

THE BLACK PANTHER

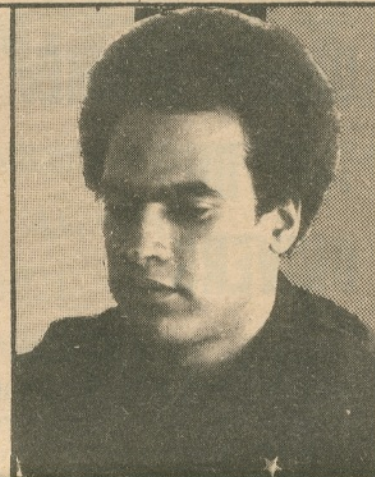
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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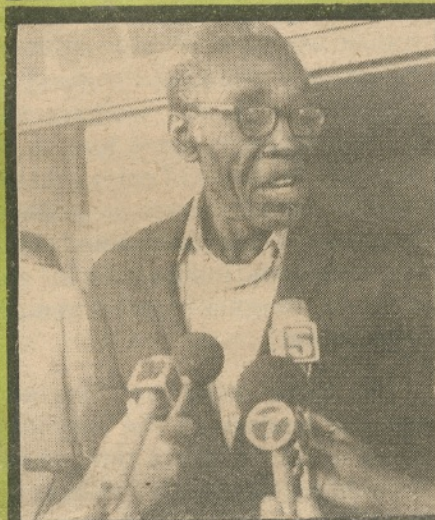
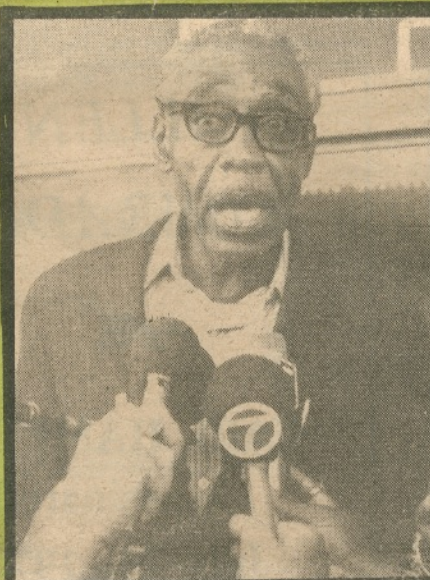
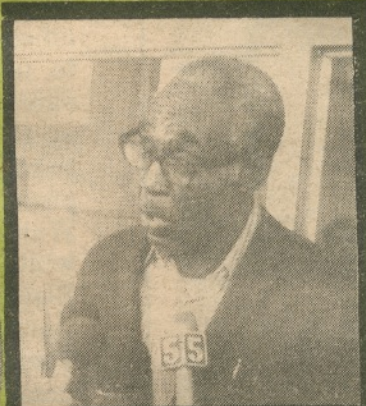
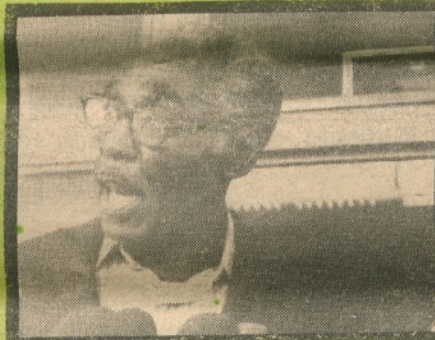
VOL. XII NO. 1 SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1974

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AT THE SON OF MAN TEMPLE, SUNDAY, JULY 28

WELCOME HOME, BOB WELLS



SEE PAGE 3

INSIDE

PAGE

- SAN QUENTIN 6 REST CASE.....3
- DARLENE LAWSON ON OAKLAND SCHOOLS.....6
- U.S.S. MIDWAY COURTS-MARTIAL OPEN.....8
- PITTSBURGH BLACKS HIT POLICE TACTICS.....9

PAGE

- M.P.L.A. SCORES MAJOR MILITARY VICTORIES.....15
- RHODESIAN AFRICAN TELLS OF TORTURE.....15
- REVIEW: "THE PARALLAX VIEW".....19
- GOLFER CHARLES SIFFORD, AN ANGRY MAN?.....21



Jerry Lee-Borst Exposes C.D.C.
See article, Centerfold.

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EDITORIAL

DON'T BLAME THE BUS DRIVERS

East Bay bus riders are growing impatient with the continued absence of the very necessary buses on our streets. Residents of the flatlands in the poor and oppressed communities are, of course, hardest hit. Many are finding it increasingly difficult to get to work on time and to generally move about the East Bay on normal business.

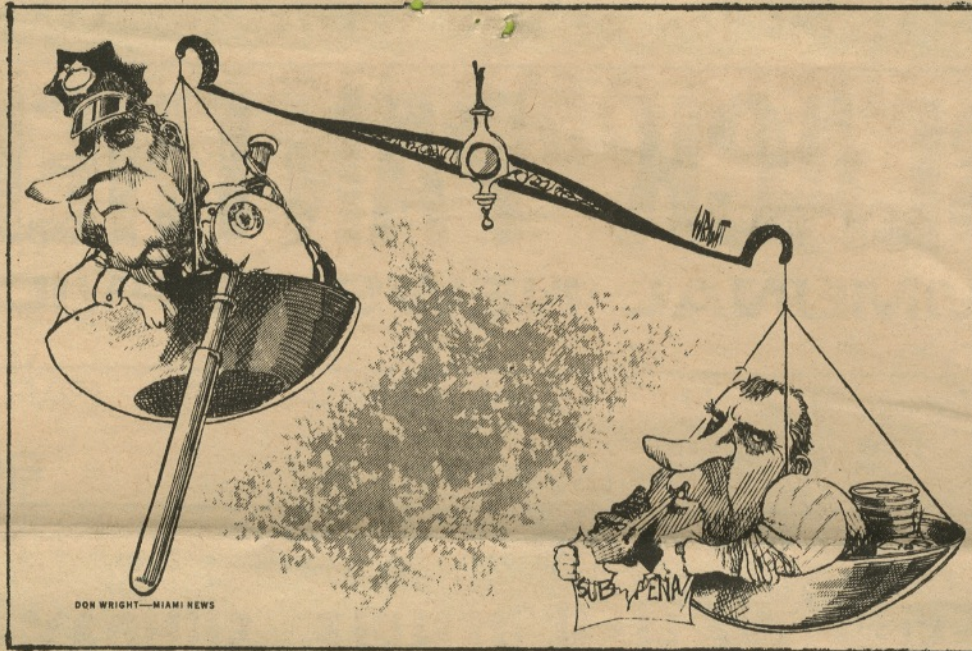
The grumblings, however, should not be directed at the bus drivers. Last week's forced invasion of the bus district's offices in Oakland by striking AC Transit employees demonstrates the situation they have faced since the beginning of the strike.

The first obligation in labor/management relations is the obligation of both parties to come together to resolve a dispute. The East Bay transit strike continues because management, in the person of AC Transit General Manager Alan Bingham, has steadfastly refused to come together with the transit workers to discuss and resolve their grievances.

That's what the forced entry into the bus district's office was all about last week; to express the transit workers' consternation at Bingham's continued refusal to negotiate with the workers and to, if necessary, force him to do so. Only the force of entry into the locked offices was necessary, however. Once confronted with the righteous indignation of the workers, Bingham agreed to meet with them.

The tactic used by Bingham and the leaders of the district's board of directors are time worn: Hold off on substantive talks until the public becomes infuriated at the inconvenience and brings pressure to bear on the drivers to give in on their demands and accept less than they are demanding.

At dispute in this confrontation is a cost-of-living increase which management refuses to even consider. Every East Bay resident—like every citizen in this country—is acutely aware of the daily increase in the cost-of-living and should support (as well as initiate) working men and women's actions for a wage and benefits that they can live on with dignity. □



Letters to the Editor

Brothers & Sisters,

This is a letter of thanks for your coverage of issues pertinent to Blacks, especially the recent information on military ties between the U.S., South Africa, and Israel and their recent paranoia about the "Portuguese territories."

Without your laying out the gruesome facts, it would be near-impossible to determine what South Africa's reaction may bring on.

Thank you and thank god somebody's reporting responsibly. My next letters are for my irresponsible "representatives."

Much appreciation,
Cathy Anthony

□ □ □

RE: WHO LOVES THE WORLD

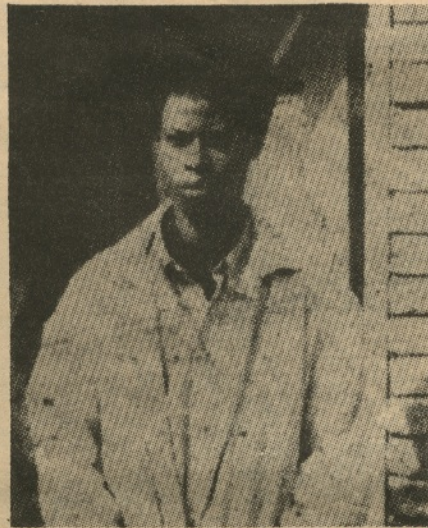
It once was the "Good Earth," but as you can see from the dead fish, records of extinct species of animals, garbage dumps, old car mountains, oil spills and coal mining desolation, something is wrong on Earth.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

FALLEN COMRADE



CARL HAMPTON Assassinated July 28, 1970



Brother Carl Hampton was the chairman (coordinator) of People's Party II, a small revolutionary organization in Houston, Texas, which followed the examples and policies of the Black Panther Party. His exemplary organizing talents laid a firm base for the establishment of our Party Chapter there. So able and creative was Brother Carl that soon the Black community in Houston grew to love and respect People's Party II as the true advocates of their interests. Culminating a series of police-provoked incidents, the Houston power structure plotted Carl Hampton's death. To do so, they were forced, on July 28, 1970, to surround and attack the entire community where the People's Party II office was located. Unhesitatingly, Brother Carl defended the community and, in the process, was singled out and killed in a hail of police fire. Motivated by love, Carl Hampton strove to serve his people. Long live the spirit of Carl Hampton!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

COMMENT

"BLACK EDUCATION: TWENTY YEARS LATER" BY GRACE LEE BOGGS

In the following article, Grace Lee Boggs, educator and political activist of Detroit, Michigan, describes the struggle being waged by Blacks around our education in America. The article is taken from Ms. Boggs' essay "Education: The Great Obsession," appearing in the *Institute of the Black World's* new publication, *Education and Black Struggle*. Copies of the volume can be obtained from the Institute, 87 Chestnut St., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314, for \$3.50.

Prior to the Second World War, Black youth had been concentrated in the South, not only separate and unequal but practically invisible. With the war a whole generation came North to work in the plants. With rising expectations whetted by relatively stable employment, service in the armed forces, and the post-war nationalist movements in other parts of the world, Black parents began to send their children to school in such numbers that Black youth now constitute the major part of the school population in most of the big cities from which Whites have fled.

But the more Black kids finished high school, the more they discovered that extended education was not the magic key to upward mobility and higher earnings that it had been played up to be. On the job market they soon discovered that the same piece of paper which qualified White high school graduates for white-collar jobs only qualified Blacks to be tested (and found wanting) for these same jobs. Their teachers, parents, and preachers tried to placate them by explaining how even more education was now needed to qualify for the increasingly skilled jobs demanded by automation. But all around them Black youth could see that the jobs which they were told required two or more years of college when occupied by Blacks were actually being done by White high school dropouts.

Accepting at face value the myths about education, Black

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

THE BLACK PANTHER

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SAN QUENTIN 6 REST THEIR CASE

PSYCHIATRIST TESTIFIES BROTHERS SHOULD BE RELEASED

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The plaintiffs in the San Quentin 6 hearings in federal court here — Johnny Spain, Hugo Pinell, Luis Talamantez, Willie Tate, Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson — rested their case last Tuesday with the testimony of a Stanford psychiatrist who stated that, in his opinion, the six Black and Brown brothers must soon be released from San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center (AC) and phased back into the general prison population and ultimately into society.

Presenting his testimony as the last of some two dozen witnesses for the Six — the defense takes over on Tuesday — was Dr. Philip Zimbardo, a Stanford University social psychologist.

PROGRESSIVE RELEASE

"I am convinced these men are now ready for progressive release from the Adjustment Center into the mainline of the prison and back into society," Dr. Zimbardo said.

"The longer they are kept in the AC the more difficult it will be for them to make the transition back into free society."

(Dr. Zimbardo achieved national recognition a few years ago with an experiment he conducted in the basement of a Stanford dormitory, in which he separated a group of student volunteers into two groups, mock guards and mock inmates. He found over the period of approximately one month that the student volunteers tended to take on the characteristics commonly associated with real prison inmates and real prison guards.)

Dr. Zimbardo also testified that the Six had come to adopt a set of "pathological" responses to a "pathological" situation and that the so-called violence of the Six must be understood in this context.

He listed several factors which made the situation that way: helplessness; uncertainty of any given day; indefinite sentences; sensory deprivation; purposelessness; and constant stress.

Dr. Zimbardo added that the prison guards, as well, develop severe psychological problems. □

AT THE SON OF MAN TEMPLE, SUNDAY, JULY 28

WELCOME HOME, BOB WELLS

REMINISCES ON 47 YEARS IN PRISON IN PART 1
OF EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

(San Francisco, Calif.) Brother Wesley Robert Wells, at 65 years of age, was released on parole from Vacaville prison on July 1, 1974, after 47 years of confinement in California prisons, longer than any other person.

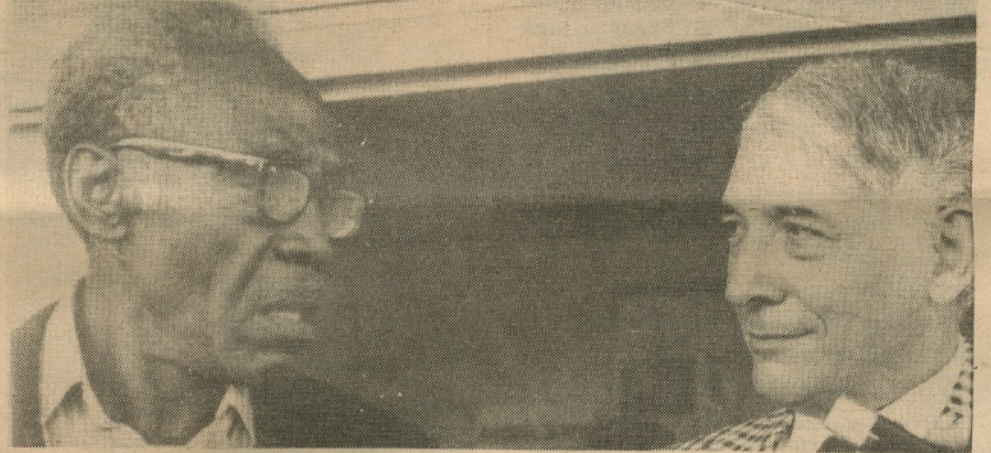
In order to share with our readers Brother Bob Wells' thoughts and feelings following on this momentous occasion, the Editor-in-Chief of THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE talked with Brother Bob Wells last week at his Delancy Street Foundation residence here.

What follows is the first of a three-part transcript of that conversation. In this part Brother Bob talks about his boyhood, his first entrance into prison at the age of 17 and its impact on him and his on it!

B.P.: Bob, would you tell us first where you were born and something about your boyhood.

WELLS: I was born, so I was told, in Ft. Worth, Texas. I don't recall much of my Texas life. I left Texas with my mother and two sisters. One sister was five years older than I; the other was three years older. We went to Denver, Colorado, to live.

My mother died in Denver when I was about 9 or 10 years of age. There I lived for about a year with my mother's brother, my



Brother BOB WELLS with his steadfast attorney, CHARLES GARRY, immediately following Wells' release at Vacaville Prison.

uncle. One day he asked us how we'd like to go to California. Naturally, kids are always interested in train rides, so we all said it was good, we'd like to go.

He wanted us to come out here and live with my aunt and uncle in Los Angeles. But he didn't know that my aunt and uncle were separated. My aunt here didn't want me. She was particularly interested in my sisters. But my uncle insisted that if she was going to take any one of us she would have to take all of us. So, she agreed to take me too.

We came out to Los Angeles in a train, under the supervision of my oldest sister, Alveda. This was about 1917, and I was 10 years of age. I lived with my aunt in the West Temple Light district, which was a rather democratic

district. I went to school at the Alverado special school; a school for delinquent boys. I hold that against my aunt, but perhaps I shouldn't because she wasn't a very intelligent woman. However, very religious.

Her son, Dave, was two years older than I and he was going to this school, and she allowed me to go this school. This school, as I said, was for delinquent boys, and we'd go out to play softball, or go across town to play against other schools. We'd play ball twice a week, and then go swimming once a week. We'd get across town the best way we could.

DELINQUENTS

Before long, I fell right in with the delinquents, following what they were doing, stealing from fruit stands, etc., especially after we come out from swimming. We'd be pretty hungry. I had a fair life there. But I didn't have much of a home life.

Looking back on it now I know I should have had more supervision. I didn't have too much supervision and in some of my writings I said 'I grew up like a weed'; a wild weed at that.

In this school I went to, for every minute you were late you'd get a swat on the behind with a wooden paddle. This particular morning we were about ten or 15 minutes late for school, so Dave says, "Man, let's go out to the aviation field." So we decided to go to the aviation field and he stole a bicycle and sat me on the handle bars and we started out until we found another bicycle and I snatched that and we went on out to the aviation field instead of getting those 15 to 20 swats.

After we got back home that evening, like fools we took the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

FALLEN COMRADE

**BABATUNDE X
OMARWALI**



**Assassinated
July 27, 1970**



On July 27, 1970, Chicago police claimed to "find" the remains of Brother Babatunde X Omarwali, 26, a member of the Illinois State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, laying across railroad tracks in a deserted area of the city. They claimed he had been attempting to destroy the tracks and that a bomb went off prematurely. Yet, if Comrade Babatunde, the organizer of the Cairo-Carbondale office of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), was mutilated "beyond recognition" as the police also claimed, how did they "positively" identify him? The Chicago police murdered Babatunde X Omarwali and their deed will haunt them—through us, Black and oppressed people—to their graves. Long live the spirit of Babatunde X Omarwali!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

MARYLAND PENITENTIARY COLLECTIVE DESCRIBES PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

(Baltimore, Md.) - On June 6 of this year, four of the Maryland Pen Five—Marshall (Eddie) Conway, a member of the Black Panther Party, Robert Foulks, Clifton Wiggins and Robert Austin—were sentenced to a total of 101 years as a result of being framed by prison officials for the stabbing of a guard on July 12, 1973. Although nearly 100 prisoners were in the area of the incident, the Five were chosen as examples and set up for retaliation because of their organizing work within the penitentiary. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, July 13, 1974.)

In the document below the Maryland Penitentiary Intercommunal Survival Collective (MPISC) explains the nature of its work and consequently the reasons for the false convictions of Brothers Conway, Foulks, Austin and Wiggins.

"The MPISC is an active organization behind the walls of the Maryland Penitentiary. Our primary interest is the survival of Black people in America.

"We believe the advancement of technology, owned and controlled by a greedy power-hungry White racist minority, threatens the survival of our Black communities. Consequently, we view



Members of the Maryland Pen Collective are (left to right): JAMES TAYLOR, MARSHALL (Eddie) CONWAY, JOHN PATTERSON, CHARLES HOPKINS, DWIGHT JONES and STEPHEN SHORTER.

ourselves as an integral part of the world's poor and oppressed people victimized by and struggling against a violent racist society.

"We are anti-exploitation of humans by humans, anti-oppression and anti-racism. And we want people's community control of institutions and modern technology.

"Prisons are concentration camps held over the heads of Black and poor people who protest and rebel against the intolerable economic and social conditions we face daily.

"The state and prison authorities have consistently demonstrated their primary concern: an increased budget for guards, bars, walls, gas, guns, sticks and graft. In prison, the economic and social conditions that drive Black and poor people to prison are magnified multifold. And generally when a prisoner returns to the community he's again driven to either committing an illegal act, death or recapture.

"These are some of the conditions that gave birth to the Maryland Penitentiary Intercommunal Survival Collective. We want to break this vicious cycle by developing men to be productive to the community despite the overwhelming odds; men who will aid in the progressive transformation of our Black communities.

"Since the birth of MPISC three years ago we have implemented the following programs: "(1) A free commissary program to meet the basic necessities of our fellow prisoners.

"(2) A people's newsletter to keep prisoners informed of rele-

vant world news (as of March 29, 1973, inoperative due to official repression).

"(3) A people's library consisting of relevant reading material.

"(4) Educational classes designed to interpret changing events worldwide.

"(5) A United Prisoners Labor Union for prisoners to exercise the right of collective bargaining (also inoperative due to official repression).

"(6) An exercise program designed for physical fitness to coincide with mental development.

"We openly advocate community control of prisons. Community control of prisons is every community's right. As taxpayers, every family, relative and friend, every member of the community is entitled to know, have a say and a power as to prisoners' lives, including prisoners themselves. Today, the state and prison officials disrespect and disregard our Black and poor people's rights.

"We believe that mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers unified, can question prison administrations, investigate incidents of brutality, demand human treatment, oversee parole and transfer boards. Unified, every community can demand to know food budget allotments and compare them to the money spent on gas, mace, guns and sticks.

"As individuals our complaints are always ignored. Community control of prisons is one step in not only defending and ensuring the survival of prisoners but the Black community itself. The strength of every community lies in its unity." □

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY



JULY 26, 1847

In a joyous celebration, Liberian President Joseph Jenkins Roberts, a native of Virginia, declared the West African country of Liberia ("Liberty") an independent republic on July 26, 1847.

JULY 24-27, 1900

From July 24 to 27, 1900, the great Mississippi bayou city of New Orleans was racked with four days of racial strife, leaving one Black school and 30 Black homes gutted by fire.

JULY 28, 1917

Protesting lynchings that continued to go unpunished and other racial indignities, over 10,000 Black citizens marched silently down Fifth Avenue in New York City on July 28, 1917.

JULY 20-23, 1967

Symbolizing rapidly growing political and social consciousness of Black Americans, over 1,000 people attended a Black Power Conference in Newark, New Jersey, from July 20-23, 1967.

JULY 25, 1972

On July 25, 1972, U.S. government health officials made the shocking admission they had used over 400 Black men as human guinea pigs in a 47-year long study of the effects of untreated syphilis. The grim study, which took place around Tuskegee, Alabama, was originated in order for health officials to determine — through autopsies — what the dreaded disease did to the human body. Almost all 400 "volunteers," none of whom were told of the nature of the research, died from the disease's effects.



"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 MOTTOWN RECORD CORP.



Oakland senior citizens on bus trip sponsored by the S.A.F.E. (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Program of the Black Panther Party.

GRAY PANTHERS OBJECT TO SOCIETY'S TREATMENT OF OLD PEOPLE

(Washington, D.C.) - Old people no longer willing to sit on the sidelines, to be junked by society like old automobiles, have formed one of the fastest growing activist organizations in the country — the Gray Panthers. Just as the Black Panthers find beauty in Blackness and object to being called "colored" or "Negro," the Gray Panthers don't like euphemisms like the "elderly" or "senior citizens."

"Just call us old," says Margaret (Maggie) Kuhn, founder of the group. "There's no disgrace or shame in growing old — we're all doing it," she points out. "The Gray Panthers can be a universalizing force in the social revolution."

All Gray Panthers are not old, however. The group includes a number of younger members, mostly students, who have found that their concerns and ideals closely resemble those of the older members.

"Powerlessness and pervasive alienation from society affect young as well as old...in ways which can be destructive, but which have great potential for creative action," reads the Gray Panther Manifesto. "The ingredient of freedom from overburdening responsibilities and fearful conformity is present here. The young and the old have such freedom today. Both groups are gaining in awareness and collective strength. The potential of our coalition has barely been glimpsed."

Founded in Philadelphia in 1970 by Maggie Kuhn, a 68-year-

old retired YWCA director, and five of her friends, the Gray Panther organization is structured to avoid bureaucracy, hierarchy, and red tape. Funding comes mainly from churches and individuals, and there is no paid staff. Ms. Kuhn says she would have a hard time estimating the number of members, but the mailing list for the newsletter *Network* contains about a thousand names.

The national headquarters, housed in a Philadelphia church and directed by a steering committee of nine, serves mainly as a clearinghouse for information and a coordinating point for

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

ATLANTA'S "RESPONSIBLE" BLACK LEADERS SHARE BLAME FOR POLICE VIOLENCE

(Atlanta, Ga.) - Responsibility for the brutal attack by Atlanta policemen on demonstrators protesting the police murder of 17-year-old Brandon Gibson must be shared by members of this city's "responsible Black leaders," including Black Mayor Maynard Jackson.

This is the only conclusion that can be drawn after a careful reading of the accounts that appeared in the Atlanta press, including *The People's Crusader* of July 5, published by the Rev. Hosea Williams' movement. Rev. Williams' call to the Atlanta community from prison (see last week's edition of THE BLACK PANTHER) should be heeded if even darker days are to be avoided.

The charge made by the White power structure in Atlanta, and seconded by certain Black "leaders," including Mayor Jackson, that the demonstrators were responsible for the violence, is a patent lie, and they know it. It is a charge repeatedly made by police and power structure spokesmen to justify police violence against peaceful demonstrators exercising their right of free speech.

In Atlanta, on June 26, at the intersection of Courtland Street and Auburn Avenue, the violence was begun by the police when, massed to stop the peaceful march, they angrily grabbed the mule wagon, lifted it high, pushed it back into the demonstrators and broke it down,

knocking Rev. Williams and the mock casket off the wagon at the same time. Several policemen surrounded Rev. Williams and attempted to beat and kick him.

The righteous indignation of the demonstrators, including women and young children, at this brutal, provocative action was met with club-wielding mounted cops riding headlong into the demonstrators. An eyewitness account reports that a mounted policeman ran over a four-year-old baby girl, nearly killing her.

Another baby girl was hit in the head by a swinging nightstick. A Black youth "jerked" a White woman cop off her horse and more than 10 White policemen nearly killed him.

Black women and children were screaming and crying as several youths were isolated and beaten on the sidewalks, in the bushes and on side streets. Several mounted policemen charged two Black youths, knocking them backward over an 8-foot restraining wall that left one of them in shock.

One youth was caught between buildings, trying to flee. He was beaten by more than six patrolmen. White policemen running in the middle of the street were shouting: "Nigger, get your Black ass out of the streets!"

Mayor Jackson and other of Atlanta's so-called "responsible Black leadership," contributed to creating the atmosphere that made the bloody confrontation described above possible. Mrs. Idella Gibson, mother of the slain youth and her eight children, had days before agreed that Brandon's body should be carried in a protest march through central Atlanta from the grave site of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The announced procession infuriated Atlanta's White power structure, and its spokesman, police chief John Inman, who refuses to abide by Mayor Jackson's order that he leave the post of police chief in the face of widespread charges of racism, corruption and favoritism. Defending the actions of the policemen who killed young Brandon and charging that Brandon was a "common thug," they pressured "responsible Black leaders" into parroting their charges.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST 4 WHITE PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - All charges have been dropped against four persons arrested during a police attack on a White Panther Party facility here July 11.

White Panther spokesman Ron Landberg said the release of Party members Miranda Nelson, 21, David Kraft, 23, John Hudson, 24, and Terrence Lane, 23, further supports their charge that police entered the building illegally.

Thomas W. Stevens, the White Panther Party member who admitted firing warning shots at the invading police, is now being held in City Prison as a result of his being taken into custody when he voluntarily appeared in Municipal Court on an arrest warrant in connection with a misdemeanor charge that he used a loudspeaker without a permit during a concert in Golden Gate Park two months ago. No charges have been filed against him for defending his home.

INTERVIEW WITH DARLENE LAWSON, CO-CHAIRPERSON OF OAKLAND COALITION TO SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

(Oakland, Calif.) On Saturday, July 20, THE BLACK PANTHER conducted an interview with Ms. Darlene Lawson, co-chairperson of the Coalition to Save Our Schools and one of the leaders of the 10 community groups that resigned from the Commission on School Safety (see last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER). A long-time in-fighter for quality education in Oakland schools and a very beautiful and concerned parent, Ms. Lawson touched upon a number of interesting and vital subjects. Excerpts from that interview follow.

ON WHY THE 10 COMMUNITY GROUPS RESIGNED FROM THE COMMISSION ON SCHOOL SAFETY

"It was useless to attend any more meetings simply because the community people were so outnumbered by bureaucrats, agency people and people from the administration that we could not clearly work effectively to make recommendations to curb violence in the schools. Working as independent agents apart from the Commission and being able to get together with other community groups, we could really get down with what we had to do. We aren't preprogrammed by litera-

ture and ideas the administration had already prepared. Now, we can come up with some better recommendations and better programs for the young people. Everyone who worked with the Commission knows the frustration involved and they definitely tried to use the names of our organizations to put over a program that we were not in agreement with."

ON COMMUNITY RECOMMENDATIONS

"One of the recommendations we'll put forward is that they (the School Board) deal with the problem of violence on a human level and not on a mechanical level. It seems that all the administration wants to do is to come up with some devices that are temporary. We feel very emphatically that the problems must be dealt with on a human level. For instance, that counseling and interpersonal relationships with students are what really matters and not these devices.

"We speak of a community concept of the schools. Parents, particularly flatlands parents, have felt alienated from the schools because they have no

power, they have no real power to make decisions within their schools. If we went into a community concept of the schools where the principals, teachers, parents and students would be the people to make the decisions, you would make the community responsible for the schools and the community would be willing to do more to keep things like vandalism down in the schools.

"As far as curriculum goes, I think standards should be set up by the city or state department as to what should be accomplished, but I think that the actual material and the actual work program should be determined by a community board.

ON I.D. CARDS

"I would like it to be known that the stand of the 10 groups that resigned from the Commission is that we are not against student body cards as they were used in past years and programs that are really functioning that young people can use these cards for. We are against the implications of the ID cards. These are two separate items. The real implications of the ID cards is the police file that will be kept on our youngsters. It's very interesting that in the survey the administration took, the Oriental people that had been involved in the concentration camps (students of Japanese ancestry) voted against the ID cards because they certainly know the implications. And, I do believe that if the public and the students had known the implications behind the ID cards, there would not have been any votes for it.

ON WASTE OF TAXPAYERS' MONEY AND BUDGET PRIORITIES

"While just a few months ago, the administration announced 104 teachers would be given 'doomsday letters,' I attended a state board meeting last week where they (Oakland School Board) announced that they intended to increase the number of administrators from eight for every 1,000 pupils to nine for every 1,000 pupils. That's very interesting because also just a few weeks ago, a report showed that our kids were achieving lower than any other city in the state of California. Their answer to the problem of our kids not knowing how to read or do math is to hire more administrators. I think that's outrageous. In fact, the state department did take a

"BLACK EDUCATION: 20 YEARS LATER"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

parents began to turn their attention to the schools, only to discover that instead of being places of learning, the schools had become baby-sitting institutions in which their children had been socially promoted year after year, regardless of achievement levels as determined by the schools' own tests.

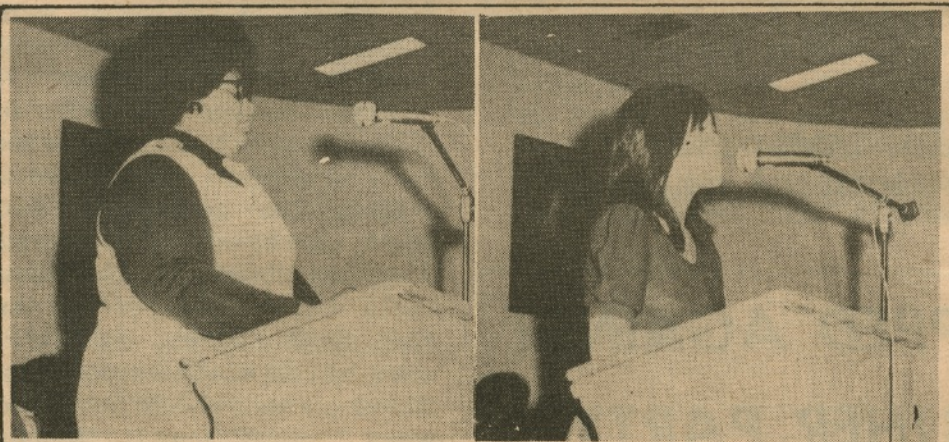
When school administrators and teachers were challenged to explain this situation, they tried to explain away their own failure by shifting the blame to Black children. Hence the theories of the "culturally deprived" and "culturally disadvantaged" child which have been masquerading as sociological theory since the 50s.

But the defense has boomeranged. Forced to defend themselves and their children against the thinly disguised racism of the theory of "cultural deprivation," Black parents and the Black community have counterattacked. They have exposed the racism of school personnel and school curriculum, the unceasing destruction by the schools of the self concept of Black children, so necessary to learning, and the illegitimacy of a system administered by Whites when the majority of students are now Black.

From early demands for integration, the movement jumped quickly to demands for Black history, Black teachers, Black principals, and then in 1966, with the rising tide of Black Power, to demands for control of schools by the Black community, beginning with the struggle over Harlem P.S. 201 in December of that year.

During the next five to 15 years, the Black community is going to be engaged in a continuing struggle for control of its schools. Sometimes the struggle will be in the headlines and on the picket lines, as in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968. Sometimes it will be less dramatic. But the Black community is now unalterably convinced that White control of Black schools is destroying Black children and can no longer be tolerated. □

REGISTER TO VOTE



TEMPLE CELEBRATION FEATURES LYNETTE JUNE, DARLENE LAWSON SPEAKING ON OAKLAND SCHOOLS

(Oakland, Calif.) Speaking on the crisis in the Oakland public school system last Sunday at the Son of Man Temple were LYNETTE JUNE (left), of the East Bay Asians For Community Action, and DARLENE LAWSON, co-chairperson of the Coalition to Save Our Schools. The two spoke at a regular Son of Man Temple celebration services as representatives of the 10 community groups who resigned from the Oakland School Board's Commission on School Safety in protest of the Commission's recommendations that the Oakland schools implement the use of student identification cards, campus guards and other restrictive measures. The two women explained the community groups' plans to stop the school board from implementing the recommendations. They discussed how the proposals were designed to restrict student activity and divide the campus from the community.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

BLACK GROUPS PLAN NATIONAL ATTACK ON DRUG ABUSE

EMPHASIS ON PREVENTION, TREATMENT, AND LEGAL SUPPORT

(Washington, D.C.) - Major Black trade, professional and business organizations are planning a national attack on drug abuse in American Black communities, reports the National Business League (NBL).

Sponsored by the National Newspaper Publishers Association, the Black Press of America, the National Bar Association and the National Business League, the project "will focus on helping the Black community define its own interests in working toward a solution to the drug problem."

The NBL's Committee for National Policy Review, representing the major Black trade, professional and business organizations, endorsed the proposal at the NBL's Second Annual Washington Briefing on June 27.

The groups reviewed the need for a total Black community approach to the drug problem. Their strategy was described as "multi-phased" with "extensive involvement at the grassroots level in three general areas—prevention, treatment and legal/legislative support.

"Community residents, professionals, Black educational institutions, groups and organizations and politically oriented groups will be brought together for a concerted attack on this problem," reads the NBL release. "Research and remedial programs will be studied, psychiatry, psychology, penology, business, communications, education, political science and economics..."

"Funding will be sought from private and public sources to support the program.

"A broad section of business, trade, civic, professional, fraternal, social and civil rights organizations will join the major sponsors of the program in an effort to bring together one of the broadest and most representative Black efforts in history in an attempt to offset the devastating impact which these problems have heaped upon Black people." □

INMATE ORGANIZING MAY BRING REFORMS TO BRIDGEWATER PRISON



If a suit by Bridgewater inmates is successful, portions of the prison hospital may be closed, bringing relief to its 900 prison inmates.

(Bridgewater, Mass.) Recent court suits and organizing efforts by inmates at MCI-Bridgewater—Massachusetts' oldest and largest prison—may bring about the beginnings of reform at the institution.

The U.S. District Court at Boston recently held hearings on conditions at Bridgewater as the result of a prisoners' suit against corrections commissioner Frank Hall. If the suit is successful, the court may close some portions of this 120-year-old prison hospital for the criminally insane.

Meanwhile, over 300 of the prison's 900 inmates have signed petitions demanding the right to form a chapter of the New England Prisoners Association (NEPA) at Bridgewater. Warden Charles Gaughan has refused to allow outside NEPA members to enter the prison, and guards confiscated all NEPA materials found in the prison, including mail and copies of the *NEPA News*.

The Massachusetts chapter of NEPA says it will sue Commissioner Hall if its representatives are barred from the prison.

A group of doctors and other professionals, working with NEPA, is trying to investigate medical practices inside the institution. Most prison doctors and psychiatrists are not fully qualified to practice medicine. Several practice under temporary licenses that are valid only inside the prison walls.

The state Office for Children, responding to prisoners' protests, is investigating the imprisonment of juveniles at Bridgewater. As of June 5, 11 juvenile boys and one 16-year-old girl were locked up there.

Among the many shocking incidents that NEPA has uncovered inside the prison is that one inmate's daily dose of thiorazine and stalazine (both tranquilizers) was tripled after he admitted to the chief psychiatrist, James Christy, that he was gay. The

inmate was also threatened with a drug called Milleril, which reportedly makes ejaculation impossible.

Meanwhile, the Massachusetts state senate seems to have killed a bill that would have limited prisoners' furloughs.

The bill, passed in the house by a four to one margin, would have barred first-degree lifers from furloughs; restricted those convicted of violent crimes to furloughs only when they are within 24 months of parole; required notification of local law enforcement officials of pending furloughs and given the governor the final say on disputed furloughs.

(The above information was excerpted from the July/August issue of *Community Press Features*.) □

DAIRYMEN DUMP 50,000 GALLONS OF MILK INTO SEWAGE SYSTEM

(Los Angeles, Calif.) A dairymen's cooperative dumped 50,000 gallons of fresh milk, drinkable skim milk down the drain last week, "drugging nobody wanted to buy it. (Picture shows a pollution control plant worker taking a sample of the milk dumped over a two-day period.)

That thousands of gallons of milk can be destroyed while millions of this country's Black and poor children and young babies go without this precious commodity is further evidence that the system doesn't work.

A spokesman for the California Milk Producers Association of Artesia, which dumped the milk, said there was no way to contribute the milk to charity or the poor, because it would cost too much to put into containers.

Tanker trucks drained the milk at the county sanitation district's water pollution control plant at Harbor City. □



DELLUMS URGES FUNDING CUTBACK SAFEGUARDS

(Washington, D.C.) California Congressman Ronald V Dellums has urged Congress to include adequate safeguards against funding cutbacks in a new housing and community development bill which recently passed the House of Representatives.

The Bay Area congressman said, "Unless changes are made in the House bill, more than 200 cities could face the prospect of sharp cutbacks in federal community development aid when the new legislation takes effect in 1975."

In a letter to members of a House-Senate conference committee, Dellums asked that cities receive adequate credit in the new legislation for past participation in model cities and other federally funded urban aid programs.

COURTS-MARTIAL OPEN FOR EIGHT U.S.S. MIDWAY CREWMEN

(Yokosuka, Japan) - A courts-martial opened here last week involving eight of the nearly 100 USS Midway crewmen who refused to ship out with the carrier on June 14 and July 12. A motion to dismiss was made on the basis that Midway Captain Schulte did not have the authority to order people on board June 14 because he was in violation of higher authority.

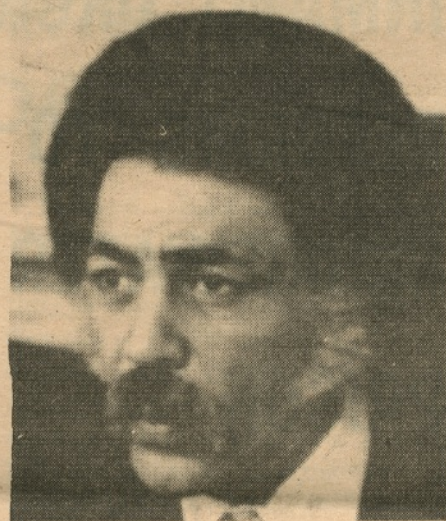
This higher authority is the US/Japan Security Treaty and the Status of Forces Agreement. Under these agreements, nuclear weapons cannot be introduced into Japan without prior consultation with and the consent of the Japanese government.

If nuclear weapons were aboard the USS Midway June 14, then the captain did not have the authority to order people to leave

with the ship. Thus they are not guilty of missing ship's movement, because they have the right to disobey an unlawful order.

The second thrust of the defense is testimony about the other conditions on the USS Midway that prompted the men to leave the ship. The eight crew members will testify about racism by the command, bad working and living conditions, brutality in the brig, homeporting, unfair practices by Schulte as captain and their lack of Constitutional and human rights.

National Lawyer's Guild attorneys Chris Coates and Kathy Johnson are defending the eight. The first of these men was scheduled to begin trial on Friday, July 12. Upon seeing eight Japanese press people who had come to observe and report



Congressman RON DELLUMS

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization Midway Defense Committee reports that some 80 crewmen did not leave with the ship when it pulled out for refresher training exercises July 8. About 20 were still absent from the June 14 sailing.

Eleven courts-martial have been completed. All of the men were defended by military lawyers. Sentences ranged from 115 days' confinement at hard labor to 15 days' confinement at hard labor and 30 days' restriction to the Midway.

California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums has formally submitted an inquiry to the Department of the Navy on the Midway incident. His office has requested crewmen of the Midway participating in the protest, their wives or families and others to submit letters and statements of complaint, detailing incidents illustrative of their grievances.

The congressman emphasizes that demands for a Congressional investigation into conditions on the Midway must be based on documented and bonified complaints, submitted in writing by persons affected, who witnessed or were the victims of injustice, brutality or mistreatment. □



Seven Black crewman from the USS Midway during press conference.

INTERVIEW WITH DARLENE LAWSON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

stand—to audit the books, to look at the programs, the line of authority and just generally to look at the whole federal program in Oakland.

ON OAKLAND SCHOOL BOARD RESPONSIVENESS

"I think that the only way we can be effective and change the system as it stands today and to improve education is that we have to get some people on that Board that are not only interested in big business but are interested in what goes on at the school site and who are actually interested in people. I think the only way we can do this is by removing, next April, the four Board members who are up for re-election. The point is that the only way we can have an impact on the decisions of School Board work is by getting on that Board and the only way we can do that is by coalition, because the impact that one person would have would not be tremendous enough to actually change those policies." □

on the courts-martial, the military discovered its paper work was incomplete on one case, and the other defendant had an incomplete uniform. So, the trial was postponed.

Some 25 of the men who did not sail with the Midway on June 14, have now been referred to special courts-martial. More than 10 are in pretrial confinement. The Yokosuka base brig is 10 people over its maximum capacity.

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PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE



BLACK CHILD DEVELOPMENT

(Washington, D.C.) - Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, will lead an array of Black officials, professionals and workers in seeking new approaches for dealing with problems of Black children and youth at the second annual convention of the National Council for Black Child Development in Milwaukee from July 24 to 28.

UNVEIL BETHUNE MEMORIAL

(Washington, D.C.) More than 20,000 people from all over the country witnessed the unveiling of the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial, the first monument to a Black person or a woman on public land in Washington, D.C. Ms. Bethune (1875-1955) was a noted Black educator, poet and Presidential advisor.

G.I. RIGHTS BILL DOOMED

(Washington, D.C.) - The Nixon administration is considering killing the G.I. Bill of Rights for future veterans. White House sources cited the following reasons: 1. Wartime service is no longer involved; 2. Men now entering the service are volunteers not compelled by the draft; 3. Because of recent pay increases, it is felt veterans no longer deserve special help.

URINE SAMPLES ILLEGAL

(Washington, D.C.) - The Court of Military Appeals has ruled using urine samples to discipline a soldier violates his right against self-incrimination. The Pentagon was taking urine samples from servicemen in an attempt to detect users of hard narcotics. The urine tests were started during the drug epidemic in Vietnam and used to route drug users into drug control centers.

BIASED MILITARY NEWS

(Washington, D.C.) - John Broger, head of all Armed Forces media, is setting up a multimillion dollar computer system that will select out only the radio news that agrees with his own conservative opinions for broadcast to overseas bases.



Atlanta policeman ramming nightstick into groin of demonstrator in recent protest march (see story on page 5). Such tactics are also employed by racist Pittsburgh police.

PITTSBURGH BLACK COMMUNITY CONDEMNS POLICE SEARCH TACTICS

(Pittsburgh, Pa.) Black residents of this city have strongly condemned tactics used by the police in the search for three Black men who the police allege killed a White patrolman July 3.

The protest resulted in a call by two Black Pennsylvania legislators from Pittsburgh for a state investigation into the manhunt, reports *The New York Times*. The house minority whip K. Leroy Irvis and representative Joseph Rhodes, Jr., a former member of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, said that the police had terrorized citizens. "There have been cases of massive raids on innocent people's homes," they told Pennsylvania Attorney General Israel Packel.

Most of the complaints followed a hunt by police that night the patrolman was killed, according to police superintendent Robert E. Colville. Policemen surrounded an apartment, many of whose residents said the police had acted illegally and abused them. The residents pointed to 24 metal covered doors they said were battered open by cops.

The apartment manager, Samuel Taylor, said the police would not allow him to open doors with a master key, but instead used a ramming device to force their way inside. Several Black residents said they offered to open their apartment doors but the police

had sworn at them and smashed the doors.

"I looked through my peephole and saw the hall full of White men with rifles and shotguns," Carol Lamar said. She said the police had used tear gas during the raid. Residents said that after the police left, tape recorders, transistor radios and cash were missing.

Black leaders confronted Superintendent Colville and Mayor Peter F. Flaherty and told them that police were acting like vigilantes. Blacks from several areas of Pittsburgh told of police harassment.

Three labor leaders expressed concern over what they described as "police violence" in the wake of the shooting of patrolman Patrick Wallace, Jr. Louis A. Antal of the United Mine Workers, Clifton C. Caldwell of the Amalgamated Food Employees and Frank Marshall of the United Auto Workers wrote Mayor Flaherty and Superintendent Colville that while policemen were obligated to uphold the law "at no time should they violate the personal and property rights of other citizens."

According to police, Patrolman Wallace was shot dead after he and a partner arrested a drug suspect on a street in Brushton, a Black neighborhood. Police claim the suspect, handcuffed, broke away as a car approached and a gunman crouched behind the car opened fire. □

OREGON A.I.M. LEADER DENIED PAROLE

(Portland, Oregon) - Jackson Redhorn, state coordinator of the Oregon American Indian Movement (AIM), has been denied reinstatement of his parole after being reimprisoned for more than two months. Redhorn had been arrested by the FBI on April 2, the eve of a planned trip to Salt Lake City where AIM was planning a large protest against the Mormon's racist practices. Indian leaders in other states were arrested at the same time in a calculated move by the FBI which wrecked the planned action.

Redhorn was held in the maximum security section of Rocky Butte Jail on charges of parole violation in Colorado. After winning his release under the jurisdiction of the local parole board, he was put on an indefinite "hold" by the state of Washington for an alleged forgery.

Now the federal parole board has violated Redhorn's parole, and he will be sent out of the state to a federal prison for a final parole hearing. The board completely ignored the Indian leader's request for a parole hearing in Oregon, where he has a good

record and many friends to testify in his behalf.

Redhorn, who is married and has a little girl, is asking for broad community support in winning his release so that he can continue his work among the Native American people of Oregon. Anyone wanting more information concerning Brother Redhorn's case may write the American Indian Movement, 106 NE Morris, Portland, Oregon 97212. □

U.S. SUPREME COURT CHARGED WITH RACIST HIRING PRACTICES

(Washington, D.C.) The Supreme Court has personnel policies like those of an old-time southern plantation, a magazine writer has charged.

An article in the forthcoming issue of *New Times* says the Court gives all the better paying, prestigious jobs to Whites and the undesirable, menial jobs to Blacks despite all its rulings that the Constitution calls for racial equality in government. "Statistics...tell a lot about the Supreme Court, but they tell the wrong story," says author Nina Totenber.

"The 21 laborers...are all Black. The 19 skilled craftsmen...are all White. The 22 charwomen (cleaning ladies) are all Black. Of the 21 secretaries to the justices, 20 are White. The telephone operators are all White. The full-time librarians are all White, except two Black messengers. The three printers are White. The three elevator operators are Black.

"Word of mouth recruiting...seems to be the order of the day, even though it has been held illegal by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission," the article says.

The Court declined to comment on the charges.

HALDEMAN DISCUSSES WATERGATE

(Acapulco, Mexico) Despite being under court order not to discuss his Watergate indictment, ex-White House aide H.R. Haldeman was very talkative as star speaker recently at a convention of wealthy U.S. businessmen called the Young Presidents Organization. "Get yourself a Haldeman," he advised, "and by that I mean a staff man on whom you can rely."

"I don't see how you can recommend your system to us," challenged a Young President, "Look what happened to Richard Nixon." To which Haldeman replied, "Well, we knew what we knew. We didn't realize the extent to which you didn't know." □

Register
To
Vote

PENNSYLVANIA TO OPEN "SUPER PRISON"

(Waymart, Pa.) - The State Bureau of Corrections has announced plans to open a new super maximum security prison here to house a small number of inmates described as "highly aggressive and dangerous," a phrase often used to describe militant, politically conscious inmate leaders.

Pennsylvania corrections commissioner Stewart Werner, in announcing the new facility, said that it will be located on the second floor of a mental hospital and will house a maximum of 21 male inmates who have allegedly committed murders or repeated assaults inside prison.

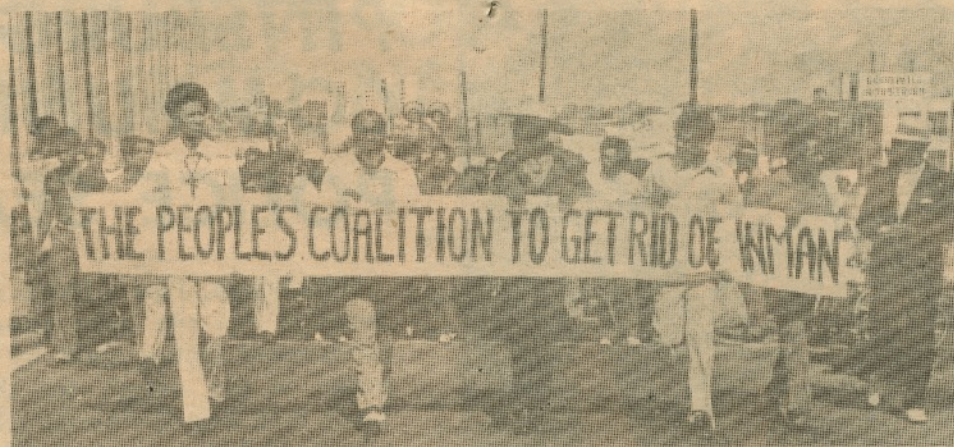
Seeking to justify this new fascist institution, Werner said, "prisoners have a Constitutional right to live in an environment that precludes assaults from these kinds of individuals." He claimed that only prisoners who have committed murders inside prison or who have "established patterns of aggression" will be considered for Waymart. Although the prison has been proposed by a corrections task force as a solution to prison violence, Werner said, "We are not encouraged by national experience in this particular type of programming."

(As reported in the July 6 issue of THE BLACK PANTHER, "super" prisons, such as the Federal Center for Correctional Research which will open soon in Butner, North Carolina, are fast becoming the trend in the country. The North Carolina prison will house 340 inmates, 140 of whom, so-called "acutely disturbed mental patients," will be segregated in one unit.)

The Waymart prisoners, according to Werner, will be kept in individual lock-up and will be removed from their cells for psychiatric counseling and other programs on an individual basis. Group activities will not be part of the program.

The first year cost of the new facility including initial renovations will be \$800,000. The cost per day to house the 21 inmates averages out to \$104—close to five times the average per day cost of imprisonment in other state prisons.

(We wish to thank *The Drummer* of Philadelphia, Pa., for the above information, which is reprinted from the *Harrisburg Independent Press*.)



Black demonstrators in Atlanta during recent protest of another murder of a Black youth by Chief Inman's police troops.

ATLANTA LEADERS SHARE BLAME

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

The full force of the Atlanta power structure, representatives of Mayor Jackson and others came down on the Gibson family for two days, nearly 24 hours of the day, until at the last moment, the mother refused to let the body be carried in the demonstration.

When Rev. Williams, heartbroken, asked the dead boy's pregnant sister "Why?" she softly answered, "They did it."

The demonstration was held anyway. More than 1,000 persons had already gathered for it. A mock casket was carried on the mule wagon in place of Brandon's casket. The police and power

structure, flushed with the "victory" of having pressured the Gibson family into refusing Brandon's body to the demonstrators, were primed to "teach Hosea Williams and his band of troublemakers a lesson." The bloody confrontation in downtown Atlanta followed.

The People's Crusader quotes police chief Inman as giving the following order to his top executive officer: "Spence, take our SWAT and stakeout squad and stop Hosea Williams and those marching niggers for once and always. Spence, stop short of nothing. I am giving you this chance to prove what you can do for Atlanta!"

BEN SANDERS CONTINUES FIGHT FOR NEW TRIAL

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - Ben Sanders, a 26-year-old Black man now in Waupun Prison serving a life sentence, is continuing to fight for a new trial on charges of killing two Milwaukee policemen on January 31, 1973. Brother Sanders was convicted in a biased trial full of errors and un-Constitutional practices by the prosecution, including the acceptance of false testimony from an alleged witness of the shooting incident.

Sanders was convicted of slaying Officers Gerald Hempe and Charles T. Smith during an incident which began when the officers stopped a vehicle in an effort to harass members of Commando Project I, a progressive organization working in the Wisconsin Black community at the time. Smith and Hempe (who killed a Black youth during the Black rebellion here in 1967) began beating one of the occupants of the car, Gregory Daniels. While Daniels lay on the ground trying to protect himself from the cop's blows, shots were fired and both officers fell dead. Sometime afterwards, Ben Sanders was arrested for murder.

Brother Sanders filed for a retrial after being convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1973. Despite the evidence of numerous prosecution mistakes cited by Sanders' attorney in the motion for retrial, presiding Judge John Coffey denied the motion, and even refused to allow Sanders to attend the hearing on the motion.

Prosecution irregularities included the inclusion of perjured testimony of a "key" witness; the un-Constitutional transfer of the trial to predominantly White Brown County; the inclusion of an inflammatory closing argument by the prosecuting attorney; and the un-Constitutional search and seizure when Sanders was first arrested.

Brother Sanders is now working on an appeal of his conviction. This legal action, with aid and support from the Milwaukee Black community, are this young man's only hopes of being exonerated of this unjust conviction and being able to return to family and friends.

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"STATEMENT: MAY 1, 1971"

BY HUEY P. NEWTON

The following article, simply titled "Statement: May 1, 1971," and written by the co-founder and leader of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton, first appeared in *THE BLACK PANTHER* on that date. While the previous work by Brother Huey that appeared on these pages, "On the Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community" can be considered an

updated essay on the correct handling of the revolutionary struggle in America, the following work updates the role of the Black Panther Party as the revolutionary vanguard organization, "a structured political vehicle," serving as the leading advocate for the interests of Black and oppressed people.

PART 1

The original vision of the Black Panther Party was to serve the needs of the oppressed people in our communities and defend them against their oppressors. When the Party was initiated we knew that these goals would raise the consciousness of the people and motivate them to move more firmly for their total liberation. We also recognized that we live in a country which has become one of the most repressive governments in the world; repressive in communities all over the world. We did not expect such a repressive government to stand idly by while the Black Panther Party went forward to the goal of serving the people. We expected repression.

We knew, as a revolutionary vanguard, repression would be the reaction of our oppressors, but we recognized that the task of the revolutionist is difficult and his life is short. We were prepared then as we are now, to give our all in the interest of oppressed people. We expected the repression to come from outside forces which have long held our communities in subjection. However, the ideology of dialectical materialism helped us to understand that the contradictions surrounding the Party would create a force that would move us toward our goals.

We also expected contradictions within the Party, for the oppressors use infiltrators and provocateurs to help them reach their evil ends. Even when the contradictions come from formerly loyal members of the Party, we see them as part of the process of development rather than in the negative terms the oppressors' media use to interpret them. Above all, we knew that through it all the Party would survive.



"...a printing press can be maintained to review the events of the day and to interpret them in a manner which serves the people."

The Party would survive because it had the love and support of the people who saw their true interests expressed in the actions of the Party. The Party would also survive because it would be a political vehicle which continued to voice the interests of the people and serve as their advocates.

The importance of a structured political vehicle has always been apparent to us. When we went to Sacramento (May, 1967), we went for the purpose of educating the people and building of a permanent political vehicle to serve their true interests. In our most recent communication with both the North and South Vietnamese Revolutionary governments, they pointed out that they understood what we were doing and saw it as the correct strategy. They said that a "structured organization is related to politics as a shadow to a man."

We recognize that the political machine in America has consistently required Black people to support it through paying taxes and fighting in wars, but that same machine consistently refuses to serve the interests of the Black community. One of the problems is that the community does not have a structured organization or vehicle which serves its needs and represents the people's interest. You can no more have effective politics without a structured organization than you can have a man without his shadow. Oppressed Black people did not have a structured organization to represent their true interests until the Black Panther

Party arose from within the community, motivated by the needs and conditions of the people.

Across the country there have been coalitions of Black people and Black caucuses, but these have not served the people as political vehicles. They have merely served as bourgeois structures to get Black candidates into political office. Once elected, the machinery used to thrust these people into office simply passed out of existence or became ineffective insofar as serving the true interests of the Black oppressed people.

A truly revolutionary vehicle which will survive the repression it encounters daily is made up of a number of characteristics. First of all, there is a small but dedicated cadre of workers who are willing to devote their full time to the goals of the organization. Secondly there is a distinct organized structure through which the cadre can function. It is this combination of structure and dedicated cadre which can maintain the machinery for meeting the people's needs. In this way a printing press can be maintained to review the events of the day and interpret them in a manner which serves the people. Information can be circulated about daily phenomena to inform the people of their true meaning. Programs of service can be carried out to deliver to the people the basic needs that are not met elsewhere because Black people are the victims of oppression and exploitation.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

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

Huey P. Newton

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

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

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

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

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

WELCOME HOME, BOB WELLS

REMINISCES ON 47 YEARS IN PRISON IN PART 1 OF EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

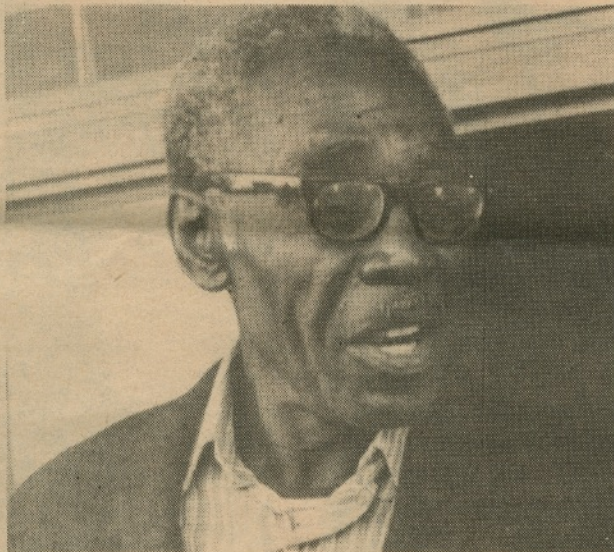
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

bicycles and hid them in the barn. The old lady went out to milk the cow and spotted the bicycles. "You take 'em right back, right back where you got 'em from, you come right back home." We took them a couple of blocks, left them on the street and came back home.

She tore our behinds up! She would tell our sisters to go out and get a switch to be whipped with. Now, it was according to which one of the girls went to get that switch what kind of switch they would get. If it was the older girls, who were subject to getting a whipping themselves, they would get one of those old dry ones. The old lady would hit a few licks with that and it would break up into four or five pieces and then that would be the end of that.

BEAT TO DEATH

But, if she sent one of the younger girls, Dorothy and Charlene, they'd shimmy up one of those Eucalyptus trees and get one of those good, green ones, and that old lady would work on our case. So, this particular time I think one of the older girls got the switch and we didn't get much, but we'd holler like we were being



"You had to be bad to get out. (of San Quentin), and I resolved that I would be just as bad as the next convict."

beat to death and the louder we'd holler the quicker she'd quit. Then we'd go out in the barn—she was a frail, little person, about 95 pounds—and laugh our cans off.

So, from this kind of thing we went along and pretty soon we were stealing automobiles.

I remember one we snitched, somebody saw us get out of the car and got on the phone and told the old lady, then she told us about it and told us to take it right back and come on back home.

This time I think she got one of the younger girls, because she was beating us for a half an hour and I didn't think it ever did break. Before she started she says, "Take off those clothes. I haven't got money to be buying these clothes and then tearing them up."

She took a rag and tied our wrists together and tied them to one end of the bed, and another rag and tied our feet together at the other end of the bed, and she tore our behinds up. There wasn't anything funny about this one.

JUVENILE HALL

Well, we stoled another car and we got pinched and went to Juvenile Hall. I don't recall my cousin ever being arrested again, but he started me off and I was going from then on in until I went to prison.

I went to Preston Reformatory, but at Preston I messed up so bad, I was so incorrigible, that they sent me back to the jail

EX-PRISON INMATE DEMANDS PROBE INTO CALIF. DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

(San Francisco, Calif.) Charging that violence in California prisons is in almost all cases provoked or made inevitable by design or neglect of California Department of Corrections (CDC) personnel and methods, former Vacaville (Medical Facility) inmate Jerry Lee-Borst has launched a state-wide campaign for a citizen's inquiry of the CDC, and for its drastic reform.

Lee-Borst has accumulated a dazzling array of facts on murders, "accidental" deaths, escapes, stabbings, "suicides" and punishments from January, 1970 through May 31, 1974, in California prisons, all strongly implicating CDC personnel.

The information was gathered while Lee-Borst, as a prisoner, reported and wrote for prison newspapers, from eyewitnesses and participants and from the generally reliable prison grapevine, as well as newspaper accounts and official statements of prison authorities. The report, comprising 81 typewritten pages with four and a half pages of index, was printed in full in a three-part series in the *Berkeley Barb*. (See chronology, page 13.)

Jerry Lee-Borst, 29, was born in New York State, where he did four years in a New York prison. After his release he jumped parole, went to Canada and ended up in California, where he was busted in July, 1968. He describes himself as having a "straight, right-wing existence" before exposure to the

California prisons. At Vacaville, he was editor of the joint newspaper, *The Vacaville Star*, and twice elected chairman of the Men's Advisory Council representing inmates.

RE-EVALUATION OVERDUE

Asserting that the California Department of Corrections is "overdue for re-evaluation by the citizens who foot the massive bill for the maintenance of well over 20,000 persons considered the "property of the State of California," Lee-Borst is calling for the creation of a select committee of concerned citizens "of all political persuasions and degrees of expertise," to investigate the CDC.

He insists that this committee have power to subpoena individuals and records from CDC's "employ, keeping and custody." He expresses the desire that the results of such an investigation will produce recommendations for "massive" change in the Department of Corrections, to be given to the incoming governor "as a mandate from the people of California" to be acted on by the governor and the new legislature.

In the introduction to his report, Lee-Borst points out that the function of the California Department of Corrections is to protect society by incarcerating those convicted of crimes, to rehabilitate those it incarcerates so that they will eventually become law-abiding citizens and protecting the lives of those in its employ and its custody (the internal society of the prison) as well as the larger society.

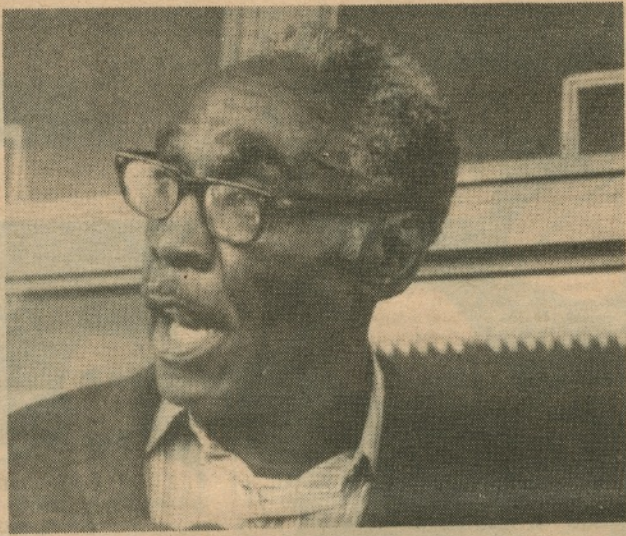


Former prison inmate JERRY LEE-BORST has accumulated facts on C.D.C. responsibility for prison violence.

"No matter what your opinion of CDC's proper function, writes Lee-Borst, "CDC is neither protecting society (in this case the internal society of the prison and the rights of both CDC employees and convicts) nor rehabilitating an individual, when assaults of varying degrees of violence, from minor cuts and scrapes to first-degree murder occur every few days in one prison or another."

Referring to the lengthy report, Lee-Borst asserts in his introduction that what he will demonstrate "is that some substantial percentage of people paid by the Department of Corrections simply are not doing the job they are paid to do: protecting society and/or rehabilitating convicts. We will demonstrate this by a look at everything we've been able to find out about every prison escape, assault and murder officially or unofficially reported to the public since January 1, 1970."

Some of the information was obtained, always at substantial risk to those who were witness, from convicts who were present, who



"I was determined to remain a man, and my own man, and not eat out of his hand or nobody else's hand."

for retrial, and the judge gave me a thousand dollar fine to be worked out at two dollars a day. I did 500 days in the county jail. When I came out my aunt told me "Now, you be a good boy and never get in trouble. If you go to prison I'll never see you again."

So, when I messed up again and went to prison for receiving stolen goods, a couple of suits of clothes, a couple dresses for my sister, I went to San Quentin.

I was scared half to death when I went there. I'd heard about how mean and bad the convicts were and how cruel the bulls were. You had to be bad to get out, and I resolved that I'd be just as bad as the next convict. So, I set out to make

me a reputation of being bad. I wasn't bad, I was scared, and trying to keep those bad men off me.

I recall the first time I got in trouble there. I was on a handball court. One of the White prisoners used the word "nigger" and I admonished him about the use of the word in my presence. So he said: "You are a nigger. That's what you are."

So we got into a fight. And they arrested us and took us before the captain. I told the captain what we were fighting about, and to my great surprise and humiliation, that animal told me, "Well, that's what you are!"

THE 'HOLE'

B.P.: This was the captain?

WELLS: This was the captain. I'm smoking. So they gave us five days in the 'hole' and loss of privileges. After, when I got back to the mess hall—I was working in the mess hall—I'm still smoking from the captain. Now, I can't take it out on him, but I can take it out on this inmate. I can make him pay for it. I layed in on him again and got pinched again and went to the hole.

This time it wasn't so bad. It was a hole. It was dark; you couldn't see your hand in front of your face. You've got two buckets; one for your body refuse and one is a water bucket. You had a very difficult time telling the water bucket from the refuse bucket. I'd keep one in one end of the cell and the other in the other end. That's the way I could tell them apart. They smelled the same. They'd tar around the refuse bucket and in two or three months it

would be the water bucket. So, both of them stank very bad.

I did five days that first time and after I got out I swore I'd never go back there. The second time I think I did seven days.

B.P.: What in prison life most angered you? What was it about prison life that produced that famous indomitable will and resistance?

WELLS: You may recall that I said I was scared to death that first time I went into prison, and I was determined to get out of prison, to live and remain a man, get out of prison. There's nothing extraordinary about that, but I have a very strong belief in what is right and wrong, and I believe very strongly in the equality of man, which the prison officials don't subscribe to—the equality of man—and they subjected me to much abuse and disrespect which I resented very strongly.

The more I took a stand against it, the more they determined, apparently, to change my outlook. I had a captain when I first came to Folsom, tell me that I thought I was a tough nigger and that he'd have me eating out of his hand before I left there. Well, that didn't set too good—that word 'nigger' to my face didn't set too good. And, as far as him having me eating out of his hand, I knew that wasn't going to come about.

So, I was determined to remain a man, and my own man, and not eat out of his hand or nobody else's hand. That caused me quite a lot of trouble, because they were determined to break my spirit and I was just as determined to remain a man and leave prison a man. □

saw incidents, overheard conversations, who were ordered by CDC employees to lie, to commit assault, to kill, Lee-Borst points out. "Not all such orders were given as orders, of course. In many cases orders were issued as threats: 'Do what we say or you won't ever get paroled...' or ...'you'll be taken care of...' or ...'you'll be sent to an Adjustment Center...'"

Pointing out that the number of unsolved "crimes" in California prisons over the past four and a half years is tremendous, Lee-Borst writes that he does not believe that renewed investigations of the prisons by the CDC or any other state agency will be productive. CDC's previous investigations "seem to have involved extensive use of informers, many of whom were pressured into providing false statements." Lee-Borst asserts.

PERPETRATOR OF A CRIME

In many instances it is reasonable to suspect a CDC employee as perpetrator of a crime, or an accessory, Lee-Borst writes. As examples he cites, providing keys to locked cells, permitting men known to be angry at each other to be alone together, encouraging "unstable" convicts to "act out" their anger in violence, etc.

Expressing an equal concern for CDC employees, particularly guards, Lee-Borst writes: "Just as we feel punishment is an inappropriate approach for convicts, we believe it is equally inappropriate to punish CDC employees for their behavior. More effective, we think, would be to remove such employees from job assignments where they might continue such behavior."

Pointing out that much that goes on in prisons is either not reported or misrepresented by the authorities, Lee-Borst emphasizes that as a tax-supported institution the public has a right to know how its multimillion dollar bill is paid. □

A CHRONICLE OF MURDER AND MAYHEM IN CALIFORNIA PRISONS

1970:

Jan. 4, DVI, Leonard Mainè escaped
Jan. 14, Soledad, William Nolan, Cleveland Edwards, Alvin Miller murdered
Jan. 16, Soledad, John V. Mills murdered
Feb. 26, San Quentin, Fred Billingsela murdered
Mar. 1, San Quentin, Gonsalvo Hernandez and Jess Valehzuella stabbed
Mar. 2, San Quentin, Edgar K. Irwin injured
Mar. 16, Soledad, 2 guards kidnapped
Mar. 17, Folsom, Rex Montgomery shot
Mar. 26, DVI, Robert Harp stabbed
Apr. 7, San Quentin, Woodrow F. Parker escaped
May 30, San Quentin, Raymond S. Rivera died June 7
July 23, Soledad, William C. Shull murdered
July 29, Soledad, Roy W. Turner murdered
July 30, San Quentin, Warden's memo on guns
Aug. 7, Marin, Marin County Courthouse shootout
Aug. 11, San Quentin, Wayne Smith murdered
Sept. 12, San Quentin, Peter Pappas stabbed
Sept. 13, CMC □ Timothy Leary escaped
Nov. 11, Soledad, Robert Daniel Harkins murdered
Nov. 29, Soledad, H.D. Barrows murdered
Dec. 14, Soledad, William M. Monaghan stabbed
Dec. 23, Folsom, Joseph Broughton sentenced to die

1971:

Jan. 6, San Quentin, Harvey Calvin Fortner murdered
Jan. 11, Soledad, Perry D. Settlemoir stabbed
Jan. 14, Soledad, 3 convicts stabbed
Jan. 29, San Quentin, Ronald L. Krueger recaptured
Feb. 1, Soledad, Robert F. Dunn, Daniel M. Muesch stabbed
Feb. 3, San Quentin, William J. Golden escaped
Feb. 4, San Quentin, Gary E. Atwood, Eugene P. Waymire escaped
Feb. 22, San Quentin, James D. Harvey escaped
Feb. 26, Soledad, Kenneth Keeney "attacked"
Mar. 4, Soledad, Robert J. McCarthy murdered
Mar. 7, San Quentin, Million L. McShane stabbed
Mar. 8, San Quentin, Wayne Dennis Earley stabbed
Mar. 9, San Quentin, Robert Sconyers stabbed
Mar. 9, San Quentin, Arthur J. Golia stabbed
Mar. 9, San Quentin, Frank D. Tubach, Douglas Spencer stabbed

Mar. 10, San Quentin, Prison lockdown
Mar. 11, San Quentin, William P. Hanson murdered
Mar. 12, San Quentin, George Douglas McFadden, Melvin Jones & T.D. Bingham stabbed
Jack Dougherty beaten with typewriter
Mar. 13, San Quentin, Charles Ray Johnson murdered
Stanley Hanna, James Earnest Anderson stabbed
Mar. 17, Vacaville, Lloyd Jarrett murdered
Mar. 27, San Quentin, William Ferganchick stabbed
Apr. 6, San Quentin, Lockdown
Apr. 13, San Quentin, Freddie Cooks escaped
Apr. 14, Soledad, Wilfred Palmer & Fay Gene Lott stabbed
May 4, Folsom, 9 convicts released from adjustment center
May 19, Soledad, Kenneth E. Conant murdered
May 23, San Quentin, Timothy Kincade stabbed
Mar. 22, Soledad, Yoshynobu Teruya stabbed
June 6, San Quentin, Stephen Kovac murdered
July 11, DVI, □ Thomas J. O'Neal murdered
July 21, San Quentin, Leo G. Davis murdered
Aug. 4, San Quentin, Guards sue for safety
Aug. 7, San Quentin, Robert May & Jerry A. Story stabbed;
Edward H. Gonsales murdered
Aug. 9, San Quentin, John Williams & Robert Bornhill stabbed
Aug. 13, San Quentin, Joseph R. Rose stabbed
Aug. 14, San Quentin, Robert Laurie stabbed
Aug. 21, San Quentin, Paul Krasenes, Frank DeLeon, Jere Graham, George Jackson, John Lynn & Ronald Kane murdered;
Kenneth McCray, Charles Breckinridge, Urbano Rubiaco, F.S. Chadwick & Allan Mancino injured in "escape attempt"
Sept. 1, San Quentin? Allen Mancino disappears
Sept. 3, DVI, John Burke and Alexander McEntire stabbed
Sept. 16, Folsom, Ronald L. Turner murdered
Oct. 3, San Quentin, Henry Allen Pinkard beaten to death
Oct. 8, San Quentin, W.E. Dytmire escaped
Nov. 8, San Quentin, Antonio Montano knifed
Nov. 10, San Quentin, Chester A. Johnson stabbed
Dec. 20, San Quentin, Arnold C. Averill murdered

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FIGHTS INVOLUNTARY STERILIZATION

(Washington, D.C.) - A woman's right to control her own body is the basis for two new cases against involuntary sterilization which the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has undertaken in South Carolina and California, reports the ACLU newspaper, *Civil Liberties*.

In the South Carolina case, the ACLU Foundation has brought suit against Dr. Clovis Pierce and officials of Aiken County Hospital



MINNIE and MARY RELF (center) with their parents. The two Alabama girls were illegally sterilized.

for forcing two women to be sterilized. The Northern California ACLU Foundation is representing a woman before the court of appeal against a judgment that she be sterilized for her own good and for the good of the people of the state.

Brenda Feigep Fasteau of ACLU's Women's Rights Project says that the organization is seeking to challenge "forced sterilization" statutes in every state where they exist so that the practice can be eliminated.

The first plaintiff in the South Carolina case, Jane Doe (a pseudonym to protect her privacy), charges that Dr. Pierce told her she must be sterilized following the delivery of her fourth child, or he (Pierce) would refuse to attend her or her child during or after labor, would deny her access to Aiken County Hospital and would see that her assistance from the Department of Social Services (DSS) was terminated. Faced with the imminent birth of her baby, Jane Doe was forced to consent to sterilization.

The second plaintiff, Mary Doe was allowed to have her child, then told that she, too, must undergo sterilization because she

had three children and was receiving DSS assistance. When she refused to submit to the operation, she was summarily discharged from the hospital without postdelivery care. Pierce, who had the audacity to attempt to control the bodies of these two women, was paid for his services from Medicaid funds in both cases.

The ACLU is seeking damages for the two women and is asking that the defendants be stopped from continuing acts which violate Constitutional guarantees of due process of law; interfere with the right of individuals to control their own reproductive functions; discriminate against women, Black persons and welfare recipients; inflict cruel and unusual punishment; and are used as a method of punishing women who bear children out of wedlock.

Aiken County Hospital records reveal the racism of doctors and health officials there. In the first half of 1973, over one-third of the welfare mothers who had babies at Medicaid expense were sterilized. Of the 18 women, 17 were Black and 10 under 25 years of age.

In California, the ACLU is challenging the idea that the state has any authority to impose sterilization. Holly Kemp, a 32-year-old Black woman who is mentally retarded and lives in a nursing home occupied solely by women, was ordered sterilized on a petition by her father. He



Uncaring surgeons will perform sterilization on unwilling and unknowing women upon the orders of social workers and physicians.

claimed that Holly was sexually active; and abortion would be dangerous to her health; and any child of hers would undoubtedly be mentally retarded, and the care of the child would be a financial burden for the state or the father.

The ACLU's appeal, which has postponed the operation, attacks the lower court's decision on several grounds. Among them were: 1) Holly has never been pregnant, and no evidence—only the hearsay testimony of her father—was introduced that she had ever even had intercourse. 2) None of the documents before the court recommended sterilization; the only psychiatrist to evaluate Sister Kemp's case disapproved of the operation.

The ACLU brief states in part: "The suggestion that there is a

public interest in sterilizing incompetent (women) because they might have children and those children might be a public or private burden is hardly worthy of consideration....To state the proposition is to reveal both its absurdity and its profound inhumanity." □

RESIGNATION PROFITABLE FOR NIXON

(Washington, D.C.) - President Nixon will undoubtedly hang on to his office as long as he can, but in the area of financial benefits resignation would be a profitable choice for him.

U.S. News & World Report says that if Nixon resigns he'll be eligible for a \$60,000 a year pension for life, plus a \$96,000 a year stipend for office and secretarial staff and expenses. If he is impeached by the House of Representatives but resigns before the Senate convicts him, he will still be eligible for the pension.

The President will lose all benefits if he is impeached and convicted, benefits which could cost U.S. taxpayers \$3,120,000 if Nixon lives 20 years after he leaves office. □

REGISTER TO VOTE

FEDERAL JUDGE ORDERS N.Y.'S "TOMBS" CLOSED

(New York, N.Y.) - Judge Morris E. Lasker, a federal district judge here, has ordered the city to close the Manhattan House of Detention for Men within 30 days.

The notorious "Tombs," as the detention facility has come to be known, came under fire as a result of conditions there that should "shock the conscience of any citizen who knew them," commented Judge Lasker.

In January, Judge Lasker declared the Tombs un-Constitutional and ordered an ending of maximum security conditions

for many inmates, improving overall living conditions, granting new disciplinary procedures, expanding visiting rights, easing mail limitations and providing more correction officers."

Benjamin J. Malcolm, who is the city's commissioner of corrections, has refused to comply with the demands, calling the order, "unjustified" and said it would be, "almost impossible to deliver such a plan," referring to Judge Lasker's assurance of reconsideration of the order if a comprehensive, detailed and specific plan for eliminating those conditions is submitted. □

Intercommunal News

RHODESIAN AFRICAN REVEALS POLICE TORTURE, BRUTALITY

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - A Rhodesian African identified only as "X" to protect himself and his family has reported in detail on the brutal torture and mistreatment he suffered at the hands of Rhodesian police in an attempt to force him to tell what he knew of the activities of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) guerrillas in his village.

He told his story to the Bishops' Commission of Justice and Peace, a Roman Catholic group in Rhodesia, who charged the White, racist minority government of Rhodesia with widespread violence and torture of Africans by Rhodesian "security forces."

Six specific cases were presented to the Commission's legal subcommittee for legal action provided the complainants would come forward themselves and give evidence. Fear of reprisals by the police prevented many from coming forward, despite promises that there would be no reprisals.

X's STORY

"X" is 31, married with three children. He was arrested by police and soldiers as he travelled back from Salisbury to a mission school and was taken to a temporary interrogation camp. His statement goes on:

"Three of the five policemen led me to one of the tobacco sheds on the farm. They ordered me to sit down in the sun, while they were sitting in the shade. One of them said: 'You are a person we respect very much. We want you to tell us the truth. We do not want to mishandle you, as we mishandle all these common people. But if you do not tell us the truth, we will have to squeeze it out of you. Tell us what was happening around the Mission.'

"I said: 'I do not know anything.'

"They said: 'Don't zig-zag. Do you know of any big event that happened on 17 December?'

"I said: 'If it was a Sunday, I went to Mass at ten o'clock, because I conduct the music. Then I went over to my house to prepare for my exams.'

"One of them said: 'We are going to give you a clue: There was a meeting with terrorists.' They drew a sketch on the ground outlining the seating of the people and pointing to a place where they said that I had been sitting. When I said that I did not

know anything about the meeting, they stood up and told me to take off my shoes and jacket.

"They said: 'We are going to start our game now.' While I was sitting on the ground my legs stretched out, one of the policemen came to sit on my knees, another on my chest, while a third who had joined the other policemen by now got hold of my ears. The fourth policeman took a long heavy stick and began beating the bare soles of my feet.

"This went on for a long time. The policeman broke five sticks while beating me. At the same time one was pulling my head up by my ears and then knocking it hard on the ground. He also kicked my mouth and I felt blood coming out."

During the beating the District Commissioner came on the scene and the policemen told "X" the DC could cancel his job. "X" pleaded with the DC not to cancel his job.

That evening, at about 5:30, the beating stopped. He was unable to stand and walk. He moved back to the camp where the other prisoners were sitting around a fire, using his hands and buttocks. Early next day "X" was forced to walk around on his bare feet and then was locked in a cell.

"When I asked for something to soothe my pain," his statement went on, "the White policeman said: 'Come, I'll give you a bullet to stop that pain.' Then he took me into the charge office where I saw four other European policemen and one African. They asked me whether I knew anything about the terrorists.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



MPLA guerrillas preparing for an attack on a Portuguese post in Northern Angola.

M.P.L.A. SCORES MAJOR MILITARY VICTORIES IN JUNE

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - "On 12 June 1974, at about 9:40 a.m., a commando unit of the Portuguese colonial army advancing from Caio Nguembo to Sanda Massala was taken by surprise by the fire of the valiant MPLA guerrillas on one of the banks of the Nioka river and sustained an unknown number of losses," states the latest war communique of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), dated July 2, 1974.

"Minutes later, two Puma SA-330 helicopters and a PV2 bomber appeared and attempted to escort the commando unit to the village of Veku. One Puma SA-330 was shot down by our fire, and the bomber was also hit but managed to land at Cabinda Aerodrome."

The communique, issued by the Northern Front-Second Politico-Military Region, goes on: "That same day, at 3 p.m., another PV2 bomber overflying the Bitina area was fired at by the valiant MPLA fighters and sped towards Belise in flames.

"On 14 June, at about 2:30 p.m., three PV2 bombers bombed the villages of Mango and Kimbamba, causing material damage. On 16 June, at 9:45 a.m., an artillery unit of the glorious MPLA armed forces again attacked the Miconge fort, destroying some of the fortification works and causing an unknown number of losses in human lives."

From the Eastern Front, Third Politico-Military Region (Moxico District), a communique dated June 29, 1974, states: "Continuing the operations planned by the High Command of the Eastern Front, on 26 June our armed forces simultaneously shelled the Lumbala East Barracks and the Lumbala West Barracks with intensive heavy artillery fire for a period of 55 minutes, starting at 6 p.m.

"Two barracks and other installations were damaged, causing very heavy loss of life. Our light artillery neutralized the enemy when they attempted to answer our fire. There were no casualties on our side."

EASTERN FRONT

A communique dated June 23, 1974, also from the Eastern Front states: "The High Command of the Eastern Front reports that as it pursued its offensive, on 13 June, at 10 a.m., a group of puppets (Angolan troops) serving in the Portuguese colonial army fell into an ambush on the Luso-Gago Coutinho road. Three weapons were captured, as well as a large quantity of ammunition."

From the Northern Front District of Cabinda, an MPLA war communique dated June 22, 1974, reports: "On 2 June last, a unit of colonialist commandos who had been transported from Cabinda in 3 helicopters and 3 vehicles and were on a punitive mission against the African population, were ambushed at 4 p.m. by the MPLA guerrilla forces.

"Panic stricken, the fascist commando troops retreated in disarray only to hit land mines laid by MPLA sappers. Enemy casualties were six soldiers confirmed dead and 12 wounded.

"The following day, 3 June, at about 8 o'clock in the morning, more soldiers set out on a punitive mission, but in small groups, one of which was spotted and identified by our units. It was shelled by our mobile artillery and the enemy beat a hasty retreat.

"As a result of these operations, more than 1,500 people—men, women and children—sought the protection of the MPLA forces. Added to this

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

WEST AFRICA'S MASSIVE OIL SUPPLY MAY TURN AREA INTO NEW MIDDLE EAST

(San Francisco, Calif.) A gigantic oil rush may turn 1,000 miles of West African coastline into a petroleum producing region second only to the Middle East.

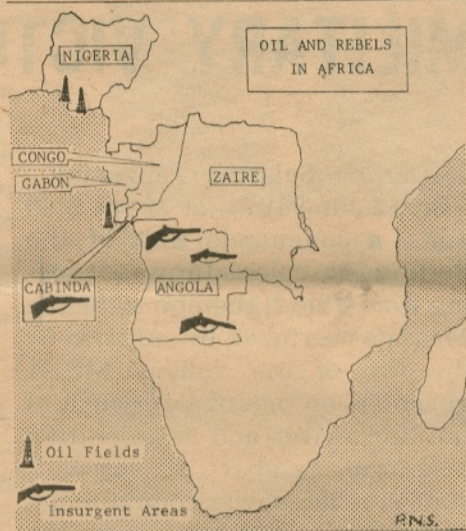
But, as Gulf and others are hitting gushers in any number of potential "new Kuwaits," oil is mixing with national ambition and revolution to create a new politics in Africa. Nowhere is this more evident than in Nigeria, Africa's most populous state, and Portugal's colony of Angola.

NIGERIA OIL AND POWER

With reserves estimated at 20 billion barrels of oil and 100 trillion cubic feet of gas (and more being discovered every day), Nigeria could become Africa's Saudi Arabia. The United States is the country's best customer, taking some 35 per cent of the 3 million barrel a day production—even more during the Arab oil boycott.

Oil price increases have brought real benefits to Nigerians—their income tripled in 1973, and is expected to top \$7 billion in 1974.

Nigeria's importance on the continent would be assured with-



out oil. Its wealth is vast compared to the rest of Africa, and its population of 60 million equals one-fourth of all Black Africans. But the oil boom has put the country on its feet again after the bloody war over Biafra's secession, and oil revenues now underwrite the efforts of Nigeria's president, General Yakubu Gowon, to stop internal struggles and ensure Nigeria a major role in African affairs.

With yearly oil revenues eight times total World Bank grants to Africa, Nigeria has begun its own foreign aid program, and Gowon is pushing for development of a West African common market, which Nigeria could be expected to dominate.

Even more important, Nigeria has begun to use its oil as a political weapon, against the White-ruled colonies to the south. It threatened Britain with an oil boycott after that country gave helicopters to South Africa. It also compelled Brazil, dependent on imports of Nigerian oil, to reconsider its investments in Portugal's African colonies.

ANGOLA OIL AND REVOLUTION

While the coup in Portugal has enhanced the possibility of independence for its African colonies, the public is still unaware of oil's role in this struggle—particularly in Angola, where rebels have continued fighting.

Late last year, two well known international journalists, Arslan Humbarachi and Aquino de Braganca, first reported in the *Observer* that Gulf Oil had made spectacular strikes in the waters off Cabinda, a Portuguese enclave just north of Angola. Gulf Oil's magazine, *Orange Disc*, later reported that some of these wells "are among the most prolific south of the Middle East." Both Gulf and the Portu-

guese have tried to keep the finds secret because guerrillas are operating only some 70 miles from the off-shore wells.

At stake for Gulf is an investment of over \$200 million and 7.5 million tons of oil a year. The company's contract with Portugal calls for Portugal to "undertake such measures as may be necessary to insure that the company may carry out its operations freely and efficiently," and "to prevent third parties from interfering with the company's contractual rights."

In practice, this has reinforced Portuguese attempts to suppress the forces of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). To support this effort, Gulf pays taxes and supplies oil to Portugal.

GULF AGREEMENT

The Gulf agreement also provided that the Portuguese take 50 per cent of the company's production in normal times—up to 100 per cent in emergencies. Normally, both find it more profitable to export the crude oil to refineries in the United States, Canada, Trinidad and Japan and to buy Middle East oil for Portugal's needs. During last fall's Arab oil boycott against Portugal, however, oil from Cabinda was diverted to that country.

Gulf's Cabinda oil is also shipped to the Sonarep refinery in Mozambique and supplies, despite U.N. sanctions, 35 per cent of consumption in Rhodesia.

Gulf is not exclusively interested in Angola. A thin slice of Zaire on the coast is also rich in oil, and two of Gulf's strikes are here.

Although Zaire's president, Mobutu Seso Seko, takes the stance of a radical nationalist, he has cooperated with both Gulf and the Portuguese. According to Humbarachi, Gulf has persuaded Mobutu to allow construction of a pipeline to link its two wells in Zaire and others with its terminal in Cabinda.

Threatening Portuguese rule in Angola, and therefore Gulf, is the MPLA, which is supported by the radical Congo Republic, north of Cabinda.

The MPLA is only one of two major rebel forces which Portuguese leaders must deal with in deciding the future of Angola. The other, the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), is headed by Mobutu's protege, Holden Roberto, and has been

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

AFRICA IN FOCUS



ANGOLA

As yet sketchy reports appearing in *The New York Times* say 12 Africans were killed and 60 were wounded when Portuguese troops fired into a massive demonstration in Luanda, the capital of Angola, last week. The demonstrators were supporting a call for a general strike by civil servants in protest against continued Portuguese rule in Angola. On July 15, Luanda was brought to a standstill by the strike. Portuguese sources said troops fired into the demonstrators when they refused to disperse in the vicinity of the government palace.

ZAMBIA

Zambian and Chinese laborers and engineers are working around the clock on the Tan/Zam railway, in an attempt to complete the 1,163 mile rail link from Zambia's copper-rich regions, through Tanzania to the sea in time for Zambia's tenth anniversary celebrations in October.

SOUTH AFRICA

Dr. Mario Soares, the socialist foreign minister of Portugal, is to be invited to visit South Africa. Soares said recently he would like to visit South Africa but had not received an invitation. According to the *London Daily Telegraph*, Dr. Hilgard Muller, foreign minister of the White minority, racist government of South Africa said "South Africa has already had contact with the Portuguese government...Dr. Soares' statement is being followed up."

MOZAMBIQUE

South Africa and Rhodesia have aided the escape of more than 50 former Portuguese secret police from Mozambique across the border. Most of them were senior DGS officials equipped with false passports and papers. Formerly in control of the Portuguese immigration department, they had no difficulty in establishing false identities. The *London Daily Telegraph* reports that they were permitted to travel to Spain, Brazil and Britain via the international airports of Johannesburg, South Africa and Salisbury, Rhodesia.

OFFICIAL BULLETINS
LIBERATION
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CANADA.

U.S.-RUN PROGRAM SECRETLY STERILIZES COLOMBIAN CHILDREN

(Bogota, Colombia) - Under the guise of an "experimental vaccination program for measles and other childhood diseases," U.S. trained and organized technicians have been secretly sterilizing peasant children in this South American country, reports the Mexico daily *Excelsior*.

M.P.L.A.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15
number, 26 Angolan soldiers in the Portuguese army deserted and came over to the MPLA bringing their arms with them. (24 TEs, Special Troops and 2 from the regular army.)

"On 13 June, a unit of the MPLA's armed forces operating in the Kaio area, locality of Kituke, shot down a helicopter."

Another communique from the Northern Front, dated June 21, 1974, states: "The High Command of the Northern Front reports that on 30 May 1974, at about 5:30 a.m., a detachment of the MPLA's armed forces attacked the colonialist barracks at Caio-Nguembo and totally destroyed it."

"The enemy sustained the following losses: two 2nd lieutenants and 12 soldiers confirmed dead (not counting those who, according to reliable sources, remained under the rubble of the destroyed shelters and barracks), and a large number of wounded which a Puma S330 helicopter had to make six trips to evacuate.

"The officers' quarters, watch tower, radio, vehicle repair workshop, fuel depot, drivers' quarters, ammunition depot and three troop barracks were completely destroyed..."

In an interview published in a Bogota newspaper, Father Guillermo Manrique Lopez reported that he warned his parishioners up to 50 miles away "of the possible plans of the Americans." Attention was brought to the situation after several families vehemently expressed their horror over the matter to Father Lopez.

Supplied free of charge by the U.S. organization "Friends of the Americas," the vaccination serum for measles contains sterilizing drugs as well. As of this printing only 10 children have been vaccinated under the program, but other locales have been slated as possible sites.

Karen Maclin, Jean Cornerci and Teresa Sporkamm, three American technicians in the "program," were named as responsible for administering the genocidal vaccine. □

GUYANA TO NATIONALIZE REYNOLDS GUYANA MINES



Prime Minister FORBES BURNHAM is continuing Guyana's policy of nationalization of foreign industries.

(Georgetown, Guyana) Continuing his program of removing Western control from his country, Guyana Prime Minister Forbes Burnham announced last week that his government would nationalize Reynolds Guyana Mines, Ltd., a subsidiary of the Reynolds Metals Company, at the end of this year, *The New York Times* reports.

Reynolds' 1973 production exceeded 800,000 tons of calcined and dried bauxite. The company is one of two producing bauxite in Guyana (located in South America). The other is the Guyana Bauxite Company, Ltd., the state-owned company that took over Canadian-owned operations when they were nationalized.

In his speech announcing the decision to nationalize Reynolds, Prime Minister Burnham attacked the U.S. for its opposition to the nationalization of the Demeraro Bauxite Company, subsidiary of Canada's Alcan Aluminum Ltd., in July, 1971.

The prime minister also charged that the U.S. had tried to block World Bank loans for Guyana's sea defense and that the country had eventually secured the loan with the help of Canada, India, Mexico and other nations.

DISCUSSIONS

Guyana's minister for energy and natural resources, Hubert Jack, recently announced that the government planned to begin discussions on a new tax formula to raise an additional \$15 million from Reynolds. The proposed levy would be based on the price of aluminum in the U.S.

These new talks, Burnham said, were not related to the discussion about state participation in nationalization that started several months ago. He continued, saying that under the Minerals Act, Reynolds could be taken over and run by a management committee if no attempts were made to decrease production.

Reynolds Metals Company officials were not immediately available for comment, but industry sources said they had expected the nationalization move because, among other reasons, Prime Minister Burnham is completing the process he began with the purchase of much larger mines formerly operated by a subsidiary of Alcan Aluminum Ltd. of Canada. □

WEST AFRICA'S OIL SUPPLY

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE
given full cooperation by Mobutu—including free access to the 1,250 mile-long Zaire-Angola border.

Other oil companies, notably Shell and Texaco, have been exploring large areas of Zaire's interior and Zaire has predicted its total oil production will soon reach some 16 million tons a year, which should give it a start as an important oil exporter.

Two other adjacent oil-producing countries have contrasting oil policies. Gabon—where 1973 production was 8 million tons, slightly higher than Angola's—takes only 10 per cent of the companies' earnings. The Congo Republic—which produced only 2 million tons in 1973 (though production is expected to triple within two years)—is determined

to impose government control on the oil companies.

During the oil shortages last year, the companies approached Congo president Marien N'Gouabi two times for a price increase. N'Gouabi launched an investigation and found stocks sufficient for 16 months. Angered at "black-mail pure and simple," the Congo government nationalized the holdings of six major companies, including Shell, Mobil and Texaco.

At present, while the oil boom has proved a bonanza for independent states, it has merely prolonged colonial rule in countries like Angola. Just as oil mixed with politics during the Middle Eastern crisis, so now oil mixes with neo-colonial, nationalist and revolutionary politics to determine the future of Africa.

(We thank *Pacific News Service* for this story.) □

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LEAKEY MONUMENT TO BIRTH OF HUMANITY FOR NAIROBI

(Nairobi, Kenya) A monument to the birth of humankind in East Africa is being built in Nairobi by anthropologist Richard Leakey.

It is also a memorial to the young man's famous father, the late Dr. Louis Leakey, who proved in a series of remarkable discoveries that East Africa was the cradle of humanity.

Richard Leakey, director of the national museums of Kenya, is enshrining the name of his father in the \$720,000 Louis Leakey Memorial Institute for African Prehistory, soon to take shape here as an international center for anthropological study and research.

The Institute, which has the full support of the government of Kenya, will literally be the last graveyard for prehistoric man. To be placed there is a huge, unique and ever-growing collection of fossils and artifacts illustrating the emergence of humanity millions of years ago from our ancestors, the southern apes, up the long ladder of evolution.

Dr. Louis Leakey died in London in 1972, his work on East African prehistory unfinished. His discoveries in partnership with his wife Mary, who is still at their site in Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania, shook the scientific world in the 1950s and 1960s. There were some who did not want to believe that Africa was the site of the discovery, in 1959, of the first maker of stone tools.

OLDUVAI GORGE

Olduvai Gorge, a 25-mile-long canyon where the Leakeys discovered layer upon layer of ancient lake shores containing evidence of human occupation, including the continuous evolution of stone tools, from crude pebble tools to the more sophisticated implements of final Stone Age humans, is perhaps the world's most important anthropological site.

"We shall, of course, have facilities, instruments and laboratories for basic research by scientists of various disciplines. And it will also be a base of field operations, providing storage for equipment, field documents, and supplies for scientific teams operating from Nairobi," said Richard Leakey.

The Institute also will be a repository of all Kenyan prehistoric material, and it is hoped that agreement can be reached with other African states so that it can



DR. L.S.B. LEAKEY looking at the skull he found of the oldest known toolmaker, *Zinjanthropus*.

be used as a repository for their material as well.

Richard Leakey has already raised about \$470,000 for the building in cash and pledges. He needs another \$200,000. But inflation is making the project more expensive by the month.

RHODESIAN REVEALS TORTURE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

"When I said: 'No, I do not know anything' they hit me with fanbelts. They also kicked me and hit me with their fists. This went on for quite some time. All the time they kept urging me: 'Say yes.' ...

"One took a gun and said: 'We can shoot you and say you killed yourself when you tried to run away.' They ran the barrels of their guns into my body. ... They took hold of my legs and arms and let me drop on the floor. While I was lifted up, the leader stepped

Richard Leakey committed himself, to build the Institute after discussions with leading scientists in America, Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Holland, Canada and South Africa, where the anthropological focus on Africa started before World War II with the remarkable discoveries of Raymond Dart and Robert Broom in the Transvaal (South Africa).

The Louis Leakey Institute of Prehistory is being built partly to alleviate the "fossil crisis" which occurred following Louis Leakey's discovery, when scientists poured into East Africa and uncovered new findings.

"We have more priceless fossil remains and artifacts here than anywhere else in the world," said young Leakey. "They will be housed in the new Institute so that they will be available for inspection and study by visiting scientists and postgraduate students." □

on my body and trampled upon it while I was dropped. They did this twice. The leader was particularly cruel throughout the interrogation..."

"X" was held from January 23 to February 4. When he was released he learned that he had been named by some Africans as having been at a meeting of terrorists. One said he had been forced by police to witness against "X" Mr. "X's" sworn statement, with identification of individuals involved, was presented to the Rhodesian government. □

WORLD SCOPE



MEXICO

The Mexican government reports that it is investigating the 1968 activities in Mexico of a former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agent, Philip B. Agee, during a period of prolonged street violence. Agee, who left the CIA in 1969 and now lives in England, admits that he was an undercover agent in Mexico, Ecuador and Uruguay in 1967 and 1968 and has written a book about it. From July to October of 1968, students and police fought almost daily in the streets of Mexico City.

UNITED STATES

Pressured by Congress, Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent last week banned the export of U.S. crime-fighting equipment to "communist" countries. However, Dent said that a \$12,245 mobile crime laboratory was already on its way to the Soviet Union and that one controversial item, a voice print analyzer, had been sold to the Hungarian Academy of Science last year.

CUBA

Argentina and Mexico have signed a joint declaration calling for the immediate re-entry of Cuba into hemispheric organizations. Mexico repeated its strong support of Latin American solidarity, and Argentina again asked that all barriers isolating Cuba be removed. The statement was directed implicitly against the U.S., which has maintained a trade embargo against Cuba since 1964.

PHILIPPINES

A document published by an arm of the Roman Catholic Church has charged that the martial law government here is holding about 350 political detainees and subjecting many of them to "rehabilitation" conducted by psychologists and psychiatrists. The document quoted Brigadier General Cicero Campos, the officer in charge of detainees as telling church leaders: "...we have to change the outlook and attitudes of these persons, and that is not a simple job to do."

HERE I STAND

by Paul Robeson
an autobiography

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

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ENTERTAINMENT

UNCLE SAM'S PRAYER

My uncle sam is an uncle I shall not want
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He exploiteth my sister

And yea, though I was born and raised in his
din of iniquity America
I must fear all his success
For it is my poverty

His El Dorado and Diamond ring blind me
His college degrees and token positions enslave me
His tricknology manifest in the neo-colonization of my people confuse me
So I guide my own path for fear that his coffee shop militants will burn my ass

His aggression, Opression, Suppression and Repression only serve to strengthen me
For I leap the boundaries of servitude
And force myself through the barriers of his institutions
To remain Forever and ever ever
A MAN

Mark Spence #126479
P.O. Box 779
Marquette, Mich. 49855

(Editor's note: Bro. Mark Spence needs funds for his legal defense. Send contributions to him at above address.)

MOVIE REVIEW

"THE PARALLAX VIEW" UNREAL MOVIE ABOUT POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Paramount Pictures film *The Parallax View*, currently showing at local theaters in the Bay Area, is a romanticized and unreal movie about enticing individuals with psychotic tendencies to carry out political assassinations.

The film opens with a stylized commission of inquiry announcing the conclusions of an investigation into the assassination of a senator. No conspiracy has been found; the assassination is attributed to an individual, killed in the chase immediately following the assassination.

The actual story begins with a lady witness to the senator's assassination tearfully appealing to a reporter friend (Warren Beatty), the film's hero, to believe that systematic murder of witnesses to the senator's assassination is occurring and consequently she fears for her life.

Beatty is only convinced when, the next day, he views her body at the local morgue. Checking a lead on the murder of one of the witnesses, our reporter goes to the small town where the witness died. The sheriff of the town takes Beatty to the dam site where the "accidental" death occurred, tries to kill the reporter, but is killed himself in the attempt.

Now, convinced, and armed with new information taken from the home of the sheriff about a mysterious Parallax Corporation, the reporter seeks out one of the few witnesses still alive, who is in deep hiding in fear for his life. Our reporter miraculously escapes when the yacht bearing the witness, a bodyguard and Beatty

explodes, killing the witness and his bodyguard.

Convinced now that the Parallax Corporation is involved and that they are on to him, our reporter changes his identity and presents himself to the Parallax Corporation "for employment." A series of extraordinary, unconvincing and disjointed events occur which suggest, on the one hand that our hero is brainwashed into committing assassinations, while on the other, we're expected to believe that he hasn't been brainwashed at all, and continues to seek his story.

For reasons that are unexplained in the film, the Parallax Corporation people, shadowy and undefined, become suspicious of our hero and proceed to set him up as the hit man in the assassination of another senator. The set up works and our hero is killed in a blaze of gunfire as he tries to flee the scene of the assassination that he did not commit.

The film ends as it opened with a stylized commission of inquiry announcing the conclusion of an investigation into the assassination of the senator: There was no conspiracy. The assassin was our reporter acting alone. The case is closed!

The Parallax View is really a Warren Beatty vehicle. No one else in the film has very much to do. Beatty does what he has to do well. The cinematography was imaginative and unusual, adding excitement to some scenes that had little else going for them.

The story line, however, was disjointed, confusingly complex and therefore hard to follow. The senator assassinated at the beginning of the film was portrayed as a liberal, while the senator killed at the end was portrayed as a right-winger, adding further confusion for the viewer about the right-wing source of political assassination danger in America today.

Don't waste your money or your time seeing *The Parallax View*.

A.C. and D.G.D.



FRENCH PRODUCER MAKES CUTS IN AMIN FILM

(Paris, France) Several cuts have been made in a film about Maj. General Idi Amin, president of Uganda, after a formal protest from the Ugandan government. Entitled, *Idi Amin Dada* and subtitled "No One Can Run Faster Than A Rifle Bullet," the "documentary" film depicts Amin as a comical, ignorant, heartless leader.

Parts of the film were cut after talks last week between film producer Jean-Francois Chauvel and General Amin. It was filmed last February by Swiss movie director Barbet Schroeder with the cooperation of General Amin. However, Chauvel's final product twists Amin's life into a comedy for the purpose of evoking laughter from White European audiences.



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GRAY PANTHERS OBJECT TO TREATMENT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

action by local groups across the country.

Local Gray Panther chapters, which have sprouted up at a rapid rate since 1972, are autonomous strategy-wise. The only requirements are that they have multiple leadership on a democratic basis and that they admit young as well as old members.

Local Gray Panther groups come together on a number of national issues. The health care system is one of them. Because the existing system is crisis oriented and ignores the chronic illnesses and debilitating diseases which affect the old, the Gray Panthers advocate a new system which will give consumers control over quality, delivery and cost of medical services.

The Gray Panthers have been working on a critique of present health reform bills — "they are all inadequate" — and have aimed several actions at the American Medical Association. Last June, the group sponsored a counterconference during the AMA regional convention in New York. This year, the Chicago group was expected to stage a much larger counterconference at the AMA national convention in Chicago on June 22-25.

HEARING AIDES

The Gray Panthers have also made an all out effort to promote legislation regulating hearing aids. "One of the biggest rip-offs around is the sale of unnecessary hearing aids to old people," according to Elma Griesel, a member of the national steering committee. Ms. Griesel has helped draft model legislation requiring all hearing devices to be prescribed by doctors or audio specialists.

Another "large rip-off" is nursing homes, says Ms. Griesel. She and the Nursing Home Committee are compiling a manual to teach local groups how to organize around the problem.

Compulsory retirement is another issue of major concern to the Gray Panthers. The New York chapter's efforts have resulted in a first amendment introduced in the state assembly which extends the state's civil rights laws to make discrimination against people on the basis of age illegal.

Meanwhile on a local level, groups in Kansas City, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., have succeeded in winning improved banking services for older citizens. The D.C. group is also working on extending and improving bus service.

Many of the Gray Panthers' most important successes have been won when local chapters joined forces with other groups in their areas to attack specific problems such as housing and transportation needs, utility rates and policies, or banking practices.

The Portland, Oregon, chapter has joined a local coalition fighting inflation there. The New York and San Francisco groups are teaming up with women's movement groups to study the problems of older women. And back in Philadelphia, where it all started, the Gray Panthers have united with over two hundred groups to form the Action Alliance of Senior Citizens. The Alliance has staged numerous mass demonstrations over the last year protesting gas and electricity rate hikes and inadequate transportation.

In seeking a new lifestyle for old people by focusing on the problems which affect their present lifestyle — costly and poor health services, ineffective social security and pension plans, discrimination in employment — the Gray Panthers have discovered that their problems are everyone's problems.

"Gray Power is a beginning step to help old people who have been deprived of power, to show them that there are things they



Young S.A.F.E. Program worker helps a senior from van after escorting her to the bank. Our elderly should not be forgotten.

can do," says Ms. Kuhn. "But we can't leave it at the self-interest level. We're using our energies and our experience from outside the system to humanize a system that oppresses people of all ages!"

(THE BLACK PANTHER would like to thank *Just Economics*, the newsletter of the Washington, D.C.-based Movement for Economic Justice, for the information in the above article.) □

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

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SPORTS

BLACK PRO GOLFER CHARLES SIFFORD AN ANGRY MAN?

(New York, N.Y.) - "I was on the course the other day, and a White player asked me, 'What's the matter Charlie, why don't you smile?' I told him I don't see anything funny out here. I didn't get to start playing until I got old enough to retire. That isn't funny to me."

So speaks Brother Charles Sifford, who, at 51-years-old, is one of the oldest golfers on the Professional Golfers' Association

(PGA) tour and one of that group's nine Black members.

Having endured years of frustration and having suffered more racial indignities than he can count since becoming the first Black man to participate in a PGA-sponsored tournament (in 1954), Charles Sifford is now somewhat of an angry man, walking the golf links with what *Newsday* reporter Doug Smith calls, "an ever-present scowl, a

"HOW I LEARNED TO STOP WORRYING AND BE A 'GOOD SPORT' "

In the following conclusion of Dr. Paul Hoch's perceptive analysis, "How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Be a 'Good Sport,'" the author, a professor of humanities and sports sociology at Dawson College in Canada, focuses upon the "Social Darwinism" of the contemporary sports ethic, the survival of the fittest concept applied to the lives of all those unfortunate enough to be trapped within its fantasy glitter world. **CONCLUSION**

Herbert Marcuse has recently pointed out (*Toronto Star*, May 30, 1972) that a necessary condition for the development of nationalism is the belief in an external enemy. This is clearly as true for high school nationalism as it is for the patriotism of nation states. And learning to root for the home team, and boo the "enemy" team, is an important socialization device by which this nationalistic mentality is developed.

There is nothing accidental about this. For the past half century American high school principals have justified inflated athletic budgets with avowals that the "school spirit" learned by rooting for the school team is a valuable building block for the "nationalistic spirit" necessary to weld together what is usually called a great nation.

Of course, in the troubled racial climate of recent years the scholarly appeals for "school spirit" from the principals have turned increasingly sour. In former decades high school nationalisms and rivalries with the "enemy" school had only evolved to the point where fights between

the two groups of spectators could more or less be avoided by seating each school's boosters on opposite sides of the field or court on which the game was being played. True, one school's fans might make an occasional foray into the "enemy" school's fan section, and an occasional fight might break out. But it was usually not too serious, and most often could be dismissed as a kind of athletic panty raid.

In the racial turbulence of the late '60s, however, at a time when de facto segregation of city schools was still the rule rather than the exception, spectator rivalries at athletic contests between predominantly Black and predominantly White high schools assumed an increasingly ugly and racist character. What had previously been laughed off as "school spirit," openly assumed the guise and bitterness of race nationalism. In New York City, for example, it was often insufficient merely to separate the two groups of boosters (even with armed security patrols in between). Many high school basketball games had, literally, to be played in secret, with no spectators allowed in at all, lest "school spirit" ignite with racism to lead to interscholastic warfare.

Few people realize just how much this sort of "Our Team versus The Opponents" thinking has penetrated into all aspects of our conception of the world. Take the news that gets printed in our newspapers, or indeed the very concept of news. There's an old saying among reporters about which happenings deserve to be called "news"; It goes, "con-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

cigar tucked between his teeth and a touch of bitterness in his voice."

"Lots of people look at me and say how can a 51-year-old man still play a respectable game of golf," Sifford says. "I'm playing because I can't find anything else to do. I can't get a teaching job with anybody. I was turned down three times in California for a club pro job.

"Maybe it's my personality... but how in the ... can I have good personality after all I've gone through?"

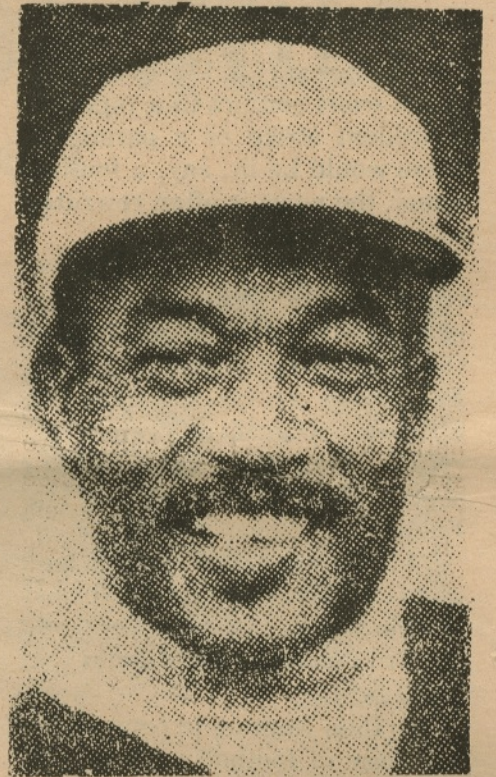
There's no debating that, indeed, Charles Sifford has gone through a great deal. During his earlier years on the PGA tour, he slept in his car on several occasions when he was not granted hotel accommodations because of his color.

BATHROOM

"The first time I played in St. Petersburg, they wouldn't let me go to the bathroom."

In another incident while playing in the Greensboro Open in 1960, Charles Sifford was just four holes away from being the first Black person ever to qualify to play in the Masters Tournament (that distinction will go to Brother Lee Elder, in April, 1965) when five White men began to follow him around the course, shouting obscenities.

"They jumped up and down when I attempted to concentrate on a shot and called me 'nigger. I'm a strong man but golf is a



CHARLES SIFFORD, the 51-year-old Black golfer who broke the White color barrier in golf.

game of concentration. The police finally arrested them but the damage was done."

Ten years later, 1970, Brother Sifford won the Los Angeles Open and could have been selected for the Masters but three past Masters winners wouldn't vote to include him.

Frankly, summing up his experiences in the (almost) lily-White world of pro golf, Charles Sifford had this to say:

"You could find a million people who wouldn't have been able to take what I took and still wind up making it. Lots of times I could have turned around, and if I had, none of the Blacks would be playing now...I had a goal to reach and I fulfilled it."

When it comes right down to it, maybe Charles Sifford isn't so angry and bitter after all. □



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GOOD SPORT

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

flict is news." If there isn't as much overt conflict in a report of a student strike or a parade as there would be in, say, a football game, the news is often rewritten to get more in.

The stereotyped clashes of Good versus Evil are familiar enough. The Free World versus Communist Aggression. Cautious Executives versus Irresponsible Strikers. Dignified Professors versus Excitable Students. In short, Our Team versus The Enemy.

"I think sports has come to look quite a bit like our country does at certain times," ex-New York Jets All-Pro flanker George Sauer told Jack Scott.

He then went on to connect the ideology of football with the old social Darwinism ethic that a society is strengthened by a kind of social selection in which everyone competes against everyone else and the best come racing to the top. He pointed out that the sort of people who dug this "plutocratic, elitist, authoritarian, racist ideology...were the people already up there on top with all the money." (The sort of people who own sports teams and insist on absolute respect, obedience, and discipline from their players.)

Not surprisingly, social Darwinism came into vogue in the last third of the nineteenth century, more or less at the same point in time when the rise of monopoly capital was making competition at the top of the social pyramid almost a thing of the past. Social Darwinism formed not only the perfect cloak for monopolistic rule at home, but also the perfect justification for racism and imperialism abroad. The general idea was that those races and classes that had successfully "competed" and made it to the top were obviously most "fit" to rule. The notion was extended to cover the "fitness" of men to rule over women. Darwin was drafted into the service of elitism, nationalism, racism, sexism, and the authoritarians of the prevailing order generally. If you didn't like it, you were told to keep running, compete harder.

But under the rule of monopoly capital how much free competition really exists? And how fair is it? The race of capitalist society is like a mile run in which some of the competitors start with a three-quarter-mile lead. In this "game" some players come into the competition with a few million under their belts, while others get their "training" in ghetto slums. These are indeed the supposedly

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

That something is the "don't-care-for-the-Creator-and-the-Creation" attitude extending throughout almost the entire world. "But God so loved the world!" What's with us?

Caring creatures would immediately — not procrastinatingly — put their leisure time efforts into backing the solutions (every problem has a solution) to such filthy and disgusting destruction as oil spills and coal mining desolation.

Known alternatives to the old and outmoded use of fossil coal and oil are: 1. conservation of present natural gas, 2. use of mantle molten rock, and 3. solar heat for warming and cooling buildings; 1. conservation of present gasoline, 2. solid fuel, 3. methane and other natural gas, and 4. liquid hydrogen for running autos.

Know alternatives to the use of coal and atomic fission for the manufacturing of electricity are: 1. wind energy, 2. ocean waves & tides, and 3. hydrogen fusion plants.

Help us reclaim our lost lands and our lost love of Creation (there is but one Good Earth in Heaven — Gen. 1:1) by promoting the pure and clean energy sources. Churches and believers have the money and the power to fight fossil fuel hunters, the Destroyers.

E. Henderson
205 Columbia SE, Apt. 5
Albuquerque, NM 87106

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Dear Sir,

I have read with interest the letter (Panther News-July 6, 1974, page 2) from a Black working man concerning the NCLC. As a White-working man whose letters you have been kind enough to publish a number of times, I would like to give you some observations of my own resulting from my own personal research into that outfit. With me being White and them knowing nothing of my acquaintance with the Panthers, you may find my observations to be interesting.

1. The man who wrote that first letter on this subject was entirely right in his conclusions — so far as they went — but he actually understated the case. That outfit is **worse** than he described them.

2. I observed no members of minority races in their midst and few if any real honest-to-God little working people — especially those used to doing any kind of really hard laboring work or farm work.

3. They impressed me as another group of White children of middle class or upper class, Whites out on a "radical" kick, either with or without college involvement. This speaks of their rank and file. As to their leaders I still don't know much.

4. Their opinions of Blacks and other racial minorities — which I heard as a full fledged White man — were at best patronizing and at worst, bigoted and insulting.

5. There is no future in that organization for Blacks, other racial minorities or poor White working people like myself.

6. Judged by their talk they know more about Black people than you do — which could be humorous if it weren't so serious. And they don't love Panthers.

7. Finally — according to some of them at least — let me introduce you to the two latest fascists on the American scene — Bobby Seale and Huey Newton. So — obviously — to quote an old British saying — "They just aren't quite our cup of tea." — to put it politely.

8. Also, they're a pretty rude bunch of people and can act like a bunch of storm troopers.

For obvious reasons, you didn't name your Black letter writer. It might be best for me if you don't personally name me either. They've already beaten up one person I know of for speaking his mind and, at 56 years of age with physical problems, I'm not in good shape to be slugged by that crew of storm troopers.

To be completely fair to them, there are two things I should point out in their credit:

1. They seemed to be opposed to the direct terror tactics of the SLA, and I've seen nothing that, to me, would directly connect them with that organization.

2. Their paper — "Solidarity" has brought up one very interesting topic — the suppression by the oil conglomerates of research into possibilities of some form of clean, nonpolluting nuclear energy.

On the bare surface, their idea of one huge workers strike looks like it might have possibilities. But they simplify this matter too much and their quick recipe approach could easily lead to a bloody disaster for working people and the world's best excuse for Nixon and company to impose a complete fascist dictatorship all at once — and might get public support for that dictatorship he could never get otherwise.

Sincerely,
(signed)
Seattle, Washington

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neutral Rules of the Game in a class society. Although in sports and life success is supposed to depend only on natural ability and hard drive, in fact one side is forced to play with shackled legs.

But the world of sports mythology is a world where poor boys *do* become millionaires. We read about it every day. What we don't read is that for every one who makes it to the top, there are thousands of athletes who don't, who maybe don't even make it into the big leagues, but who keep chasing the elusive brass ring of success till they drop exhausted. Recently, the United Press circulated a story about Bruce Gardner who in 1960 had been voted the Most Valuable College Baseball Player by the NCAA coaches. He had run up the phenomenal intercollegiate record of forty wins against only five losses. He had his heart set on a big league pitching career. And coming out of school he had been signed for a big bonus by the Los Angeles Dodgers. However, after four years of disciplined work up and down the Dodger farm system, he was unconditionally released.

Gardner's body was found a short distance from the pitching mound on the USC baseball field. Near his body was his NCAA All-American plaque. In one hand was his USC diploma. In the other hand was a revolver. He had committed suicide. Aside from the absolute finality of his end, Gardner's story was far more typical of the sports rat race than all the success stories we hear about. Not surprisingly, not too many sportswriters were interested in it. It wasn't their kind of news. □

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(Being Implemented)

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

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

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

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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.

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

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

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

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

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

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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"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

