of Corrections.

As of this date, the only response the Pontiac prisoners have received has been the transferral of twelve Black Pontiac inmates to other penal institutions in the state. Upon Warden Fike's request, department director, A. Sielaff approved the transfers. As far as Pontiac prisoners have been able to ascertain, the twelve men were sent to Menard prison, which has facilities for extensive segregation and "behavioral modification" experiments.

The transfer of the twelve leaders has failed to end the prisoner movement inside Pontiac, however. New leaders have arisen to carry the struggle for decent conditions at Pontiac to its next stage.

SANITARY MEALS

The prisoners are seeking the initiation of practices in accordance with the Illinois Sanitation Regulation in preparation of Pontiac inmates' meals. The dining room area should be regularly cleaned and table surfaces washed. Cooks should cover their hair and wash their hands. These are required in any public eating place.

About 80% of Pontiac's inmate population is Black, yet only three of the 150 guards are Black.

There is ample space for training programs and education on the grounds. However, the state has failed to deem such training important enough to allocate the necessary funds for teachers and equipment.

There is a high probability that if an inmate is politically aware or a member of a political organization he will be staying a little longer than otherwise. Such prisoners also spend more time doing three to fifteen day terms in

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

STATEVILLE PRISONERS

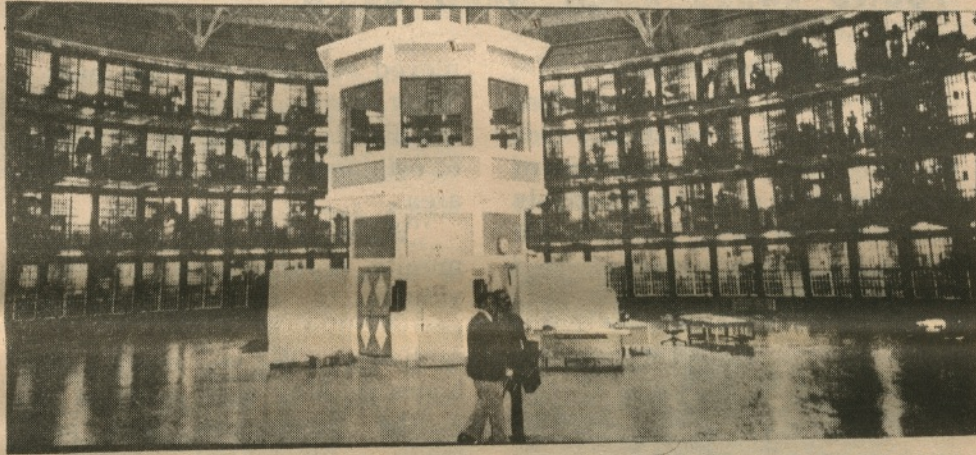
EXPOSE ADMINISTRATION

LIES

(Stateville, Illinois) - The inmates of Stateville State Prison here have taken the initiative in combatting misrepresentations about the institution confining them. They charge that "so-called correctional officers have intensified their campaign to mislead the public by spreading rumors that various organizations here in Stateville 'control' the institution and are constantly at each other's throats."

In an "Open Letter To The Black Community" sent to THE BLACK PANTHER through a Black Panther Party Intercommunal Survival Committee in Chicago, the prisoners declare, "Prisoners have never 'controlled' this or any prison in America, because if this were so, there would be no one behind these walls."

In the rebuttal, the incarcerated brothers also declare that while it is true that inmates at Stateville must be on guard for a lynching, it is not each other they must learn to fear. "A check of their (the administration's) records will show who is being brutalized, killed, crippled for life both physically and mentally, and who is committing this violence. The fact that no officers (at



Inmates at Stateville Prison [above] have achieved a remarkable degree of unity.

Stateville) have been buried, or crippled, or hospitalized, shows who has used the most restraint, exercised mature judgement and worked to devise methods of reaching rational ends without resorting to violence," the prisoners declared.

The Black prisoners have instead had recourse to the principles of Eusi, Jamaa and Umoja. These are the Swahili concepts of Blackness, Family and Unity. "It is Black Family Unity first because we recognize that we are all

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

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S.C.L.C. DEDICATES CENTER TO SERVE ATLANTA'S POOR

(Atlanta, Ga.) - In an effort to continue the "action legacy left to us by the late Dr. King," the Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) dedicated the first Martin Luther King, Jr./SCLC Action Center here on April 4 in recognition of the day the great Black leader was murdered. The Action Center, housed in the facilities of the old West Hunter Street Baptist Church, which is pastored by Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. King's successor as head of SCLC, will help provide needed services to the impoverished Black community of Atlanta.

In announcing the opening of the Action Center, Reverend Hosea L. Williams, president of Atlanta SCLC, proclaimed, "In respect and honor to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., we open Atlanta's first city-wide free soup line...The M.L.King/SCLC Action Center will carry on four major actions representative of Dr. King's life and works: our free soup line; our free poor people's clothing center, our prison reform committee that will gear its main activities to bonding

PONTIAC PRISON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

solitary confinement and face more fallacious charges of disciplinary maladjustment.

These conditions are the basis for the first four grievances. The last, the call for a thorough investigation, is in regards to the death of Brother Floyd who hung to death in his cell in the presence of Pontiac guards. Even after he stopped choking they failed to cut him down and let him hang until he was clearly dead. The inmates who survive called his death a "murder by racist neglect." They are seeking the filing of murder or homicide charges against the administration.

The administration has ignored these requests and lied to the news media. According to Sielaff and Fike, the administration is trying to learn the nature of the prisoners' grievances and the cause of the peaceful dining room protest.

The prisoners point out that they already know the nature of the problem and have instituted a "pacification" campaign of repression and torture. The lock-up is not a security measure but a punishment. □

out of jail poor people with jobs...; and an eviction auxiliary that will mainly be responsible for protecting and storing the furniture and finding new housing for those families evicted for not being able to pay the high rent that is now required of the poor."

After the ribbon cutting ceremonies for the Action Center, a city-wide meeting was held as SCLC's "Tribute To a King." Dr. Alonzo Crim, Atlanta's first Black Superintendent of Schools, was the featured speaker.

Reverend Hosea Williams aptly closed his statement announcing the opening of the Action Center with this quote from Dr. King:

YOUNG LORDS BLAST DRUG ABUSE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

"The Young Lords Organization has been consistently addressing itself to the problem of drug abuse. In order to effectively deal with the drug problem we



Drug abuse has mentally and physically destroyed many young Blacks.



REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY.

"When I die,...tell them to just say that Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, liberate the captive and house the un-housed. Tell them just to say, 'Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to serve humanity'." □

moved our headquarters near a 'drug corner.' We've met with the Illinois Drug Abuse programs to establish a drug center in the area.

"We've also met with community organizations and individuals to insure community participation in solving our own problems. We've spent long hours working with many of the youths themselves and have made substantial progress. We've met with Commander Rae and Chief Riordan to clarify the problem and explain to them the community's approach to solving it. Together with a broad representation of the community we have asked that a patrol car be stationed at the corner on a 24 hour basis.

"Wilton and Grace is not only a drug corner, it is a target area for Latinos who have already been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

SOCIALIST ASSAULTED

(Seattle, Washington) - Scott Breen, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance here was physically assaulted by members of the National Caucus of Labor Committee (NCLC) while selling the *Young Socialist* newspaper on March 23. The crowd of on-lookers that developed during the scuffle was hostile to the NCLC and helped to prevent a more serious confrontation. Among those who came to Breen's defense was Elmer Dixon of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Evidence indicates NCLC, while claiming to be progressive, is composed of police agents.

"ANIMALS AND NIGGERS"

(Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas) - A top sergeant shot to death by Specialist 4 Melvin Smith in a Vietnamese hall three years ago harassed Smith and called Black soldiers "animals and niggers," a former member of Smith's unit testified last week. Melvin Taylor testified at the second court-martial for Smith, a Black man from Chicago who was convicted by his first court-martial and sentenced to life imprisonment. In appealing, the defense said Smith acted under severe emotional stress and "felt he had to take the life of his first sergeant to save his own."

TOP BLACK FIRED

(Washington, D.C.) - Barbara M. Watson, the first Black woman to receive a rank equivalent to Assistant Secretary of State, has been removed by Nixon without advance notice as administrator of the Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.

ARMY NEEDS CONTROL

(Washington, D.C.) - Constitutional defender Senator Sam Ervin last week clashed with a Defense Department official over the issue of military spying on civilians, saying he did not believe the Army could be trusted to control itself without legislation.

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GOING AWAY PARTY FOR "BIBLE -TOTING REVOLUTIONARY" FATHER EARL A. NEIL

(Oakland, Calif.) - A throng of over 75 friends of Father Earl A. Neil got together last Sunday for a swinging going-away party for Father Neil, who is leaving Oakland for a post on the staff of the National Headquarters of the Episcopal Church in New York City. The joyous celebration to honor—as Bobby Seale put it—"the greatest Bible-toting revolutionary I know"—was highlighted by all that one could eat or drink, music, dancing and plenty of good fun.

In presenting a going away card and a cake inscribed "Father Neil, we aren't saying goodbye; we love you," Bobby Seale described Father Neil as exemplifying "the greatest conscious revolutionary spirit I have ever seen in a member of the clergy. I have never seen a man like Father Neil who can take a passage from the Bible and make parables and analogies that are applicable to one's conscious thinking in this day and time," Bobby said, speaking to those attending the party while standing on top of a chair on the porch of the sunshiny backyard.

Father Earl A. Neil is leaving his position as pastor of St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in West Oakland in order to take a position on May 1 as one of two directors of the Community Action and Human Development Project of the National Episcopal Church. The program funds Black community organizations around the country, and was the funding source for the People's Free Ambulance Program of the Winston Salem, North Carolina, Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Father Neil will be in a strategic position to aid positive Black community programs all over the country.

Father Neil was instrumental in helping the Black Panther Party to establish the first Free Breakfast For Children in the basement of his church in 1969. He has worked closely with the Party for the seven years he faithfully pastored St. Augustine's Church.

Explaining his relationship to the Black Panther Party and the Black community, Father Neil remarked, "The concrete examples set by the survival programs of the Black Panther Party here will be the criteria I will use in helping to select viable commu-



BOBBY SEALE (left) and Father EARL A. NEIL displaying Father Neil's going-away cards.

nity programs to fund as part of my new job. My temporary leaving (for I know my path will inevitably lead me back to Oakland) would not have been complete without sharing this spirit and love personified by all of the beautiful comrades here."

□□□



DISPENSING MACHINES FOR "THE BLACK PANTHER"

Last week the first group of dispensing machines for THE BLACK PANTHER were placed in the Bay Area. Gradually more of these machines will be placed in the Bay Area, Northern California, and the entire country. They have been set up for the convenience of the paper's Black and poor readers and to introduce the paper to new readers.

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"I LOVE FREEDOM"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

changed from one form to another. (2) All living things must adapt to the environment. Steve explained that the students are divided into learning sets, which is the grouping of children according to their ability to understand the different concepts. There are a total of six concept levels through which the children progress in order to fully understand the various scientific principles. The student's evaluation is reflected in his/her individual ability to understand the concepts.

Group 5 children, through such activities as writing letters to people in prison and jail, and the study of scientific concepts, are not exposed to the fairytale-like syndrome found in most U.S. public schools. They are learning how to interpret and understand events in the real world about them, something that is necessary for the survival of all human beings. □

REGISTER TO VOTE

NEW I.W.C. REGULATIONS VIOLATE WORKERS' RIGHTS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The antilabor plank in the American fascist platform is openly revealed in the California Industrial Welfare Commission's (IWC) new changes in worker "protective" laws. The five-member agency establishes state regulations regarding conditions and hours for California workers.

The new rules do not require any minimum lighting, ventilation, heating or first aid. There are no longer any limits on the weight a worker may be required to lift. The ten-hour day is permitted; with overtime pay after forty hours per week.

There is little wonder as to why the Commission would reinstate

these laissez-faire (dog-eat-dog) measures. Four of the five Reagan-appointed IWC members are rich industrialists. They will benefit from longer hours and shorter pay with worse conditions and harder work for the men, women and now children who make their millions for them.

As spiraling unemployment makes almost any job opportunity a prize for the millions of Americans who overflow the U.S. labor pool, the IWC makes jobs harder so that only the richest will survive. Inflation and the other woes of monopoly capital's downward plunge aggravate the problem and create an even greater survival crisis.

Black and other Third World men, women and children workers are the hardest hit by the new regulations. It is these groups who are not unionized or whose unions and caucuses are least able to enforce a just work relationship.

The IWC will hold its next meeting at the State Building in San Francisco on April 24, to discuss further hearings on the subject. The community has demanded that representatives of the broad-base of California citizens, including workers, be allowed to be heard at the IWC hearings and not just corporate magnates as has been the policy in the past. □

GEORGE JACKSON SPEAKS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

calling himself "General Field Marshal Cinque" (allegedly Soledad Prison escapee Donald Defreeze), we feel that it is time that the only People's Field Marshal be heard. (See last week's cover story of THE BLACK PANTHER, "SLA's Gen. Field Marshal Cinque: Revolutionary or Police Agent?") The establishment media has consistently suppressed the fact that Comrade George Jackson was a leading member of the Black Panther Party, holding the position of Field Marshal. As George comments in this interview, "I'm a Black Panther. Of course, the vanguard party is the Black Panther Party."

The other primary reason for this series relates to the quote which began this article. Since the time of his assassination, the writings of Comrade George have been used for purposes not altogether in the interests of the oppressed — George Jackson's writings have been quoted out of context, misquoted and outright distorted, all-too-often to serve selfish, individual interests. This has been true of alleged left-wing progressives as it has been true for right-wing fascists. The result, however, remains the same: the teachings of Comrade George become abstract, serving to alienate and misdirect the Black community rather than unite it.

Let us turn then, to the words of Comrade George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, "...to let the people know that what I stand for, and always will stand for, is their survival."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

changes that have recently come to the Illinois prison system, wardens, captains and lieutenants could live on state property and eat good meals completely free, as they did before. They hunger for those "good" old days. They would do anything to return to them.

They attack or pressure the prisoners into confrontations. These confrontations are then the basis for new propaganda which rouses the state legislature, the federal government, etc., to authorize and legislate further repression by the guards. Then, as the letter says, "They can again live like 'massa' on the plantation."

However, as the brothers at Stateville say, "Pamoja Tuta-shinda" — Together We Will Win. □

YOUNG LORDS BLAST DRUG ABUSE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

forced from their homes — a number of times — to be pushed out again by Urban Renewal. Because of insensitive police harassment, carpetbagging real estate dealers and outside drug dealers, some families have al-

ready been pushed out. In dealing with the drug problem the stabilization of the community is the most important factor. Therefore we've also organized a tenants union and are working with concerned landlords to stabilize and upgrade the community.

"The Chicago Tribune honors us for all this with a continuation of their abusive lies against our people. We cannot forget that the Tribune, working hand in hand with Hanrahan, set the climate of repression that resulted in many vicious assaults on the oppressed community and finally the brutal murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

"The Young Lords Organization with the aid of several law firms is filing a suit in court against the Chicago Tribune for its slanderous lies. We feel that no oppressed person, especially a Latino, should be caught dead buying the Tribune." □

STATEVILLE PRISONERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

One; we have the same roots, the same concerns, the same goals.

"Secondly, we say Black Family Unity because this prison holds in confinement men who are sons, fathers, brothers, cousins and uncles. We are Black men, from the Black community, who have unbreakable ties with every person in that community, especially our immediate families."

The letter continues, "...we approach Black Family Unity as an instrument, an instrument to be used not only to end injustice behind these walls but to extend itself, reach into our homes and into the community... to give our children and other family/community members a share of identity, purpose and direction."

The prison guards at Stateville would distort all this in their propaganda. Without certain

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IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON

AND HUEY P. NEWTON

The following excerpt from the book *In Search of Common Ground*, the recorded conversations between Huey P. Newton and Professor Erik Erikson, includes a dialogue in which the two discussed similarities and differences between actions employed by Gandhi in India and the Black Panther Party in the U.S. Professor Herman Blake and Professor Kai Erikson also take part in the conversation which occurred in Huey Newton's Oakland apartment about two months after his first conversation with Professor Erikson at Yale University in 1971.

E.ERIKSON: There is no use trying to love somebody who

denies you dignity or to whom you deny it. In this sense, then, there is a dialectical relation between violence and nonviolence, and the last thing I would want to imply here is that your earlier image is inconsistent with the things you are saying and doing now. Both together make up a historical step and (I would assume) a very personal step, and you needed the one for the other. I don't know whether you would agree to that. You would now accept the gun-carrying image, wouldn't you, as historically necessary and valid?

NEWTON: I think it served a strategic purpose—although I imagine historians are going to make a lot out of it.

E.ERIKSON: You mean like I just did?

NEWTON: No, no. It's just that so much has been written about the whole business of the armed self-defense of the community, and I haven't seen one thing that's accurate. I'm not talking about you, Erik; I think your interpretation is fair. But I just sort of shiver whenever I see books written on the matter.

EARLY DAYS

E.ERIKSON: For example, Bobby Seale describes some of the things you two did in the early days of the Party that, to me, seemed to amount to a parallel with the Gandhi technique—although I assume you didn't know about it then or, at any rate, it was not uppermost in your mind. When you faced down those policemen, for example—not threatening them with your guns or indicating with gestures that you would shoot first, but daring them to shoot first. That was a very important psychological condition you created there. You gave them the initiative and said, "O.K., you shoot first." All of this is probably related somehow to the old western frontier scenario, where the cowboys used to make this kind of confrontation a supreme test as to who would be quicker on the trigger. But you made something very different and, in a way, very revolutionary out of it when you made it clear that you didn't come to shoot them, but if they had come to shoot you, then they should come out with it. You paralyzed them morally, don't you think?

NEWTON: Well, I would agree that they were paralyzed at least.

K.ERIKSON: But why were they paralyzed?

NEWTON: They had never been required to cope with a situation like that one. Because of their own racism, their own misconception of the Black community and the Black psyche, they did not know how to deal with the fact that we were not afraid of them, you see? And they were very provocative.

HISTORICAL ACT

E.ERIKSON: This kind of transvaluation can be a historical act, and Bobby Seale has a very good sense of how to describe such things—with humor, too. For example, how you would stand there with a few of your men and would confront those policemen and all the armed power they had behind them. Now, of course, you shouldn't be surprised if they afterward should feel endangered in their essence. It has often been said about Gandhi that he could only have done what he did with the British and not anyone else. All of that fits rather well into what you refer to as the dialectical development of empires. You see, Gandhi met the British head-on with their own ideas of fairness, ideas they had widely established as an ideal, and when he faced them down with that they simply had to accept it as a lesson. It could well be that a policeman whose background does not include any kind of experience with this kind of thing would simply say to himself—"Okay, to hell with it, I'll get him some other time." What I learned in studying Gandhi was how he would give to a concrete object—and this is what I meant to apply to the gun in your case—some endless symbolic meaning. For example, when Gandhi announced he was going to the Indian Ocean and take salt out of it, salt that the British were taxing, no matter what they say or do, it is perfectly obvious that he picked salt for many reasons. It is absolutely necessary in the tropics, for one thing, but it has great symbolic value too. Now my feeling is that, in principle, what you tried to do with the gun might have had something of the same concrete and symbolic meaning, and that you did it at the right historical moment. Does that make sense or not?

BLAKE: It makes perfect sense to me. I wish you would just be



Indian independence leader MAHATMA GANDHI.

more specific, though. You used as a subtitle for the Gandhi book an expression like "the origins of militant nonviolence," and I think the concept of nonviolence as utilized by Americans with respect to Blacks is quite different from what I hear you saying. It seems to me that nonviolence here has always meant acquiescence to whatever power is used against one in one's attempt to gain justice. Some moral force would come from somewhere and overcome the violent application of force. I'm not sure that is what you are saying.

NONVIOLENT

E.ERIKSON: Not exactly. In fact, there is a similarity here which I brought out in the Gandhi book. It would be very easy to say that Black people have to remain nonviolent because they'll never learn to fight anyway, and some people would say, "Well, nonviolence fits their inborn meekness and their religious orientation." Now the case is very similar with India because there you have one military caste that had done virtually all the fighting, so that the great masses of people in India never learned to use weapons at all until the British came along and drafted them into the army. Those crack Indian troops in the British Army that we heard so much about all came from warrior castes whose job on earth, decreed by heaven, was to fight. The rest of the Indians didn't know how to fight, had never had any experience with weapons, and made it a point of religious observance to do no harm to anyone. Now Gandhi (and his friends did not like him for it) would sometimes support the British demand that Indians be drafted, because he felt that Indians would have to learn to fight before they could choose to be nonviolent. That's what you meant in part, isn't it? That it makes no sense for a meek person to call himself nonviolent, because, sure, what else can he be?

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

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

Huey P. Newton

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

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

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

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

The following, previously unpublished interview with Comrade George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, was conducted on July 29, 1971. It was the last interview held by Comrade George prior to his assassination on August 21, 1971. (See page 3.)

VANGUARD PARTY

COMRADE GEORGE: The point, I think the principle point behind the prison movement is to prove to the establishment that the concentration camp technique, the reversion to the second dimension of fascism, the terrorist phase, let's prove this terrorism won't work, it won't stop our movement...nothing will stop our movement. It's practically to the point now whereas the courts are in the position where they're now pressured into giving us some sort of appeasement, and that, of course, catches the prison personnel, staff — the pigs here — up in a cross. They have no way now to protect themselves, except through sheer, brutal, open terror. The pigs feel the comrades here have lost their reservations, their holdings.

Q: They still feel that?

COMRADE GEORGE: Well, they're convinced of it now. I'm talking about the whole state. You've heard about their intentions to strike? They're intending to strike and ask for an increase of wages. What do you call it, the hazard pay? It catches the prison pigs up in a cross. They know the courts are in a mood now to appease. They also know the comrades don't fear the courts any longer. That forces them to revert to terrorism, out-and-out terrorism. Just two days ago they beat one Black almost to death, sent him to the hospital.

Q: One of the things that people on the outside are wondering is how you can use your case and other cases to work as an organizing tool, without bypassing all legal means, court means, mass actions. How can we on the outside — what kinds of things can we do to bring changes and put checks on them?

COMRADE GEORGE: Well, it fits right in with the monumental historical problem, the antithesis, you know, THINKING OF THE WHOLE.

Our opinion is that the reason we haven't been able to move forward is because many of the left-wing factions can't unite. They haven't been able to unite yet in this country, and very few other countries. And, we've been hoping that on a substructural level, the substructural level of the prison movement, we could possibly provide an example for the rest of the movement.

Let's say the pressure, or the need to unite on our particular substructural level is overt, clear. We're faced with overt, clear terrorism, oppression. Since our need seems greatest, we figure that, we're hoping that we could first, under the leadership of the vanguard party, involve the community, show the community that the differences — the National Advertising Council has convinced us that our present differences are illusions. Of course we'll run into some snags. The snags being, as far as I'm concerned, part of the oppressed mentality in general.

The problem I've noticed centers generally around the fact that people don't quite

understand what Democratic Centralism is. You see, our ideal is to project ourselves in the future, of course. But, at the same time, we have to realize that we have to be able to understand that we're not quite capable of — all opinions aren't equal, and we have to have some sort of centralism. People don't understand that that's a necessity at this stage, and what we're working toward is when all men will be equal, all opinions equal. But, right now we have to have the guidance, the purposeful leadership of a vanguard party. Like Lenin says, "Central Committee is the general staff of a big party."

Q: How do you think that kind of vanguard party can be developed; or, do you think it has been developed in the Black Panther Party?

COMRADE GEORGE: I'm a Black Panther. Of course, the vanguard party is the Black Panther Party.

Q: Do you think the Black Panther Party is the vanguard party for just the Black community, and not the White community?

COMRADE GEORGE: No, no, no, no. I believe pretty soon all of those questions, as far as I'm concerned, will be cleared up. The Party is going to run a series of articles where I discuss the nature of facsism, and in particular, toward the end, the form that it takes here in the United States.



Brother GEORGE JACKSON spent eleven years in prison.

In one paragraph or two you will find a statement that — well, my principle belief is the fact that we're the most oppressed class, the most oppressed segment of the society. The fact that we're at the bottom of the pyramid means we're going to have to take the initiative. I feel that our job is beginning the process. Once the process has begun...it's my hope, our hope, that the intercommunal idea will spread from our community to yours, and other communities. But of course, we know what the term "vanguard" means — it puts us out front.

Q: In one interview by Elaine Brown, in a San Francisco paper, *The Good Times*, she made a statement that — they asked her what she thought of the Weathermen and their actions. She said, "I don't know what the Weathermen are doing, but I know they're not the vanguard party because they're not the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party is the vanguard party, and thus they're not the vanguard party." And a lot of people were wondering about two things: (1) her concept of vanguard party, and (2) the reasons she didn't know what the Weathermen were doing, assuming they are engaging in some sort of revolutionary activity?

COMRADE GEORGE: Well, I won't try to second-guess Elaine's definition of vanguard party, but I just give you a brief summation of why I feel the Black Panther Party — well, the Black Panther Party is the largest Black organization in the country, and of course, really the only Black revolutionary organization in the country, as far as I'm concerned.

The reasons, like I said, we have to be vanguard is because we're faced with clear-cut oppression, clear-cut necessity, objective necessity. I think that now objective conditions are correct in the Black community for revolution.

To get to the original question, though I think the real reason behind Elaine's statement is that if you consider the foco motor theory, if you'll go back and consider it, you'll see that the idea incorporates two separate thrusts: a political and a military thrust. The foco motor, the initiative, the push, motive of revolution has to be backed by a political force. When the man steps out, and with the idea of providing an example, and there's no one in the background to fill in for him, to build dual power, to rebuild the peoples' world after we've destroyed it, where are you? You're left with nothing. That's the whole thing. The whole thing is that the foco motor theory incorporates — well, its a monumental idea that calls for some understanding...

The real reason why they (the Weathermen) can't be and aren't more effective, they have no organs for political activity, they have no political outlets. The point is, destroy the opposition's or establishment's capacity to

LONG LIVE
THE SPIRIT OF
GEORGE JACKSON



JACKSON



produce. At the same time, you're supposed to be also rebuilding the people's world. That's the people's political job...

**KNOW YOUR ENEMIES,
KNOW YOUR FRIENDS**

Q: Reading a book, looking at what's going on with the Indians in the Southwest, we can sit here for an hour listing them. I've got a feeling people don't understand the concept of process.

COMRADE GEORGE: I agree with that...My politics, of course, Panther politics, is a combination of Mao's and Guevara's, the two stage revolution and, of course, the foco motor. I'm talking about Mao's theory of revolution in two stages, making the necessary alliances first, with any group, any segment of society that's opposed to, or that's being exploited by the principle enemies: I'm talking about the men who have placed themselves at the center and above society, the fascist manipulators.

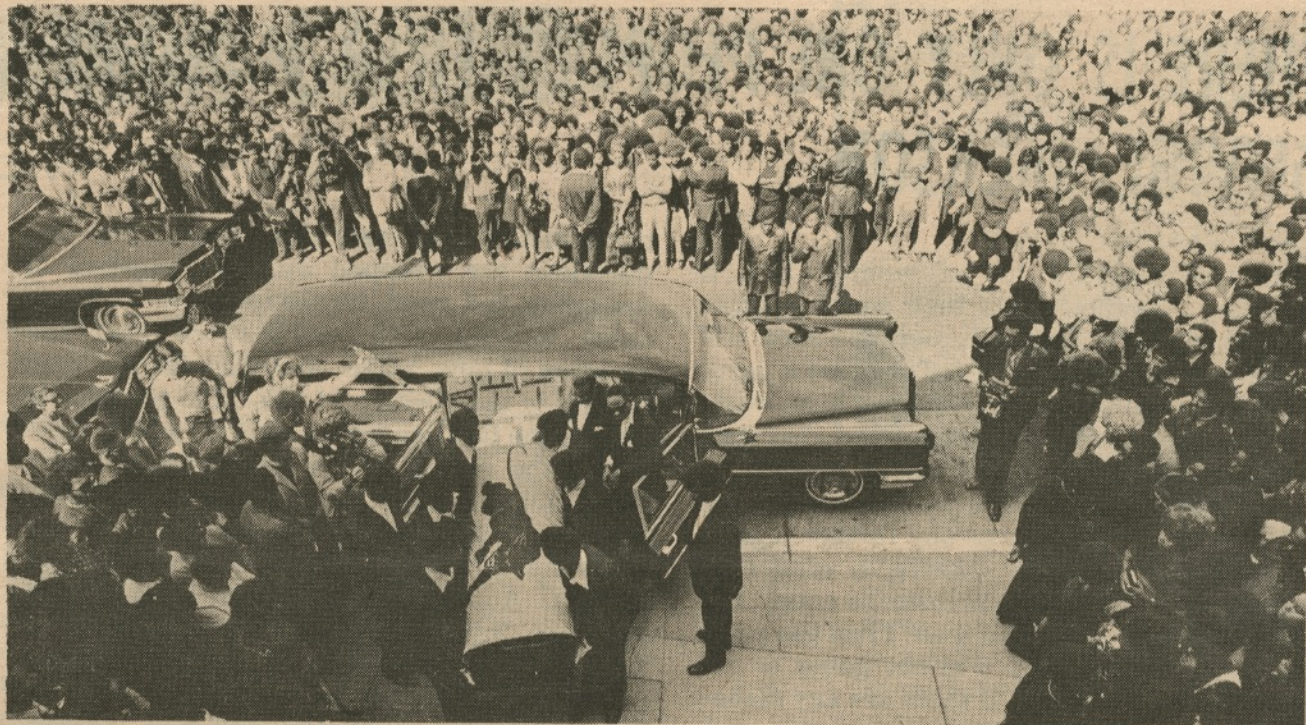
First, you bring these people together, in some cases with, using the loyalty instinct; in other cases, pointing out the similarity in our conditions, reaching for the entente, reaching for the reconciliation. That's what I think of in terms of mass action. But, following the mass action and the destruction of the unrighteous, the second stage, of course, would be the socialization stage. I don't think we should worry right now that all of the people we're allied with be strict Marxist-Leninist; just so that they're loyal to revolution.

In reading Mao, you'll see that everywhere he's absorbing, absorbing, absorbing. And in some places even the comprador bourgeoisie. At a point, almost to suicide, he was compromising with the comprador bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie in China.

I'm not saying we do the same thing, but basically that's what Comrade Huey Newton was saying in his article relating to Black capitalism. A lot of people misunderstand that. Everybody I've questioned that misunderstood that has not read Mao Tse-tung's theory. But, it's just a question of being in touch with the Black community, where the Black community's at, which is another thing. But you understand that the guy who owns the drug store on the corner, even the guy that owns the shoe factory — I'm talking about the Blacks — they aren't capitalists, because where do they buy their leather from, their rubber and string? Where do they get the buildings from? Where do they get the machinery?

The opposition at present is that guy that's making machine tools, the few families that own and rule the country, the men that send out expeditions and exports all across the world to rip off about 80% of the nonrenewable resources. That's the enemy right now, not the little Black cat on the corner who's trying to survive, really. He makes, really, no more income than the average one who works.

Of course, if we want to compare ourselves with China during their revolution, then we could call — I mean, I'm speaking in terms of Black people right now — we could call Nixon's Black capitalism or Nixon's Black capitalists the comprador bourgeoisie. But, of course,



Comrade George's funeral was on August 28, 1971, at St. Augustine's Church in Oakland.

they are slated for destruction after the first stage; after we get rid of the real enemy.

Q: So the basic concept is attacking the most heightened contradictions first?

COMRADE GEORGE: Then deal with the smallest contradictions. But, really, behind the ideal is that we need allies. We can't isolate ourselves; that's what he's saying. The articles that comrades have been putting out in the paper — putting forward for us to try to relate to and understand — the principle intent is to isolate the targets of revolution and gather the forces. So, in misunderstanding that article on Black Capitalism, is almost to miss the whole technique behind our thrust: to try to isolate the real targets of revolution, and at the same time, gather the forces.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Q: In terms of gathering the forces, there's a lot of division in the movement. In the White community alone, women, particularly, are not for uniting with men who constantly oppress them sexually, and constantly treat them as sexual objects. What can be done about that? Black people aren't going to work with White people who are racists, and who won't even deal with it. One of the criticisms of the Black Panther Party has been that it has been anti gay people, for one.

COMRADE GEORGE: No, I don't think so. Huey issued a statement that he's willing to join anybody that's against the establishment.

Q: Statement and practice are two different things.

COMRADE GEORGE: Of course they're two different things. It's practice that's important, but, you understand that the term "vanguard" implies an attempt to get out in front and pull the people into proper channels. When that attempt fails, all we can do is attempt again, try again. You can't accuse any members of our policy-making body, I don't think, of anything like that. What we're trying to do now is get ourselves together.

Q: How are effective modes of criticism — unity, criticism, unity — going to be carried through?

COMRADE GEORGE: We're going to have to reanalyze this whole woman question. I think there's a big difference between the woman question in the Black commune and the woman question in the White commune. I'll admit, everybody has to admit, that men do, in ways,

exploit women. The reverse is also true. I think the responsibility should be shared. I think that, if we reanalyze that question, and stop being so really head-up and emotional about it, I think that we would be able to see that the psychological torture, the emotional oppression, is a two-way thing.

Q: Do you think one could be the reaction to the other?

COMRADE GEORGE: They're interrelated, they're connected, but what I'd like to point out is the roots of the problem; let's go back. I don't think that Engels dealt with it sufficiently. Right now, I'm talking about the formation of the family, state, so forth, from the beginning.

You consider right now, the very first group of women, or let's say the first woman. Do you think that any man at that time could have talked his woman into destroying his child or destroying his children? Who really did decide who should play that role. What is oppression in this particular vein? I think it's really messing over an individual to give him a role, teach him a set of responses, that he will not later be able to live up to. And that's what's been happening throughout history with this role. So you see what I'm saying?

It's a possibility that somewhere way back down the line, that a female came up with the idea of oppressing us by putting us out there on hunting grounds to match our skills and experiences with animals. I think that if we re-open the whole question, lots of random dialectic, and try to discover all the ways that we are exploiting each other, oppressing each other, that we'll find that we have very little to accuse the other of. And, that's particularly true with the Black commune.

Huey's comments, in the write-up on *Sweetback*, I think were pretty pointed and pretty clear. In our case with the Black subculture, being a matriarchal culture, a lot of cases it is the women who are going to have to stop emotionally oppressing their sons, and, emotionally, designating roles that further enslave, or that further oppress us. What he was saying, I feel, in essence, was the only way that the Black woman is ever going to be liberated is standing in the arms of the liberated man. And, the only way that can ever take place is for her to raise a liberator instead of a coward.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

Q: You know, a lot of women find it impeding the efficiency of their social practice when they're working with men and men will not relate to them as equals. They find it hard, if not impossible, to do good political work. How can that be resolved unless the men start dealing with the stuff that comes down?

COMRADE GEORGE: I consider myself the foco-motor, and I won't go any further. I have no problem whatsoever relating to women as equals, if they can show themselves equal. But I feel that same way about men! I feel the same way about another guy. I'm not going to ask her to wash any dishes. If there are any dishes to be washed in our house, then we'll wash them together. I concede all that, if she will stand beside me and pull the trigger. It doesn't take more than three pounds of pressure to pull a trigger on a well-constructed rifle. I'm not speaking strictly from a military point of view. But, you cannot ignore an individual that stands beside you with a gun. You just cannot do it. I'm saying this: if I've got a gun and she's got a gun, I cannot push myself in front of her. That's an impossibility. I'm saying that the only way we can begin to resolve the contradictions is with practice. And I'm saying that the first step in that practice is foco-activity, revolutionizing activity. But, we must live a "normal" life in spite of the fact that you're at war.

Wrapped up with this same question is another problem that we Blacks have, the idea of just what is disciplined behavior. The average Black is repelled by the idea of discipline. I'm talking about the ones in the movement, I'm talking about conscious brothers. They find it hard to discipline themselves and relate to the fact that structure has to exist for anything purposeful to go forward. The two things are wrapped up right there together. In the woman question, the way things usually, generally, end up is that some man will be heading the sail, and the



We will follow his example.

contradiction will start right there. The two questions are wrapped up. The question of discipline, the need for discipline in order to move forward with real purpose. And the question of how, when, and why did the man end up in the position of trust, the position of power, the position where he was, where he is giving the orders. It's a complicated, heavy thing, but I think that we're going to reconcile with the fact, from the smallest units on up, we're going to have to relate man and woman as equal. And it won't be easy, it's got to work itself out. But the only way it can really work itself out, I'm convinced — and I sure hope nobody mistakes this as male chauvinism of any type—but I think the only way that the problem is going to be resolved is for women to become more aggressive. And I'm not talking about aggressive in the sense of being counterproductive and disrupting. I'm talking about coming up with valid criticism and valid ideas and contributions.

SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

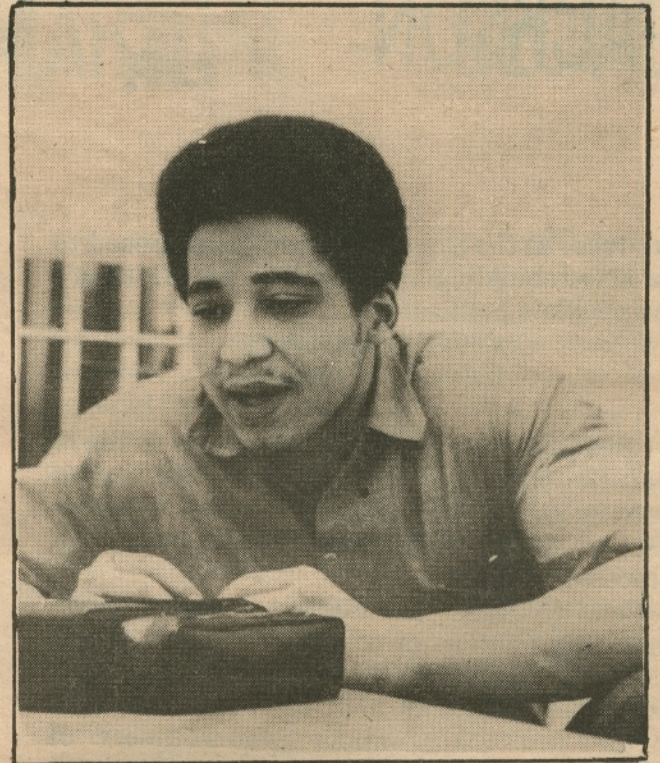
Q: A lot of people ask about what's been going down around your defense committee, and what's your position on various defense committees, and how they function?

COMRADE GEORGE: First of all, I'll take ours in particular. Our idea at first was to involve — the order came down to involve the community as much as possible — give the community the responsibility we felt would help involve them in anti-establishment activity. The idea was to introduce them to a little substructural movement. The idea was to introduce them to anti-establishment in general, on the supposition that later on, as things progressed, they would move logically into higher levels of anti-establishment.

It broke down. It didn't work. The reason it didn't work. The reason it didn't work — well we know why it didn't work — the reason it didn't work was because of a lack of understanding of Democratic Centralism. Right in our midst, we started drawing people who we consider and who were definitely opportunists, and others who were anarchists. And nothing can be done with opportunists or anarchistic behavior. The idea of a committee where everybody is doing their own thing is counterproductive. Behind the idea, from the outset, behind the whole project, we should have let it be known that we were working under the discipline of the Black Panther Party, the vanguard party. And that's the most recent move, to correct that mistake right there. Of late, we filled out a declaration, and sent out notices to all the committees that from this point forward, they can't operate, but they have to operate under the guidance, and under the review of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. That's the only way, the only possible way for the centralizing, ordering, effect to reach down to the grass roots level. That's the only way to handle it.

Q: How do you think the actual practice of the committees will change?

COMRADE GEORGE: The emphasis now will be put on — we've been trying to emphasize it all along, I'm talking about myself in particular — our particular defense



"We're the most oppressed class..."

there in that courtroom isn't as important as the ideal of setting up projects to keep this kind of thing from happening. I'm talking about the survival programs, our infrastructure in the Black commune. Funds raised, and activity going on around our case, I felt right from the beginning, would be more productive if they were channelled into a principle survival program. I felt that I could be represented best as an individual who stood for the survival of the community, and who is always going to stand for the survival of the community.

Q: The legal motion and stuff —

COMRADE GEORGE: I don't deal with it at all, don't relate to it at all. I have a lawyer who's very competent in that particular area. I let him deal with holding the fascists off, stopping the gunfire, keeping them from murdering me.

Q: There are those who feel — and I'm among them — that it's real important that you get your ideas out, that these ideas be able to be presented to the community. And, I wonder if you don't see that as a contradiction to doing political work and building survival programs?

COMRADE GEORGE: In other words, you're saying that there's a possibility of me martyring myself if I don't concentrate more on the legal aspects of the case. Is that what you're saying? It's not a contradiction, if it's to our interests; and, it's to my interest to let the people know that what I stand for and always will stand for is their survival. I think that the best way to get that across is to, in one or two places, where the Party has the community pretty well organized, to let them know that funds raised from our particular efforts went into the construction of this particular survival program or this particular clinic. When it comes to the final explosion, when it comes to the point of whether or not I'm going to survive, whether or not I'm going to, you know — I'm not depending on them to surround San Quentin and snatch me out of here. I'm depending on the foco-motor. I don't need to say anything else.

It really pains me to be misrepresented, and I feel that I have been misrepresented in areas where people were carrying on little button wars, and pamphlet wars, and counterproductive activity in general... That's why Che died in Bolivia, because he couldn't get the political infrastructure that he needed to support his military thrust...

Intercommunal News

U.N. SESSION

CHINA DEFENDS THIRD WORLD RIGHTS TO NATURAL RESOURCES

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The second day of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on raw materials and development was highlighted by the address of China's Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, the highest ranking Chinese official to ever visit North America.

The special session was initiated by Algeria and opposed by the U.S. Opening on Tuesday, April 9, the session is expected to act on a Third World declaration on the establishment of a new international economic order aimed at ending developed nations control of the natural resources and international economic activities of developing nations.

Following are excerpts from the very important address of Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping:

"International relations are changing drastically. The whole world is in turbulence and unrest.

The situation is one of 'great disorder under heaven,' as we Chinese put it. This 'disorder' is a manifestation of the sharpening of all the basic contradictions in the contemporary world. It is accelerating the disintegration and decline of the decadent reactionary forces and stimulating the awakening and growth of the new emerging forces of the people.

"In this situation of 'great disorder under heaven,' all the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin-American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs.

SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

"As a result of the emergence of social imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another.

"The United States and the Soviet Union make up the first world. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the second world.

"The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are vainly seeking world hegemony [leadership.] Each in its own way attempts to bring the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under its control and, at the same time, to bully the developed countries that are not their match in strength.

"The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today. They are the source of a new world war. They both possess large numbers



Veteran Chinese Deputy Premier TENG HSIAO-PING (right) with China's U.N. envoy, HUANG HUA. Comrade Teng is the highest ranking Chinese official to ever visit North America.

of nuclear weapons. They carry on a keenly contested arms race, station massive forces abroad and set up military bases everywhere, threatening the independence and security of all nations.

"They both keep subjecting other countries to their control, subversion, interference or aggression. They both exploit other countries economically, plundering their wealth and grabbing their resources...

"Since the two superpowers are contending for world hegemony, the contradiction between them is irreconcilable; one either overpowers the other or is overpowered. Their compromise and collusion can only be partial, temporary and relative, while their contention is all-embracing, permanent and absolute...

"Plunder, and exploitation by imperialism, colonialism and particularly by the superpowers are making the poor countries poorer and the rich countries richer, further widening the gap between the two. Imperialism is the greatest obstacle to the liberation of the developing countries and to their progress.

"It is entirely right and proper for the developing countries to terminate imperialist economic monopoly and plunder, sweep away those obstacles and take all necessary measures to protect their economic resources and other vital interests.

"The doings of imperialism and particularly the superpowers can in no way check the triumphant advance of developing countries along the road of economic liberation. In the recent Middle East war the Arab countries united as one to use oil as a weapon with which they dealt a terrible blow at Zionism and its political independence and for there still are forces of

"If imperialist monopolies can gang up to manipulate markets at will to the great detriment of the vital interests of the developing countries, why can't developing countries unite to break the imperialist monopoly and defend their own economic rights and interests? The whole battle has broadened people's vision. What was done in the oil battle should and can be done in the case of other raw materials.

CONTROL

"It must be pointed out further that the significance of the developing countries struggle to control their natural resources is by no means confined to the economic field. In order to carry out arms expansion and war preparation and to contend for world hegemony, the superpowers are bound to plunder rapaciously the resources of the Third World. Control and protection of their own resources by the developing countries is essential, not only for the consolidation of their political independence and the development of their national economies, but also for combating superpower arms expansion and war preparations and stopping the superpowers from launching wars of aggression...

"We maintain that the safeguarding of political independence is the first prerequisite for a Third World country to develop its economy.

"The consolidation of political independence is necessarily a product of the people's struggle. In the final analysis, political independence and economic independence are inseparable. Without political independence it is impossible to achieve economic independence. Without economic independence a country's independence is incomplete and insecure..." □

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BRAZIL TRIPPING IN AFRICA

TRIES TO INCREASE TRADE WHILE SUPPORTING COLONIALISM

Brazil's recent overtures to independent West African countries have raised questions about Brazil's intentions. The following article, reprinted from the Brazilian Information Bulletin, published by American Friends of Brazil, discusses some implications of what has been referred to as Brazil's "tripping" in Africa.

Since 1971, Brazil has been following a dangerous policy in Africa — supporting the Portuguese in their futile efforts at holding the overseas colonies and, at the same time, trying to increase trade with the independent Black African nations. Politics with such a contradictory and precarious balance seems to be the norm for the "developed" nations. What are Brazilian intentions in trying to carry out such a risky gamble?

Part of the answer to this question can be found in a study which Captain Raymond A. Komorowski did for the U.S. Navy, *Latin America — An Assessment of U.S. Strategic Interests*. Komorowski attributes this Brazilian policy in Africa to the simple fact that most of the oil today is produced in the Middle East, shipped around the Cape of Good Hope and up the Atlantic to the importing nations of Europe.

SOUTH ATLANTIC SHIPPING

Control of the South Atlantic is control of that shipping. Brazil, aligned with the West African nations, so the theory goes, would be in an ideal position to exercise some "control" in that area. For sub-imperial operations in which it works with the United States, and for its own interest in acquiring foreign oil and trade, Brazil is considering such possibilities.

Brazil has neither the experience nor the naval hardware necessary for such patrolling and control of the South Atlantic. One of the first necessities, then, is beefing up its Navy — a process which is rapidly being completed. \$250 million is being spent on re-equipping the Brazilian fleet, increasing the present 65 ships to a modern strike force of 137 ships supplied with missiles from England, France and Australia.

Such spending is part of an overall, whopping one billion

dollar budget for the new Brazilian Navy, Army and Air Force. Such expenditures represent \$11 per capita for Brazil (while \$3 per capita and \$2 per capita is spent on education and public health respectively). With such naval stature Brazil can suggest formal alliances with the South African government, alliances against some fictitious enemy, such as "the Soviet air and naval threats."

CONTROL AND EXPLOITATION

After establishing control of the shipping lanes, Brazil would be ready to exploit trade possibilities. All African countries are potential buyers for Brazilian manufactured goods, but Brazil has shown particular interest in West Africa.

During 1972, Brazil initiated a widespread diplomatic and commercial offensive to gain African markets. The "assault" was officially announced on January 5, 1972, when Chancellor Gibson Barbosa revealed he would tour Atlantic Africa — Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, the Cameroon, and Zaire.

Launching "Operation Africa," Gibson announced that "the countries of the African West Coast offer one of the biggest potential markets for the exportation of Brazilian products from the most simple to the most sophisticated ones." It is clear that what Gibson has in mind is the sale of such items as cars and appliances to the native elite.

Given Brazil's desire for a presence in the South Atlantic and the traditional relationship between Brazil and Portugal, Brazil has concurred with Portuguese capitalists in their attempts at integrating their investments so as to be able to play a more aggressive role in the international financial market—mostly with regards to Africa.

Bank of Brazil (Brazil's largest bank), and several Portuguese banks are creating an investment bank for Angola and Mozambique. The Brazilian government oil company, Petrobras, has been buying oil from Angola and is now considering setting up drilling operations there. Brazilian capital is also found in Angola's sugar refining business.

But Brazil's greatest immediate interest in Angola is coffee.



South African miner.

As the *Tricontinental News Service* stated:

"...the intention of cornering the world market in coffee plays a large part in Brazil's interest in Africa. According to reports from international coffee officials, Brazil is investigating the possibility of buying coffee in Angola at less than half the world price. (Angola, due to its colonial situation, grows the cheapest coffee in the world.) A Portugal - Brazil - Angola axis would run the show over Colombia, Brazil's major competitor."

This seems to be just what Brazil has in mind. The Brazilian and Portuguese governments have already reduced maritime shipping costs, set up special warehouses in Lisbon, Luanda (Angola), and Lourenco Marques (Mozambique).

Brazil seems to feel that Portugal can hold her colonies and that Brazil — through close ties to the Portuguese — can enjoy some of the benefits of colonialism. Can Brazil, at the same time, significantly increase trade with the Black African nations? It is an open question, but there are reasons to doubt that Brazil can play both games. A choice may be necessary. And it is not at all clear that playing with the Portuguese is Brazil's best option.

In any event, the game would be terminated if any Brazilian troops ever set foot in Africa. Meanwhile Brazil will play dying colonialism against the struggling liberation armies of Africa. □

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

Africa In Focus

PORTUGAL

An urban guerrilla group claimed responsibility for two bomb blasts that ripped holes in the hull of a Portuguese troopship in Lisbon harbor loading Portuguese troops for transport to the occupied territories of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau last week. Four soldiers were wounded in the blasts which occurred while troops were drawn up on deck of the 10,742 ton Niassa, causing delay in the transfer of the troops. Portuguese colonial forces occupy less than one fifth of the territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which declared itself an independent state on November 24, 1973.

SOUTH AFRICA

According to information coming from Capetown, the South African government is now proceeding to exchange atomic secrets with other Western powers. One of the main participants in this exchange is Israel, a long time ally of South Africa. It is also reported by the Italian daily *Il Manifesto* that a research unit in the Transvaal, is experimenting to develop a new technique for producing enriched uranium. If successful, this would enable South Africa to manufacture nuclear bombs armed with Uranium 235 without first using a nuclear reactor — which they do not have now. The South African army has more than doubled in size between 1970 and 1973, reports the Italian paper, from 44,250 men to 109,300 men. The number of tanks went from 300 to 800, jet fighter strength tripled to 116, two submarines were added to the single one it had previously and the number of battleships increased from six to nine.

ZIMBABWE

In testimony before the United Nations Committee on Decolonization, Noel Mukono, Foreign Secretary for the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) charged that the White minority government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia is using biological warfare in its fight against Zimbabwe guerrillas. Brother Mukono charged that Rhodesian forces had deliberately contaminated water supplies in the northeastern part of the country with cholera bacteria and then refused to treat the local population when they became infected.

PORTUGUESE OFFICER SECRETLY SERVES THE PEOPLE

AIDS M.P.L.A., REVEALS WAR CRIMES

The following statement by a high ranking Portuguese army officer was obtained at a secret meeting somewhere in Portuguese-held Angola by Dutch journalist R. Van Waerberge.

While performing his duties as a colonial officer in Angola, the Portuguese army officer secretly cooperates with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA], the primary liberation organization waging war for independence of Angola. He transmits confidential material, secret reports and military files to the guerrillas.

He concludes that Portugal desperately holds on to its African territories in the conviction that it will receive help in the form of military intervention from its Western allies in NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Alliance].

We are indebted to the Peoples Translation Service for providing us with this extraordinarily revealing confession of the horrors of colonial wars.

"Naturally I'm afraid. But in Portugal everyone is afraid. For the war is a sacrifice for everyone. Those who hold power, hold the people in an iron grip. The government has spies and informers everywhere. One can never say what one thinks. Friends no longer trust each other.

"In Angola, people are afraid of a bullet and of going to the front. There is more. I am afraid of my conscience. We are expected to murder innocent men, women, and children, because they are Black and because they refuse to remain slaves any longer. I had to struggle with myself for a long time. I thought about my wife and child. But I think that there is a better reason than the fact that I am afraid of my conscience.

"I come from a bourgeois background, and I am familiar with the ways of the elite. The faces of these men are like mummies—flat and without feeling. They are aware of their power...and they take it for granted. They have no wish to give it up and don't intend to account for their actions. Their shares in the stock market and their sherry-drinking parties are more important to them than the lives of millions of Black Africans.

"Service in the war lasts four years. The training—which takes place in Portugal—is geared towards making murderers out of soldiers. Thus they are emotionally deadened so that they become the unwitting instruments of the high command. They never know when they will be allowed to sleep, when they may eat, when they can have some free time.

"They are always kept in a state of confused insecurity. Extensive drills are often carried on at midnight. What's more, it is standard practice to keep the soldiers from sleeping. Night after night, the same music is blasted through the barracks — always the same.

"The entire training program is continuous indoctrination. The soldiers have to repeat a hundred times:

'I am the strongest,
I will murder the Black terrorists.
I am the future hero of our country,
I will murder the Black terrorists.'

The result is that on weekends, when the soldiers are free to go to town, they always try to prove how determined they are—and this usually ends up in violence.

"The purpose of the drills is to eliminate any trait of humanity in the soldiers. They are not allowed to show any human emotion. Instead, they must do what they are told, even under the most bizarre circumstances. During training, they sometimes have to shoot at each other with blanks.

"There is one exercise which the soldiers call 'Fall dead.' In this exercise, they have to slide down a rope which is hung from the top of a tall tree and pulled tight by means of another rope. They hit the ground moving at the rate of approximately 40 miles an



Portuguese in Mozambique.

hour. Naturally many people get hurt. But this is of no interest to the army leadership who operate on the basis of other laws.

"There are many exercises in which men are killed. The soldiers have to run across a steel tightrope which is stretched between two trees at a height of from 20 to 25 feet, without any net below. At night, soldiers have drowned while having to cross a nearby lake. This is the way we are trained for a colonial war which is inhuman, which looked at historically is absurd, and which is not within the interests of the Portuguese people.

"Before going to the colonies, the commanding officer says to the soldiers: 'Who among you has lost a brother, a friend, in Angola?' (The soldiers raise their hands again and again.) 'You will avenge your brother, your friend. This is why you are going away. Avenge yourselves!'

"We get the greatest psychological shock in Angola itself. Two years in another country—in total isolation. I was stationed at a post, a 'security fortress,' in the eastern part of the country. This is an area which is completely controlled by the MPLA liberation forces. So, except when we undertake a military action, we are unable to take a single step beyond the gate. Unending boredom. You see the same faces time and time again. Mail and food rations are dropped from a Dakota (reconnaissance plane) once every 15 days; once a month a military convoy arrives, bringing fruit and meat.

"The soldiers are under continuous strain. This is because the area we are in is under the control of the MPLA. The post can be attacked at any moment with mortars which can be fired from a distance of nine miles. The soldiers who are wounded in such an attack, or those who are wounded from tripping one of the

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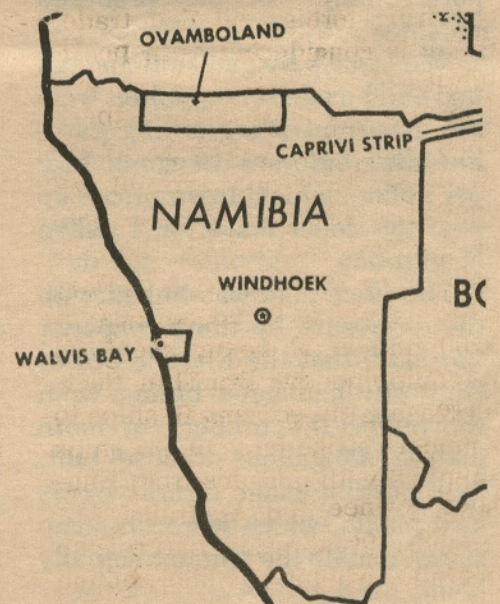
WATCHDOG GROUP TO ENFORCE U.N.'S RULING ON NAMIBIA

(London, England) - A new international watchdog for the rights of oppressed people called "The Friends of the United Nations" has warned companies illegally investing in Namibia (Southwest Africa) that unless they change their policy, they will be subject to "people's arrest" beginning August 1. The warning has initially been sent to the head of 22 major firms in Britain, six in West Germany, and three in France.

The rights of the oppressed people of the world have long been exploited by the Western powers, and "The Friends" explained it had formed a clandestine network of concerned individuals whose aim is "to enforce respect for international law, and to warn, re-educate, and if necessary, arrest and imprison some of the persons in power responsible for the worst violations."

The organization's European branch is beginning its operation in conjunction with the campaign against the illegal occupation of Namibia by the fascist South African government of Prime Minister John Vorster.

The letter to the companies stated: "Perhaps you are not aware of the fact that your company is one of at least 30 in Europe which have illegal and immoral direct or indirect investments in Namibia. Taxes are being paid by your company, not to the U.N. Council for Namibia (the legal authority for Namibia which issues its own stamps, passports, etc.), but to the illegal South African occupation regime. This is in violation of the U.N. CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



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MASSIVE STRIKES PARALYZE PUERTO RICO

(San Juan, Puerto Rico) - Massive strikes have paralyzed this tiny Caribbean colony of the U.S. recently, the March 1974, issue of *Puerto Rico Libre!*, the bulletin of the Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization, reports.

A strike by 4,400 construction materials truckers which began on February 13 and spread to other trucking industries has severely crippled Puerto Rico's economy. Construction materials truckers went on strike when they were refused long demanded pay raises. The strike was quickly joined by other truckers.

A shutdown of gasoline stations and a solidarity strike by public drivers, including taxi and bus drivers, occurred the same time the truckers struck. The Federation of Teachers, a traditionally conservative sector, walked off their jobs on January 28. A general strike in all offices of the Department of Transportation and Public Works has halted services since February 20.

STRIKERS INCREASING

Puerto Rico's economy has yet to feel all of the effects of the strikes. At the time of the printing of the March issue of *Puerto Rico Libre!*, the number of striking truckers was increasing, despite attempts by the truckers' union bureaucracy to send them back to work.

The bulletin reports that all construction in Puerto Rico is paralyzed and there is a backload of basic construction materials piled up in trailers. Trailers filled with perishable food and other products are idle, while more goods rapidly enter Puerto Rico's ports, only to be rendered unusable.

The strikes by gas stations and taxi and bus drivers resulted from the government's granting gasoline distributors a 10 cents hike per gallon, which drove prices up near the dollar mark for a gallon of gasoline.

The price hike was linked with the disclosure by the newspaper *Claridad*, that the Electric Power Authority had been hiding from the public the robbery of more than 42,000 gallons of diesel fuel, by reporting usage figures by its own plants, which were, in some cases, double the amount actually being used.

Such disclosures, along with government insensitivity, have resulted in intense frustration among the workers. Striking teachers refused to return to work despite being served with an injunction. Puerto Rican Governor, a Nixon appointee, has even called for police intervention and threatened to mobilize the National Guard to force the teachers back to work.

In addition to substantial wage increases, teachers are demand-



Puerto Rico truckers strike paralyzes docks.

ing collective bargaining rights for all public employees; a full, government paid medical plan, and allocations of \$3 per student for more educational materials. □

PORTUGUESE OFFICER

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

countless land mines in the area, are taken out much too late. The helicopters are unable to land, due to the closeness of the MPLA. Several times I saw soldiers die unnecessarily because the helicopter didn't arrive until three hours later, when it could have been there within ten minutes.

"That is the situation—a post of some one hundred men, trained in murder. Isolated. Neurotic. Thus, when the soldiers receive orders for an operation, they feel relieved and elated, since they're no longer constrained and can now cut loose. But then the most terrifying things happen outside the camp.

"The soldiers unleash their aggression on the African populace—people who support the freedom fighters because they've never yet received anything from the Portuguese and can expect a new future from the liberation movement. Since the populace must be prevented from being influenced by the guerrillas, people are being physically removed from their homes.

"Africans are forced to leave their own villages and move to the aldeamentos, the new so-called 'protected villages.' At first, an attempt was made to persuade the population to move by dropping pamphlets from helicopters. But this failed for the most part, because the Africans simply didn't want to go. The land of the aldeamento is often worse than their own land. Furthermore, to move would mean finding themselves living behind barbed wire.

"But the Portuguese high command wants all the villages to be evacuated. Thus the soldiers are forced to attack the villagers. Africans who are unwilling to be removed are put to death. Every day mass murders take place. Sometimes whole villages are wiped out at the same time. Following an attack by ground troops, villages are then bombed by planes dropping napalm and other chemicals. Even small schoolhouses are bombed. Everything must be burned.

"The survivors who are unable to escape in time are taken

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

EARN MONEY

Sell THE BLACK PANTHER

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

WORLD SCOPE

UNITED NATIONS

(United Nations) - Reports on the possible execution of Manuel Cabieses, a Chilean editor arrested after the overthrow of the government of President Salvador Allende, have reached Amnesty International, a nongovernmental agency that investigates cases of political prisoners and prepares documentation for the U.N.

Cabieses was identified as joint editor of the magazine *Punto Final*. News of his impending execution was received from the editor of the Mexican edition of the magazine, Amnesty International said.

AUSTRALIA

(Sydney, Australia) - Both Houses of the Australian Parliament have been dissolved by Governor General, Sir Paul Hasluck, and Prime Minister Gough Whitlan has announced that a general election will be held on May 18.

According to Whitlan, the major issue in the campaign would be the blockage of government legislation by the opposition-controlled Senate. The Senate has blocked several measures passed by the House of Representatives.

ARGENTINA

(Bueno Aires, Argentina) - The Peronist "left wing's" leading magazine has been shut down on President Juan Peron's orders.

The weekly magazine, *El Descamisado*, or "The Shirtless One"—a term long used to describe Peron's working-class followers—was the most widely read and authoritative organ of the president's youthful left-wing followers. The publication repeatedly attacked conservative trade unionists and the government's anti-inflationary wage price freeze.

SOVIET UNION

(Moscow, Soviet Union) The Soviet Union and the State University of New York have signed an agreement to exchange 10 undergraduate students next September.

The agreement was the first formal U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange of undergraduate students. Only graduate students and professors were included under the official exchange program in the past.

ENTERTAINMENT

FILM REVIEW

SERPICO: "YOU CAN'T TRUST A COP THAT'S NOT ON THE TAKE"

(Oakland, Calif.) - Dave Serpico, played by Al Pacino in the film *Serpico*, was a cop in New York City; a plainclothes cop. Some say Serpico was a *good* cop...because he didn't accept bribes or pay-offs. But above all—and this is something we cannot forget—Serpico was a *cop*; a *pig*.

Serpico doesn't give anyone a break. He busts Black and Puerto Rican people constantly. He draws his gun, ready and willing to shoot, at the drop of a hat. Credit Al Pacino, for even dramatizing those wild and frenzied motions and sounds that White cops make whenever they arrest someone Black or Brown. Every Black person in America who has ever been arrested recognizes those gestures — part fear part hatred — for what they are: the actions of a racist, trigger-happy pig.

When Serpico officially resigned from the New York City Police Department on June 15, 1972, he was the most hated cop in New York, hated by the police themselves. Sometime before he resigned, two fellow narcotics detectives failed to come to his aid during a heroin bust and, as a result, Serpico was shot in the cheek — right below his left eye — with a .22.

He survived, received a gold detective badge, resigned from the police force and, fearing for his life, moved to Switzerland.

The reason that Serpico's fellow narcs refused to help him — Serpico was stuck in between a closing tenement door, unable to force it open or pull out his gun, both of which he was desperately trying to do — was because Serpico had gone to "outside agencies." He talked to a *New York Times* reporter about the blatant and pervasive corruption within the New York City Police Department. And, he had facts to prove it.

Based on the true life story, the movie *Serpico* is an excellent motion picture. The acting, dialogue and action are superb, topnotch. Following up his fine role as Michael in *The Godfather*, Al Pacino as Dave Serpico more than proves that he is one of the best character actors on the screen today.

One of the results of Serpico's talk with the *New York Times* was the historic Knapp Commission,

the equivalent for the New York City Police Department of the Senate Select Committee investigation of Watergate. Like that Committee, the televised Knapp Commission hearings brought into millions upon millions of American homes the horrors of unleashed greed and corruption.

Police on the take: from the commissioner down to the cop that walks the beat. Everywhere.

If memory serves this reviewer correctly, the figure for illicit income ranged, for Manhattan plainclothes narcotics detectives alone, from \$600 per man per month in midtown Manhattan to \$1,800 per man per month uptown in Spanish Harlem.

Of course, when Serpico started talking, other cops followed suit. But Serpico was the first to go to "outside agencies." That's why he was/is so hated; that's why he was set up.

The majority of the movie follows Serpico's development to the breaking point. It follows his continually futile attempts to try to solve the problem of pay-offs by staying within the structure of the police department. But no one would listen. Apparently everyone else in the police department was on the take themselves.

The movie also follows Serpico's growing alienation from his fellow cops. As one of his buddies tells him, "Listen, motherfucker, nobody trusts a cop who's not on the take."

But all in all — and the movie depicts this as well — Serpico



AL PACINO in Serpico.

was not a *good* cop, he wasn't a servant of the people with a badge. The fact that he didn't accept bribes or participate every time in beating up prisoners at the station house, does not mean he was a good cop. A honest man, perhaps; somewhat liberal — in dress at least maybe. But a *good* cop, no!

Dave Serpico wanted to be a gold star detective. The fact that he didn't take bribes or pay-offs only meant he wanted to be a honest, gold star detective. Down deep, Serpico was a *pig*.

M.F.

ONE OUT OF THREE
RETURN TO JAIL

(Washington, D.C.) - One of every three persons jailed is sent to prison again within two years after he is released, says a new Justice Department survey. □

THE S.L.A.

This is a poem about the S.L.A.
Not what I think
But what people say
Like Patricia Hearst being a part
of them

Or that Nixon did it
So will take our minds off of him
This is a poem about the S.L.A.
Not what I think
But what people say
Another thing that I heard
Is feeding these people is really
absurd

Or why give these people free
food today
When they're going to be starv-
ing on another day

This is a poem about the S.L.A.
Not what I think

But what people say
Half of the people say he should
just pay

The other half say that they'll
just get her again on another day
This is a poem about the S.L.A.
Not what I think

But what people say
Some people take advantage of
this free food they give
Others take it because it's their
only way to live

Some people will get the free food
And then buy a lid
Others get the free food and pray
that it will feed their kids

This is a poem about the S.L.A.
Not what I think

But what people say
Some will joke about it and think
that it's funny

Others will get on their hands and
knees

And beg for an extra jar of honey
Others will say fuck it I'll get me a
bag and save me some money

While that lady is feeding her
Kids for supper bread and honey
This is a poem about the S.L.A.
Not what I think

But what people say

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LAOS' NEW COALITION GOVT. SAYS AMERICANS MUST GO



Prince SOUPHANOUVONG (center) and Premier SOUVANNA PHOUMA (right) at inauguration of new government.

(Luang Prabang, Laos) - A new coalition government was installed in Laos recently and has required all foreign troops and advisers, including several hundred Americans, to leave within 60 days of the inauguration.

The new government is headed by Premier Souvanna Phouma, a neutralist, and Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the revolutionary Pathet Lao, who accepted a position as head of the National Political Council. The Council is a

42-member advisory body theoretically equal to the government. Prince Souphanouvong passed up the deputy premiership.

Born in the wake of the Laotian ceasefire agreement signed on February 21, 1973, the new government vowed to end two decades of civil war and reunify the nation. The Pathet Lao had held two-thirds of the land area of Laos, while the royal government controlled over two-thirds of the nation's 3.1 million people. □

PORTUGUESE OFFICER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18.
prisoner and usually tortured. This depends on the whim of the commanding officer—a gruesome thought. They're beaten, or dragged behind a moving car, or one of their arms is hacked off. Sometimes chemicals are used to force them to talk. When Africans are unable to give any information, they are decapitated. I once saw a soldier playing soccer with a human head.

"When you see something like this you want to forget it immediately. You think something like this is impossible. I got used to it for a long time, until I understood that it is a system in which soldiers—young men—are trained to be murderers. And I also saw that this was not an exception but that it happens every day, again and again, in many other places. It happens in Angola just like it happens in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

"People may ask why Portugal still continues the war. The Portuguese high command understands that they cannot win a war by out-and-out murder. In a direct confrontation between Portuguese troops and guerrillas, it is we who would suffer a great loss. From a military standpoint, the posts we occupy in the liberated areas have no significance whatsoever.

"I am firmly convinced that the Portuguese high command is bent on lengthening the war. They are counting on military intervention by the Western powers. This opinion is based on conversations that I have held with higher officers, as well as on reports that I've read.


"The freedom fighters in the north are very active near the capital city, Luanda, and are advancing from the east and the southeast across half the country. Without foreign aid, Portugal can do nothing to stop them. Already South African helicopters are patrolling regions in southern Angola and the province of Tete in Mozambique. Rhodesian soldiers are also actively engaged in fighting in Tete.

"But Portugal cannot rely solely on Rhodesia and South Africa. Ultimately, Portugal is dependent on its Western allies in NATO who have kept Portugal fully equipped — if necessary, they will continue to do so in order to defend their large financial interests in southern Africa." □

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"THE BATTLE OVER RACISM IN SPORTS"

SPORTS FOR THE PEOPLE

"The Battle Over Racism in Sports" has been excerpted from the book *Rip Off The Big Game*, written by Brother Paul Hoch, a professor in the sociology of sports, at Dawson College, Montreal, Canada. This concluding excerpt picks up in the middle of the "slave uprising" of the Syracuse University football team 1969-1970, and calls for the development of "sports for the people" among athletes of the nation.

CONCLUSION

After the university came up with nothing, the players suggested that a Black professional be hired to stick with the squad for the thirty-day 1970 spring training session. The coaches eventually came up with Floyd Little, the Denver Broncos pro who, in his days at Syracuse, had bitterly opposed a petition from other Black athletes against games with schools with proven records of racial discrimination. According to linebacker Jeff Logan, Little's participation in spring training consisted of little more than walking out onto the field for an hour one day, and then disappearing. The Black players figured they had been had (*Black Sports*, June 1971).

BOYCOTT

The fourth day of spring training they boycotted practice. They were immediately suspended, and even threatened with being kicked off campus (though, as the publicity glare flooded the university, they were eventually allowed to stay). When the administration suggested that the suspensions be lifted, the White jocks unanimously voted against it. (A year earlier when the Blacks had first asked for a Black coach, the Whites had unanimously voted that they would not play for one.)

Nothing could have shown more clearly the ability of the system to use racism to divide the people against each other. One of the Blacks' main complaints had been inferior medical attention—being sent back onto the field to risk permanent disability when you were really too injured to play. "I've got calcium deposits in my knee," declared one White jock, "but that's my problem. I'm not going to complain about it."

Then, too, not only had coaches called some players "nigger," they had called others "wop," "polack," "dirty kraut," and so on. Most important, both White

and Black players had been subject to the same vicious authoritarianism. Only the Whites thought that they had to take their football complete with a dictatorship, and that was that. The Blacks were trying to do something about it. But the Whites thought that the color of their skin gave them more in common with their bosses than it did with their Black fellows. (Of course, a lot of this response was manipulated by the coaches.)

Eventually with the football season about to get under way the Chancellor of the university appointed a committee of trustees, administrators, professors, and students to look into the situation:

"The Committee concludes that racism in the Syracuse University Athletic Department is real, chronic, largely unintentional, and sustained and complicated unwittingly by many modes of behavior common in American athletics and longstanding at Syracuse University...The definition of the spring boycott merely as an issue of violating coaching authority, and the penalizing of Black athletes without taking into consideration the broader context of their protest was an act of institutional

racism unworthy of a great university." (From the Committee's Report.)

The Chancellor allowed as how he found the findings "fair," but did nothing to discipline the coaches. The Committee called for the suspended players to receive an additional year of football eligibility, and for the running of the athletic programs to be taken out of the hands of the administration and put under the control of a committee representing different segments of the (so-called) university community.

Instead of a pledge to obey the coach—as the administration had demanded—they recommended a sort of "bill of rights" for athletes, guaranteeing them the same rights of dress, hair length, and political involvement as are allowed other students. A kind of jock liberation.

Naturally the report was, for the most part, quietly shelved. Committee reports not backed by any threat of militancy are seldom worth the paper they are written on. Indeed, a short time later some Syracuse alumni gave Schwartzwalder a testimonial dinner at the Hotel Americana, and congratulatory messages arrived from Governor Rockefeller and President Nixon.

Coach Jim Harding of the University of Detroit is not unlike a good many other coaches. Where he is almost unique is that in November, 1970, his entire team simply refused to play for him anymore. In a letter signed by the thirteen Black players and three Whites who made up the varsity basketball squad, Harding was accused of "failure to recognize us as human beings with human feelings."

When informed that he had a team without any players, the coach remained unperturbed. "If that's what they said," he told the wire services, "then they won't remain on the team long. I am the head coach and will be here for the next three years." (Face-saving gestures were made, and the players eventually returned.)

In December, 1970, four Blacks on the University of Washington football team turned in their cleats, charging that the racial practices of the coaches "have forced us to the point where we no longer can tolerate the playing conditions imposed upon us." Charges of racism had previously been leveled at Washington football coaches for more than two years, beginning with spring practice 1968.

As at other schools, one of the main issues was interracial dating. Junior Coffey, later a fullback in the NFL (where various teams said he had a bad "attitude") suddenly found himself benched in college.

When he asked his assistant coach at Washington why, he was told, "You're dating this White girl and I'd advise you not to do it. I think it would be detrimental to your future, and it could be a reflection on other Negro players."

He says it was even hinted that the University would stop recruiting Black athletes altogether if he did not knuckle under. At the time Junior Coffey was the third leading rusher in the nation. And he never started another Varsity game!

"It has also been discrimination," Charlie Sifford told a reporter for *Black Sports* (June, 1971), "that has kept the Black golfer ten to fifteen years behind." And yet, we are supposed to weep huge tears when Blacks protest the appearance of South Africa's Gary Player at tournaments like the Master's that most Black Americans still don't get into.

But the anti-apartheid forces are not exactly taking it lying down. In addition to the wel-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



(Pittsburg, Pa.) Baseball's commissioner BOWIE KUHN presents Pittsburg Pirates' star WILLIE STARGELL with the 1973 Roberto Clemente Humanitarian Award for exceptional service to baseball. Stargell, the president of the Black Athletes Foundation and a tireless fund raiser for Sickle Cell Anemia research was a long-time friend and teammate of Clemente.

"RACISM IN SPORTS"

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

comes for Gary Player, there were disruptions of the games of the South African Springboks cricket and rugby tours in Britain, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. (The cricket tour had to be cancelled in Britain because, it was said, Black nationalists were "using" the issue to set back race relations some twenty years. Presumably they threatened to have more equal race relations.)

Nor have South African tennis players been ignored. There have been sit-ins on the courts, hecklings, even aerial bombardments. And in British swimming, Olympic team captain Tony Jarvis greeted the appearance of Prime Minister Edward Heath at the 1970 Commonwealth Games by brandishing a placard proclaiming: "Heath, South African Arms Dealer." In the most faithful traditions of British racist sports, Jarvis was threatened with debarment from the European championships and forced to sign a "no politics" pledge.

STEREOTYPED INDIANS

In recent years there has also been a growing chorus of protest about the racist stereotypes of American Indians encouraged by the names and emblems of many American professional teams. Names like the Redskins, Indians, Braves and so on—often with emblems showing a hook-nosed, racist stereotype of an Indian—have come under increasing attack both in the United States and Canada.

At the Oakland Coliseum Arena, meanwhile, pentathlon star Sam Goldberg was back in competition. A year earlier he was kicked off the track team at the University of Kansas and lost his scholarship, after he announced that he was dedicating a victory medal to the Black Panthers.

He finished a close second in the Oakland meet to the 1970 AAU decathlon champion and beat out a member of the U.S. Olympic team. "I'm dedicating the medal I won tonight," said the blond-haired Goldberg, "to Bobby Seale."

He said he was running for an organization whose existence the AAU would rather not face up to—Woodstock International:

"The idea behind Woodstock is a combination of the Black Panther Party's concept

REGISTER TO VOTE

of community involvement, and that of progressive working class—in short, it's sports for the people. Let's face it, man. Because of the conservative element in our society, sports have become political. We're competing for the flag, the country, and everything else. My event, without going on an ego trip of what I've done, is for the people. My participation, and everyone competing for Woodstock, is dedicated to America's getting out of Vietnam and the Black Panther Party and anyone else that's getting ripped off."

He added that, when he runs in the big meets, he wears high top gym shoes, "like the brothers in the ghetto, because like them I can't afford those twenty-dollar jogger shoes." □

HUEY P. NEWTON ON S.L.A. "HIT LIST"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

based US Organization of Ron Karenga. They were serving time for the murder of Black Panther Party members Bunchy Carter and John Huggins at U.C.L.A. on January 17, 1969.

The murder of Bunchy and John exposed Ron Karenga and his clique as well-paid handmaidens of then Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin, California Governor Ronald Reagan and government and private agencies of the power elite.

The "escape" of the Stiner brothers at this time strongly suggests police connivance in placing back on the streets anti-Black Panther Party elements. Donald D. Defreeze, "Field Marshal Cinque" of the SLA, himself is alleged to have "escaped" under circumstances that easily could have been set up by "law enforcement" elements.

Who better to ignite Black against Black confrontations in the city which is the base of operations of the Black Panther Party than those whom the Party, under the leadership of Huey P. Newton, exposed in 1971 as active enemies of Black people and all oppressed peoples?

Investigative reporters in Los Angeles inform us that the police files of the Stiner brothers and Defreeze are presently locked up together in the L.A. Police Department intelligence department safe and are almost impossible to see.

WATCHDOG GROUP TO ENFORCE RULING ON NAMIBIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

resolution and the ruling of the World Court."

Continuing, the letter warned that "...if by August 1, 1974, your company has not declared publicly—via the U.N. Council for Namibia—that it will no longer violate international law regarding Namibia, then you will be subject to arrest and imprisonment... The absolute minimum force necessary will be used to arrest and detain you and the conditions of your imprisonment will be comparable with the conditions of the workers in Namibia that you are exploiting. Your companies will be able to get your release quite easily, by petitioning the U.N. Council for Namibia. As soon as that body publicly declares that it is satis-

fied with your company's future policies regarding Namibia, you will be released by 'The Friends of the United Nations'."

Since the group has no address, anyone seeking further information should write directly to the U.N. Council for Namibia in New York. □

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Phone: 562-5261

SON OF MAN TEMPLE
6118 E. 14th Street
Oakland, Calif. 94621

KING CLEANERS

Mon.
10:00 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.
Tues.-Sat.
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OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621

WE OWN AND OPERATE OUR
OWN CLEANING PLANT

Quality Work

The appearance in recent weeks in the San Francisco Bay Area of a 32-page pamphlet entitled "Messages to the People" contributes to the suspicion that several different forces are being encouraged to reopen their murderous warfare against the Black Panther Party and the Black community.

The pamphlet features a tirade viciously attacking Huey P. Newton and his leadership of the Black Panther Party by Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt, who is described in the pamphlet as "the new urban guerrilla." The pamphlet advocates the erroneous concept that the only road left open for Black revolutionaries in the U.S. today is armed, guerrilla warfare.

LEADERS THREATENED

Elmer Pratt, now on San Quentin's Death Row for the murder of a man and wife in a robbery attempt, was expelled from the Black Panther Party in 1971 after threatening to assassinate the top leaders of the Party, including Huey P. Newton, in an internal coup attempt.

Observers insist that the emergence of the SLA, engaging in open terrorist, guerilla-type activity in the name of "revolution" and at the same time the re-emergence of terrorist threats and charges against Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party in the name of urban guerrilla warfare, is no accident. (See editorial, page 2.) □

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children a free nourishing hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT

[S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

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

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

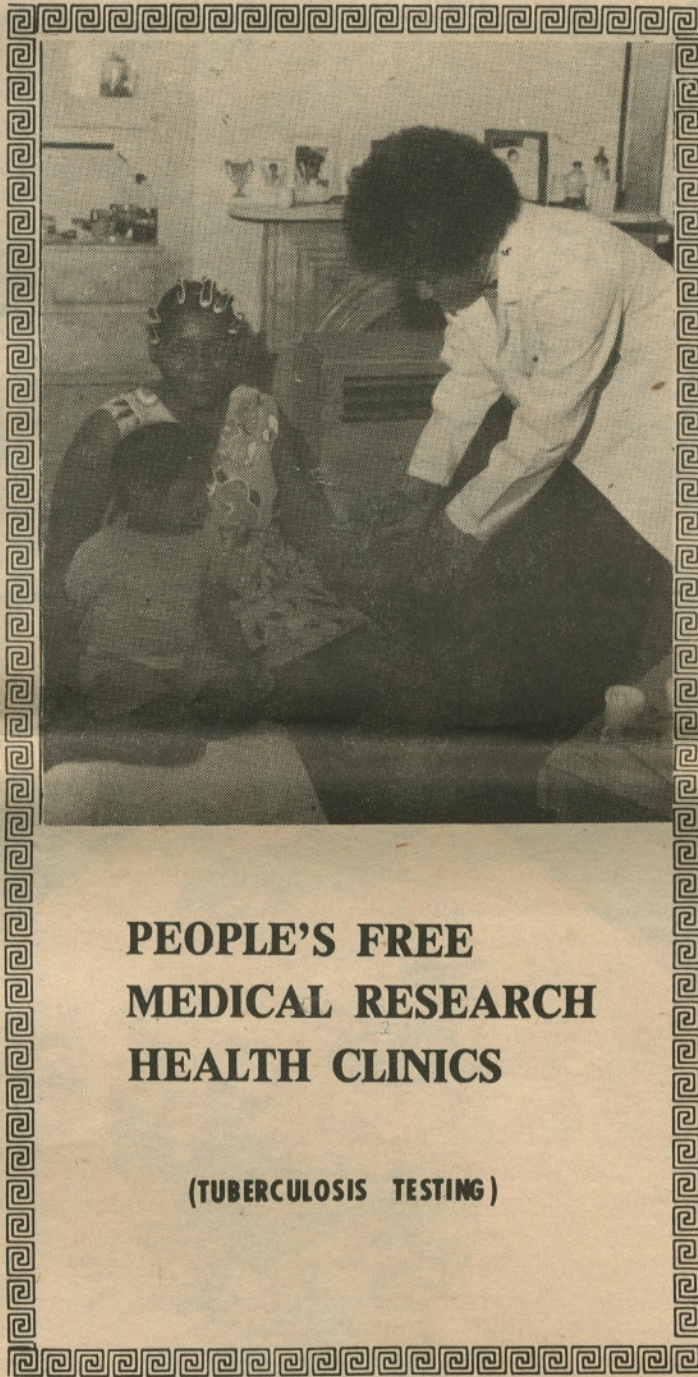
Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

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

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.



PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

(TUBERCULOSIS TESTING)

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

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

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

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

"The survival programs are the means by which you organize and unify the people for their future liberation. They give a new character to the Black liberation movement in America."

Bobby Seale

CIRCULATE
TO EDUCATE
EDUCATE
TO LIBERATE



SAMUEL L. NAPIER
ASSASSINATED APRIL 17, 1971