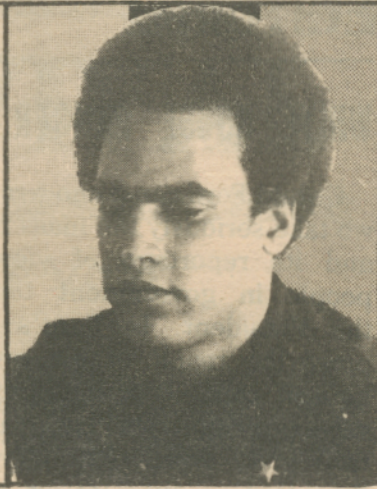


TOWARD A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY - ELIMINATE THE PRESIDENCY SEE CENTER FOLD

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE



PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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VOL. XII NO. 6 SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1974

SEP 1974 25¢



COMMITTEE FORMED FOR

JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON



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EDITORIAL

WHITE HOUSE DANGER

Gerald Ford can do no wrong, if we take seriously the mass media and its reportage of views of people in government towards the President. Is Ford's good press the result of his proving himself capable of beginning to solve our country's ills? Or is this rare good will being shown a President an overreaction to the turbulent Nixon years in the White House?

An effort is afoot by the rich ruling circle of this country to convince the American people that the resignation of Nixon means the system of government under which we live has been proven workable. Rather than lose from Watergate, the Republicans and the big business interests they represent, have gained from the scandal: proof that the system works — for them, not us.

Some, fooled by surface appearances, feel that Watergate has actually weakened the Presidency. Ford's overtures at co-operation and compromise with Congress are interpreted by some as the Presidency having come more under the sway of Congress as a result of Watergate. That Ford's Vice-President, subject to Congressional approval, is a member of the richest ruling family on earth and has been trying to become President for some years, should fast dispel this notion. Add to this the fact that for the first time in American history neither man has been elected to office by the American people, and it signifies much trouble ahead for the people of this land.

The ruling circle of this country is treacherous, underhanded and sneaky, so much so that while they promote Ford's good image and a spirit of "everything is all right now that Watergate is over and its dragon slain," they are anchoring themselves more firmly in power, and probably more so than at any other time in American history. Their goal is to be so powerful that they can squash any popular movement for people's rights in this country or abroad.

The danger to the people is being mounted from the Executive branch of government, the offices of President and Vice-President, the chief agent of control over the masses by the corporate ruling circle.

We must press to eliminate these offices: a first step in preventing our reactionary suicide.



Nelson A. Rockefeller

"...ASK NOT WHAT STANDARD OIL CAN DO FOR YOU... BUT WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR STANDARD OIL!"

Letters to the Editor

EYEWITNESS SAW COPS

SET UP PANTHERS

[Editor's note: the following letter was printed in last week's edition of the Berkeley Barb, under the heading "Eyewitness Saw Cops Set-up Panthers."]

Dear Barb:

On the 30, Tues. night of last month, I witnessed an incident in Oakland at about 8:30 p.m. I was walking in the street level garage of the MacArthur and Broadway complex after seeing a movie at the Theater 70, when I noticed about 20 men just standing/waiting in the entrance of the central mall. At first this seemed natural because the Fox Restaurant is located inside the mall, but something was strange.

There were some Black men in leather coats, high heel boots, with mustaches and longish hair; alongside were White men, some with long hair, beards, blue jeans, cowboy boots; and others in suits and wind breakers.

Now the Fox has always been a hangout for Blacks, and these other guys looked out of place until I saw some handcuffs on the back of a man's belt.

Flash—I knew these dudes were all undercover cops and it looked like some kind of bust or raid was coming. So I slowed down to watch from the steps of the clothing shop nearby. A few minutes passed. Then they got a cue from someone and all ran in the restaurant with a few plainclothes cops with clubs in hand.

The corridor was blocked off, so I couldn't get close to see inside, but in five minutes a young Black man came out with a bleeding wound on the side of his skull, and handcuffs on behind his back. He was pushed in the back seat of a white and tan car. Then it parked. I walked over to see the man lying on the seat, his blood staining his shirt.

Well, I don't like to see anybody like that, so I went over to the telephone booth, over at the Gulf Station across MacArthur Blvd. to call an ambulance. I dialed the operator and told her this was an emergency, and she said to hold on. She connected me with the police station and I told the officer that there was a man bleeding in the back of a police car. He asked if there was an officer on the scene. I said, "Yes, but he's still bleeding," and the voice said, "Don't worry, it's taken care of."

Then I looked over across the street to see a paddy wagon pull up and the police put another Black man inside. Then it disappeared into the night. I went home and thought about it.

A few days later I read in an Oakland paper that Huey Newton and some other Black men were arrested in a confused altercation with the police, but I knew—I saw it happen—it was a planned setup by the police, to harass the Panthers into doing something, then bust them.

Now, I'm not taking sides, but in this one instance the cops were off base.

(signed)

A human being

□□□

COMMENT

PARREN MITCHELL

ON NEW

STRATEGIES

FOR BLACKS

(Baltimore, Md.) - "It is now, my Brothers and Sisters, that we must rekindle our faith in ourselves as a people. It is now that we must move from a defensive, retreating strategy to an offensive, forward-moving strategy," Black Congressman Parren J. Mitchell from Maryland told an audience of Black Catholics here last week.

Speaking to a banquet of the National Black Lay Catholic Caucus, Brother Mitchell said: "We must begin now to guarantee that the courts administer justice to the Brother in the same manner as the court administered justice to Spiro Agnew." He continued, "It is now that we must act to guarantee that the Brother convicted and incarcerated lives under comparable correctional conditions as the Watergate criminals enjoy."

SO-CALLED

Reminding his audience that the so-called Black middle class ignores the "fact that the average assets of Black families on a national basis is \$400 while the average for Whites is \$6,000," the member of the House of Representatives said of that middle class: "Hypnotized and mesmerized by the propaganda, we walk about in a world of illusion insofar as Black political power is concerned."

Mr. Mitchell pointed out that less than one-half of one per cent of all elected officials in the United States are Black, and urged that Blacks must "find the strength to maximize gains or lose the few they have made."

Mr. Mitchell called the recent Supreme Court decisions against busing school children across county lines to achieve racial desegregation, a retreat on the matter of school desegregation. He also said that the "Nixon court" has begun to erode safeguards to civil liberties and civil rights that were created by the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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COMMITTEE FORMED FOR

JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON

CALLS FOR PUBLIC PROBE OF PROVOCATIONS, HARASSMENTS, DEATH THREATS

(Oakland, Calif.) - Calling for "a complete public investigation" of the mounting provocations, harassments and death threats against Huey P. Newton, the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party currently sought by local and federal authorities, a Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton has been organized.

The Committee was formed at an informal gathering of a broad cross-section of political activists, attorneys, clergy, students and concerned citizens meeting at the Community Learning Center, here on Thursday, August 22, the day before a no bail, bench warrant was issued for Brother Huey's arrest.

Last Friday morning, Dave Dellinger, long-time political activist, one of the Chicago Seven and currently editor of *Liberation* magazine on hand for the arraignment at which Brother Huey failed to appear, announced the group's formation and intent to newsmen in a crowded hallway in Oakland Municipal Court.

Dellinger charged that an "old-fashioned conspiracy" between Oakland and federal police authorities was well underway and, in an obvious reference to Watergate, said that "the public should have learned its lesson that statements by public officials are not necessarily true." Dellinger added that Huey Newton could "not possibly have a fair trial" without such a public inquiry into the police harassment campaign.

The initial press release issued by the Committee announcing its formation provides the background for the need of a thoroughgoing investigation of the police and federal authorities. The text reads:

"The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton is an independent citizens group that today announces its intention to press for a complete investigation into the escalating campaign of harassment, "dirty tricks," and character assassination by the Oakland Police Department, in conjunction with federal authori-



Sister ELAINE BROWN, leading spokesperson for the Black Panther Party, and DAVE DELLINGER, former Chicago 7 defendant, at Alameda County Courthouse last Friday.

ties, directed against the Black Panther Party in general and Huey P. Newton in particular.

"Only a complete public investigation can prevent a Watergate-type cover-up of their official campaign of terror.

"This campaign began to mount in intensity following the powerful electoral race conducted by the Black Panther Party in

1973, and the Party's expanding community service "Survival Programs," housed in its new Community Learning Center. The pattern of false charges and arrests have continued as the Black Panther Party has built a growing base of support in preparation for new (1975) city elections.

QUESTIONS

"We believe that citizens in the Bay Area and throughout the country have a right to an answer to the following questions:

"1. Why did authorities supply old photographs from the 1960s to the media in order to justify the arrest, in April of this year, of 14 Panthers on charges that were dropped the next day? And, why did the Oakland police steal the Party's files, including voter registration records, during this raid? Why was this and other raids carried out in violation of a firm long-standing agreement between Charles R. Garry, representing the Black Panther Party, and officials of the Oakland Police Department and the Department of Justice that any Panthers wanted by the authorities would present themselves of their own free will?

"2. Why, in May of this year, did undercover officers of the Oakland Police Department simulate an armed hold-up in a restaurant-bar frequented by members of the Black Panther Party? Why were police already massed outside the restaurant at this time? Why did they arrest a member of the Black Panther Party while the so-called hold-up man walked away through the police lines?

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

SHOCK AND DISBELIEF GREET HUEY'S FAILURE TO SHOW IN COURT

(Oakland, Calif.) - Shocked disbelief turned into frustrated anger on the faces of the prosecution and other officials of Alameda County court here last Friday morning when they realized that Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party was not going to be present for his scheduled arraignment.

Municipal Court Judge Jacqueline Tabor's lighthearted exchange with Alexander Selvin, representing the District Attorney's office during the proceedings, convinced spectators that these two were sure this time they had Brother Huey. But the cool confidence exhibited by Selvin before the court opened, during an interview with KQED's (Channel 9) reporter, Bill Scheckner, was shattered when Huey did not appear.

Real concern for Brother Huey's welfare, always uppermost with many of those who crowded into the courtroom, was not relieved by the speculation of

Black Panther Party attorney Charles Garry who talked with reporters later in the hall outside the courtroom.

Assuring the newsmen that Huey had never before failed to show in the many court appearances they had made together, Charles Garry said there were two possibilities to explain his absence: Either he is dead at the hands of those determined to get

him, or, he had decided he has had enough of the past six-and-a-half years of intimidation and harassment by Oakland police and federal officers.

Garry said he had not seen Brother Huey since he had surrendered himself to police early Saturday morning, August 17, following the latest of a long line of attempts to frame or

FALLEN COMRADES

ASSASSINATED

AUGUST 25, 1968



Steve Bartholomew Robert Lawrence

The staff of THE BLACK PANTHER would like to apologize to our readers for a mistake in last week's issue. The names under the pictures of two of the three Fallen Comrades who were murdered by the Los Angeles Police Department on August 25, 1968, Brothers Steve Bartholomew and Robert Lawrence, were accidentally reversed.

AMINATA MOSEKA (ABBIEY LINCOLN)

THRILLS AUDIENCES IN HER EAST BAY PREMIERE

(Oakland, Calif.) "The beautiful lady is so lovely, naturally." These lyrics from "Naturally," sung by Aminata Moseka (Abbey Lincoln), were testimony to the woman herself who thrilled audiences last Friday, Saturday and Sunday at her highly acclaimed East Bay premiere performance at East Oakland's Community Learning Center.

The audiences sat in awe as the lovely Ms. Moseka, a well-known jazz singer and actress, went through a medley of songs in her mellow, relaxing, contralto voice. She was accompanied by a talented jazz quartet of guitar, bass, drums and piano.

Barefoot, hair beautifully cornrowed, and clad simply in a long, flowing African-style pants dress, Ms. Moseka impressed her audiences with the genius of her very natural performance. "I is what I is," said Ms. Moseka in a



The lovely AMINATA MOSEKA (Abbey Lincoln) impressed last weekend's audiences at the Community Learning Center benefit with her unique, natural singing style.

poem she recited called "The Plural I." Aminata Moseka is what she is and makes no apologies for it; apologies simply aren't necessary, compliments are certainly more appropriate.

The talented rock-gospel group, The Son of Man Temple Singers, accompanied Ms. Moseka on six numbers including "Tambourine Man," "People In Me" and "I Love Every Little Thing About You" with a variety of flowing

choreography. The audience roared with approval to Aminata's and the Singers' moving performance of the well-known Black spiritual, "Were You There?"

Preceding Ms. Moseka on last weekend's production was the award-winning play, *Willie Lobo/Manchild*; performed by the Black Ensemble Theatre Company and directed and written by

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19



"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 MDTOWN RECORD CORP



SON OF MAN TEMPLE SINGERS, CHARLES BRUNSON FEATURED AT CELEBRATION SERVICES

(Oakland, Calif.) - "Prison, Where Is Thy Victory?" one of the best known works of Brother Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, was the message delivered by Brother CHARLES BRUNSON last Sunday at the Son of Man Temple celebration services. The services also featured the talented SON OF MAN TEMPLE SINGERS who soulfully performed such songs as "Sit Down, Servant"; "Keeper of the Castle"; "If You Just Hold Out"; "When He Calls My Name"; "My Imagination"; and "Working Together You and I."

THIS WEEK IN



BLACK HISTORY

AUGUST 21-22, 1831

Under the cloak of darkness, at 10:00 p.m., on the night of August 21, 1831, seven Black men armed only with a hatchet and a broad ax and led by Nat "The Prophet" Turner, left their wooded retreat in a secluded cove in Southhampton, Virginia, and set out to free their people. Within 24 hours, their numbers grew to 70 and 57 White slaveowners lay dead. Although the revolt was short-lived, "Old Nat's War" swiftly became a date by which slaves throughout the antebellum South reckoned all time.

AUGUST 30, 1861

On August 30, 1861, Major General John C. Fremont of the Union Army issued a proclamation freeing slaves of Missouri rebels. President Lincoln immediately nullified the proclamation.

AUGUST 25, 1862

As the war went badly for the Union forces of the North, serious reconsiderations took place. On August 25, 1862, the Secretary of War ordered General Rufus Saxton to arm up to 5,000 slaves.

AUGUST 28, 1955

In a crime that outraged Black communities throughout the nation, 14-year-old Emmett Till was kidnapped, tortured and lynched by White racists in Money, Mississippi, on August 28, 1955.

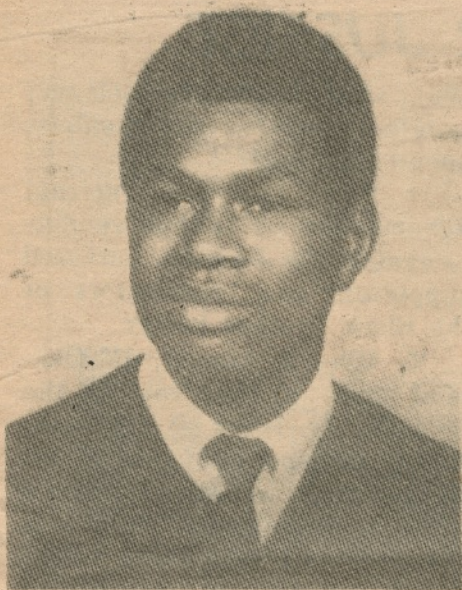
AUGUST 27, 1963

The great Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, an outstanding Black scholar, a founder of the NAACP, editor of its newsletter *Crisis*, and organizer of five Pan-African Conferences, died in Accra, Ghana, on August 27, 1963, after a lifetime of total commitment and devotion to achieving justice and dignity for Black people throughout the world.

AUGUST 28, 1963

Led by A. Philip Randolph and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., over 250,000 demonstrated for civil rights for Blacks in America in the historic March on Washington demonstration on August 28, 1963.

SUIT FILED FOR AUDIT OF HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS, BOOKS OFFICIALS DUMBFOUNDED AND PANIC-STRICKEN



Brother ALLEN J. BROWN, murdered by a White cop in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

CHATTANOOGA BLACK MAN MURDERED BY WHITE COP

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) - Twenty-one year old Brother Allen Jerome Brown is dead; maliciously shot by police officer Ronald Conner. A police department "investigation" has exonerated Conner as acting "in the line of duty" while the Black community demands answers to a number of questions concerning the shooting.

The incident occurred on Monday, August 12, when Chattanooga patrolman Conner allegedly received a call from the police dispatch to check out a citizen's complaint that someone was stealing gas at 27th and Hickory Street.

Finding nothing and reporting back in, the dispatcher told Conner that the call had been changed to a burglary-in-process at the same corner that Conners had just checked, at the Estes Equipment Company. Investigating, Conners claimed he heard gunshots and notified the dispatcher that he was being shot at.

Although Conner admits that he did not see anyone inside the building he claims that he heard sounds of people running toward the front of the building. He circled the building and claims another shot was fired. He further claims he saw two men running from an open window across Hickory Street.

He claims he shouted several times for the men to halt and even fired a warning shot. But Allen Brown was killed. He was unarmed and there is absolutely no evidence, except the testimony of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

(Houston, Texas) - County officials of Harris County, Texas, are dumbfounded and panic-stricken in the wake of a suit being filed by two citizens of this city. The suit is designed to compel elected officials of Harris County to comply with a Texas civil statute article 1614D, calling for an audit of county books and records. This law was enacted in 1960 when a probate judge was indicted and convicted for embezzlement.

The plaintiffs in the suit are Shirley A. Mitchell, a lab technician at Fourth Ward Health Clinic, and Frederick L. Kay, a young Black man who ran against Bob Turrentine for county clerk, during the May 5 Democratic primaries. Acting in support of Frederick Kay's campaign was the Houston Chapter of the Black Panther Party. The vital role that members of the Black Panther Party displayed in obtaining documents and other information provided a strong legal foundation necessary for the suit to be filed with proper standing.

The immense amount of legal research involved over five months of accumulating pertinent information that could ultimately lead to the indictment of top public elected officials of Harris County. The suit should serve the interests of the tax payers of Harris County, and expose rampant graft and corruption.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF ATTICA MASSACRE TO BE COMMEMORATED SEPTEMBER 13

(Buffalo, N.Y.) September 13 marks the third anniversary of the Attica Prison uprising and the massacre by the New York State assault force which left 43 men dead in its wake.

In commemoration of those who died, and in support of the 61 indicted Attica Brothers who are fighting for their lives right now, there will be a rally and march in Buffalo, New York, on September 14.

Organized by the Attica Brothers Legal Defense (ABLD), the rally will begin at noon at Niagra Plaza. Brother Big Black, national director of ABLD, defense lawyer Haywood Burns, Angela Davis and William Kunstler will speak.

There are fiscal discrepancies in the county budget which indicate massive embezzlement on the part of members of the commissioners court, the county judge and the district clerk. If this case is properly pursued in the federal district courts, the present mayor of Houston, Fred Hodifiez, will be spotlighted for his part in the dubious deeds that have been transacted among the "corrupticians" of Harris County.

Section I of Article 1614D states that in every county in the state of Texas with a population of 350,000 inhabitants or more, according to the last preceding federal census, an annual independent audit shall be made of books, records and accounts including county hospitals, farms and other institutions of the county. An audit is an official examination and verification of accounts and records, especially of financial accounts.

There are millions of dollars in the Harris County treasury. These monies are processed through various books, records and accounts of government organizations of the county which include district judges, county clerks, county judges, district attorneys, and the commissioners court. The persons who occupy those offices are defendants in the suit and are presently being served with citations at their

respective offices. Each particular public official named in the suit has not had his department subjected to an independent audit by a certified public accountant.

District Clerk Ray Hardy petitioned the commissioners court for an independent audit early in 1970 for over six million dollars of miners trust funds in his name at Houston National Bank. The reasons given for this maneuver was that he felt if he was brought to court he could not account for funds that are missing.

12-YEAR GAP

Also, in that very same year, Haskens and Sells, who were the accountants for Harris County for over 12 years, called for an investigation of the monies in the county clerk's office, and that they be brought up to the proper cash balances. In a deposition taken by Black Panther Party attorneys Larry Sayer and Frank Gerig from Hasken's and Sells' there has not been an audit of all county departments in over 12 years, a direct violation of Article 1614D.

This, indeed, raises the question why there hasn't been an audit of Harris County. The answer to this question can undoubtedly be found in the mire of clear-cut embezzlement that officials of Harris County have found themselves trapped in.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Attica inmates show solidarity during September, 1971, uprising which claimed the lives of 43 prisoners and employees.

In related events, the Attica Brothers won a major victory in late June when an Erie County judge threw out 95 per cent of the jury pool because it was not a fair cross representation of the county's population. Responding to the court decision the ABLD said, "While these rules do not provide

for justice, it is a rare occasion when the Brothers are given at least their most basic Constitutional rights.

"If we are going to be tried in Erie County," said Big Black, "we must have a jury of our peers. We'll go to trial if we

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

MARVIN FENTIS UNJUSTLY SENTENCED TO 38 MORE YEARS IN PRISON

ALREADY SERVING TWO LIFE SENTENCES

(Houston, Texas) - Marvin Fentis, a brother falsely charged with the murder of a Houston police officer, went to trial here last week and was convicted and sentenced to 38 years in prison. Marvin's chances of receiving a fair and impartial trial were lost when the district judge in collaboration with District Attorney Bennett sanctioned an all-White jury of eight men and four women.

The murder of a police officer charge dated back to the summer of 1972 when the slain officer entered into a shootout with three men. Following the incident the Houston Police Department, extremely outraged, began a man-hunt crusade for the three men allegedly responsible. Picking up a smearing of hearsay from so-called witnesses who all admit not seeing the incident, the police concentrated on finding three Black men whom they say were responsible.

Typical of most police departments across the nation, the Houston department engulfed the Black community in a web of violence and terror, in their desperate attempts to find a scapegoat. The local media plastered headline stories about cop-killing Black men in Houston, but ignored the numerous brutality cases and arrests of innocent Black men which were fostered by "police search and seizure tactics."

Although the stage was set and hundreds of police informants were disseminated throughout the Black community, the police investigation produced nothing. It had all gone wrong for the police, laboriously struggling to make an arrest of a Black man, it didn't matter, anyone who might fit the fabricated description.

Marvin Fentis already convicted and facing two life sentences for defending himself against two Garland police officers, was brought to Houston to stand trial for this alleged murder.

The district attorney knowing full well that Marvin was innocent continued to prepare his case, claiming that because of Marvin's "violent encounter with Garland police he was capable of shooting an officer without provocation."

As the actual trial unfolded, the prosecuting attorney's case amounted to nothing. The state had prepared its case for two

years on, as defense attorney Grey Washington put it, circumstantial evidence and nothing concrete. In essence, Marvin had already been convicted even before the trial. With the media vulgarly labeling him a murderer, a man without moral compunction, and his White jury, not caring whether the district attorney had evidence or not, had their minds already made up.

So now, the state has completed its case against Marvin Fentis. However Marvin's attorneys John Sayers and state representative Greg Washington understand thoroughly the inequities within both trials and are preparing briefs for an appeal trial. If the Texas criminal courts of appeal respect and comply with Texas jurisprudence both cases will be retried, and this time, the state will feel the full weight of mounting community support for Marvin Fentis. □

COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

"3. Why, in July of 1974, did undercover agents again attempt to provoke a confrontation with Huey P. Newton at the Fox restaurant? Why, when Mr. Newton refused the provocation and went to the manager's office, did agents from the Oakland police and the Alcohol, Firearm and Tobacco office of the Treasury Department smash into the office, pistolwhip Mr. Newton and other Panthers while their hands were cuffed behind their backs?

Why, after this police violence, were most of the charges subsequently dropped?

"4. Why has the Internal Revenue Service, in their vendetta against Mr. Newton, harassed supporters and contributors of the Black Panther Party?

"5. Why, in August, did Oakland police, in their raid on the domicile of Huey P. Newton, destroy evidence and cause \$5,000 in damages to Mr. Newton's office and apartment? Why was Mr. Newton's companion Robert Heard arrested on charges of "harboring" when Mr. Newton and his attorney had presented themselves to authorities?

POLICE INTENTIONS

"6. What is the connection between these and other flagrant incidents and the statement by Oakland Police Chief Hart that he intended "to get rid of the Black Panther Party and Huey Newton?"

"7. Why do the police refuse to give any information whatsoever to attorney Charles R. Garry concerning the most serious charge against Mr. Newton: the mystery shooting of an unidentified 17-year-old Black woman on the streets of Oakland on August 6?"

"The public and the media have now all seen the undisputed evidence of federal and local police conspiracies to exterminate the Black Panther political party in the 1960s and early 70s. We have also seen in the Watergate affair the appetite of the so-called institutions of justice to persecute, 'neutralize,' and destroy opposition in the political arena, and to cover up their tactics.

"We intend to work for an independent investigation of this pattern of official persecution. We will work in the courts, through the political process and in the media for a full public disclosure of the motives and methods of the Oakland Police and cooperating federal agencies, including the FBI and both the IRS and AFT of the Treasury Department.

"The response to our call for justice has already begun to bring together all fair-minded citizens and groups who have learned the painful lesson of the past decade."

Persons interested in participating in the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton or desiring further information, can contact Committee representative Ms. Molly Dougherty at the Community Learning Center, 6118 East 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94621 or call (415) 562-5261. □



Brother HUEY P. NEWTON.

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BALTIMORE BLACK COMMUNITY FIGHTS ATTEMPTS TO FIRE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

(Baltimore, Md.) - The Black community of this city is determined to frustrate attempts by the city's White power structure to remove Black Superintendent of Schools Dr. Roland N. Patterson. In a blatant, racist move to undermine Superintendent Patterson's and the Black community's determination to move forward with desegregation of Baltimore schools, the five White members on the nine-member Board of Education attempted to vote Dr. Patterson out of his position for no stated reason on August 8.

The attempt was illegally made without prior notice and was supported by Baltimore Mayor Schaefer. However, the Maryland Commission on Human Relations charged the school board last week with racial discrimination in its attempt. In letters delivered to all of the school board members, the state's official anti-bias agency said that "race was one factor" in the Board's ouster vote attempt against Dr. Patterson.

The move was made at the August 8, regular meeting of the school board, when the motion was made for Dr. Patterson's ouster by school board member Robert Schaefer. An immediate uproar of protest was made by Black members of the school board and spectators, preventing the motion from being seconded or from being voted upon in completion.

In an attempt to confirm the action, Mayor Schaefer ordered tapes of the meeting to be handed over to Benjamin L. Brown the city solicitor. Brown ruled the following Monday that the negative votes were never taken, nor was the vote formally recorded, making the action invalid.

DEMANDS MET

The board's five White member majority, determined to push ahead in their attempt to get rid of Dr. Patterson, has conceded to Dr. Patterson's demand for a public hearing, written charges and a 30-day period in which to review the charges prior to the hearing.

Sheila Sachs, a school board member who is drawing up what she calls "reasons for Dr. Patterson's firing" said she would not

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



NAACP leads pickets in front of mayor's home to protest attempts to remove Patterson.

REGISTER TO VOTE

SAVE THE PEOPLE ORGANIZES FOR SURVIVAL OF BLACK COMMUNITY IN D.C.

(Washington, D.C.) - A new community-based group, Save the People, surfaced here recently, leading protest demonstrations in front of both the White House and the Rayburn building, locations of the House Judiciary Committee hearings on impeachment.

The new group, a nonprofit organization made up of volunteers from the community, organized a consciousness-raising "survival ticket...to further expose the issue of survival as it relates to Black people.

"The high unemployment rate," their press release states, "the lack of benefits and programs for senior citizens, the absence of comprehensive and preventative health care, the lack of decent housing and the deplorable condition of housing are issues which directly affect the survival and lifestyles of our communities..."

Save the People explains that, "The survival picket and activities related to it are to be going on until the end of the impeachment hearings, with the objective of organizing people more concretely around the issue of survival; understanding that survival must be fought for on many levels, from survival programs, to pickets, to lobbying, to voting and taking part in community politics.

"We, as Blacks, should be very concerned with these impeach-

BLEAK OUTLOOK FOR SETTLEMENT OF AC TRANSIT STRIKE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Charging that the management of AC transit is unwilling to negotiate and that the employees were ready to remain on strike indefinitely, Brother Lloyd Hadden, financial secretary-treasurer of Amalgamated Transit Union Division 192, painted a bleak picture for a settlement in a recent interview with THE BLACK PANTHER as the local bus strike enters its eighth week.

Brother Hadden, a 12-year employee with AC transit and the first Black person to hold a major union office, explained that the basic strike issues are not so much financial ones but much needed fringe benefits.

In fact, Brother Hadden said that the union was willing to give up its cost-of-living demand for at least one year if the AC management would negotiate on the other issues, which they refuse to do.



The AC management is the reason why Oakland buses are inoperative.

The fringe benefits the union seeks include: a minimum of 20 minutes allotted for a paid lunch break rather than the straight eight hour, no break time schedule the bus operators function under now; more and better equipment for AC mechanics, who now have to personally buy, at their own expense, the very tools needed to perform their jobs; that the required uniforms for bus operators be provided free of charge as soon as employment begins, rather than after two years on the job; and a more equitable health plan, particularly in dentistry. The AC management arbitrarily refuses to pay certain dentist bills because they claim they are too high. Drivers on other transit systems in the area, BART (the Bay Area Rapid Transit) and Muni (in San Francisco) both receive these benefits.

In regards to the inconvenience experienced by the Black community here by the bus strike, Brother Hadden sincerely asks for "patience" until a just settlement is reached. Forty per cent of the union personnel and 50 per cent of the bus drivers are Black, Brother Hadden points out, so it's obvious where their sympathies lie.

"We realize that we've cut off the major transportation of the Black community. BART was only designed for the suburbs. I would only ask the Black community to have some understanding, some patience, because in every struggle, somebody gets hurt, someone suffers. We understand that the Black community has suffered in this but we hope they understand that this is a struggle."

Brother Hadden asks that people from the community write or call the AC management (508 16th Street, Oakland; 654-7878) demanding that they immediately begin sincere and serious negotiations with the union. □



Members of Save The People picket in Washington, D.C.

ment proceedings and Nixon's removal from office. We see the issue of survival and justice as interrelated to Watergate."

Save the People picketing during Nixon's last moments in office began on July 27, first in front of the White House and later in front of the Rayburn building.

The date of the next survival picketing organized by Save the People was August 7, chosen to commemorate "the actions of Jonathan Jackson" and his comrades "desperate bid for freedom" on August 7, 1970.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

NEW VACAVILLE DRUG CONTROL PROGRAM MAKES VEGETABLES OUT OF INMATES

(Vacaville, Calif.) - "Willis," a new program at the California Medical Facility prison here is aimed at controlling those inmates who the prison administration labels "psychotic" by administering to them large doses of debilitating drugs. Willis, says a report on the new psychiatric unit, is intended to make vegetables out of those inmates who "are normal enough to place in a closed setting but not normal enough to place on a mainline."

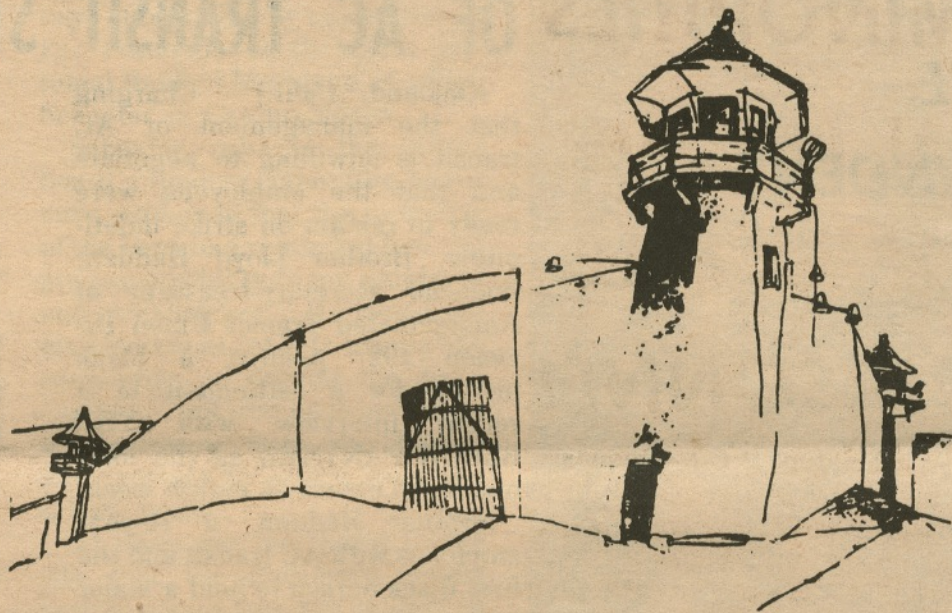
The Willis staff believes that every man selected for the program is in need of heavy medication, primarily thiorazine, sparine, stelezine and prolixin, all strong depressants. The prisoners must take these drugs; if they refuse, force is applied.

Willis, begun during the first half of this year, replaces the old "Lister" unit program, which was abolished after its cruelty to inmates earned it the stigma of being an adjustment center and after reports circulated that psychosurgical brain operations were to take place there.

Willis is a closed wing located directly above the two tiers that house Vacaville's isolation and segregation units. It is divided into four phases, or tiers, each separate from the other. All of the phases contain 21 barred cells.

Phase I is divided into five wire cages, four cells to each cage. The prisoners here are stripped of all but the barest necessities — a few personal and legal letters, pictures and private reading material not to exceed a certain number. Only pocket books are allowed, although sometimes hardbound books are permitted if the owner consents to have the cover torn off. These men are denied shoes, belts and mirrors. Twice a week they may change clothes and shower — if they are physically able. They are only allowed to exercise, two at a time in each cage, one hour in the morning and one in the afternoon.

Entertainment is provided by a radio situated on a window ledge in the center of the tier. Since the sound must carry to the cells on either side of the tier, the volume is turned up to a level that almost



graphic by alan cohen/ramparts/lms

deafens the inmates directly in front.

Phase II has only three cages, seven cells to a cage. Four men are permitted to exercise at one time and several times a week these prisoners are allowed to exercise in a small yard which is partitioned into four sections.

Phase III offers television, one or two of them to a cage, "but," says the report, "the privilege is outweighed by the limitation. The sets are not turned on until 6:00 p.m. (slightly earlier on weekends and holidays), all of the sets must be put on the same channel and the sound level, of course, almost drowns out the ability to think. It is certainly distracting, and like the high volume of the radio on Phase I, it is indeed a sly psychological ruse to further disorient the already drug-disoriented individuals.

The report comments that: "Phase III of Willis, like Phase II, is divided into three cages and four men are allowed to exercise in each cage. The only difference between Phase II and III is that the T.V. sets are color and the men are allowed to exercise from 6:00 p.m. until 10:00 p.m. In all other respects — particularly the use, frequency and amount of medication — there is no change.

"Phase IV, the 'graduate' phase also has color TV sets and the men are allowed to exercise at night. At the time Willis replaced Lister, Phase IV did not have any cages separating the tier, although only 10 men were allowed to exercise at one time. However, plans were being made to install "gates" and thus partition the phase into three sections.

"The only substantial privilege afforded to the men of Phase IV is the use of the CMF (California Medical Facility) visiting room for visits. All of the other phases use either the interview rooms be-

tween gates or the RGC visiting room.

"The length of stay in each phase is tentatively placed at eight weeks. In practice, that is the *minimum* length of time. The maximum length depends on the whim of the unit screening committee.

"This committee consists of the unit psychiatrist, the unit psychologist, the program administrator, the unit lieutenant, the two counselors, and, sometimes, the coach.

"As you may imagine," the report says, "the function of the coach during *psychiatric* screening is not too well defined."

The report points out that information about Willis is sketchy and sometimes second-hand. It concludes: "It is now the eighth month of 1974. There are not as yet any graduates of Willis. It may well be the middle of 1975 before there are." □

PARREN MITCHELL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Declaring that Nixon must be impeached, Congressman Mitchell said, "impeachment will not undo the six years of skillful manipulation to pit Whites against Blacks. Nor will impeachment itself begin to undo the damage done by six years of disdain, contempt for or ignoring of Black Americans by Richard Nixon."

Mr. Mitchell was speaking at the fifth convention of the national Catholic group at the Lord Baltimore Hotel. He noted that the Black awareness movement by Black Catholics has slightly increased the number of Black priests, nuns and laity. But he added, "racism and hypocrisy" still exist within the Catholic Church. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

STERILIZATION IN ALABAMA

(Montgomery, Ala.) - Federally financed sterilization operations, which resulted in the unauthorized sterilizations of two teenage Black girls here last year, will be allowed to resume, the Alabama Board of Health has voted. The Board had suspended the operations last July after a suit was filed charging that the two girls were sterilized without the permission of their parents.

WALLACE SUED

(Montgomery, Ala.) - "Governor Wallace pledged 'segregation now, segregation tomorrow and segregation forever' in his 1963 inaugural address, "says a lawsuit charging Wallace with discrimination against Blacks in making political appointments. Attorney Morris Dees said in the brief that, "his appointment of only five Blacks out of over 1,500 appointments to state boards is the strongest statistical case that could be made to prove he has fulfilled his pledge. Few, if any, racial discrimination cases are fortunate enough to have the defendant admit in advance his plan of racial discrimination."

CALIF. BLACK WORKERS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - California's Black workers are still not earning nearly as much as Whites says a recently released 56-page report entitled "Black Californians," a comprehensive analysis of 1970 census data by the state Fair Employment Practice Commission. Among the report's findings for the year 1969, were that California's 314,000 Black families had a median income of \$7,482, while the state's 4.5 million White families earned an average of about \$11,093.

FALSE TEETH FOR BLACKS

(Boston, Mass.) - Blacks have for too long been the victims of a dental profession that doesn't care about the appearance of false teeth. But luckily, Sylvellie R. Cloud, a dental student at Tufts University School of Medicine, has developed a way to make false teeth for Blacks that look natural. The method uses commercial stains to tint the ceramic bases used to make false gums.



WOODROW WILSON GILLIS

BLACK LEGISLATOR JOINS FIGHT AGAINST EXTRADITION OF WOODROW GILLIS TO NORTH CAROLINA

(Philadelphia, Pa.) A prominent Black state legislator has joined the fight to stop Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp from sending a "model citizen" back to North Carolina where he faces "certain death."

Independent state representative David Richardson, from the Germantown area of Philadelphia, the only candidate in last month's election to win in the face of opposition by the Democratic city committee's political machine, promised to do everything in his power to win freedom for Woodrow Wilson Gillis.

Brother Gillis, 51, a native of North Carolina, came to Philadelphia in 1965 after escaping from a North Carolina chain gang when other inmates attempted to murder him in a case of mistaken identity. Now going by the name Woodrow Wilson, Brother Gillis had gotten into a fight with a White man and woman in 1965, in Kingston, North Carolina, and despite the fact that the White man had pulled a knife on him, Gillis was convicted of assaulting the White couple and sentenced to 18-20 years.

The state of North Carolina is now seeking to have Gillis sent back to finish out his sentence, and Gov. Shapp must decide whether or not to extradite him.

"I don't believe in sending somebody back there," Rep. Richardson told the *Philadelphia Tribune*, "especially a model citizen like Mr. Gillis. Sending him back to the South is

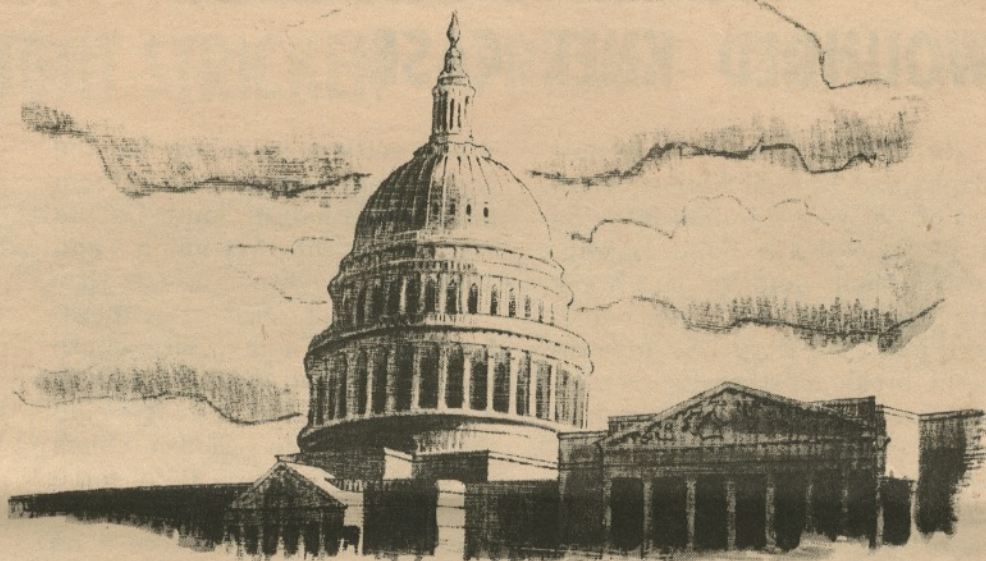
CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

CONGRESS DISCRIMINATES AGAINST MINORITIES IN HIRING OF OFFICE PERSONNEL

(Washington, D.C.) Requests to fill staff job vacancies which contain specific language asking for "no minorities," "no Blacks," "White or Oriental only," and "no Catholics," have been submitted by some Congressional offices to the Congressional Office of Placement and Office Management.

This office accepts job applications, conducts interviews and refers applicants to Congressional offices to fill job vacancies they have listed. A spokesman for the placement office, which is bound by the same antidiscriminatory rules that apply to all agencies of the federal government, said the agency itself did not have any Blacks, Spanish-speaking persons or American Indians among its staff of 10.

Although the placement office has acknowledged that some Congressional offices had re-



Despite the many laws passed by Congress to eliminate discrimination, statistics show that Congress itself discriminates in hiring staff.

quested that it send White applicants only for job interviews, the Justice Department said it did not plan to act on the initial placement office findings because it knows of no criminal laws that covered discrimination by Congress.

The charge of Congressional employment discrimination was contained in a copyrighted article published last week in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. According to *The New York Times* report of the article, the office of 19 representatives and one senator engaged in racial discrimination.

Eugene Peters, who heads the Congressional Office of Placement and Office Management, said that he personally reviewed 4,000 to 5,000 job requests from Congressional offices placed with his agency since January, 1972, when it took over the placement service from the Department of Labor. He said he found 25 requests that specified either "Whites Only" or "no minorities" under a section headed "special requirements." Peters added that he did not verify or refute specific charges "because the communications between the Congressional offices and mine are confidential."

Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana, who is chairman of the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, of which the placement office is an adjunct, said a review of the placement office was now under way and that he ordered that it "include study of any possible discriminatory practices in light of recent developments."

At this writing, 15 of the 20 congressmen charged with discriminatory hiring practices in the *Star-Telegram* article has issued denials. Otis G. Pike, New York; James J. Delaney, New York; and Robert C. McEwen, New York; all claimed no knowledge of racial considerations being a part of job requirements for their offices. Robert L. Leggett, California, and Harold V. Froehlick, Wisconsin, admitted that "White only" requests had come from their offices, but each claimed the requests were made without their knowledge.

The New York Times report did not divulge the names of the 15 other Congressmen charged with discrimination by the *Star-Telegram*. □

DELLUMS' CORNER

TREASURY DEPARTMENT INVESTIGATES ARSON OF DELLUMS' OFFICE

(Oakland, Calif.) - At this writing, agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco of the U.S. Treasury Department and the Oakland Police Department are still investigating last Wednesday's arson here of the office of U.S. Congressman Ronald V. Dellums.

Dellums' district representative, Donald Hopkins, told THE BLACK PANTHER that the arsonist(s) disconnected the gas line in the building at 4223 Telegraph Avenue in hopes that the building would either burn down or blow up. Fortunately, no one was hurt in the incident which badly burned the building.

Hopkins explained that the day before the fire the corridor outside the office was littered with trash and a white cross was painted on the door. A note was left by the mysterious White Power Party which expressed its dislike of "radical powers" like Dellums.

On the following day, Wednesday, the White Power Party left a note at the office which said, "Today you'll burn." An hour later the fire occurred.

As of Monday, police and federal agents said they had no suspects. Commenting on why someone might want to harm Dellums, Hopkins said, "If you're trying to do something positive, you'd better watch out."

Following their usual practice of ignoring Congressman Dellums because of his consistently progressive stance, the Bay Area White establishment press has made no mention of the incident.

A.I.M. LEADERS REST DEFENSE IN WOUNDED KNEE CASE

(St. Paul, Minn.) - Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of last year's Indian uprising at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, rested their defense last week after witnesses on their behalf testified that the U.S. government broke most of its treaties with the Indians. Among the broken treaties, the defense maintained, was the Treaty of 1868, under which the Sioux agreed to retire to a reservation in return for guarantees of government protection.

The five defense witnesses, three Sioux Indians and two authors, testified that Indians were justified in refusing to obey U.S. laws on the grounds that the government ignored this treaty and other treaties as soon as they were signed.

Brothers Means and Banks face felony charges, including arson, assault, robbery, grand larceny and conspiracy, growing out of the 71-day occupancy of Wounded Knee, an Oglala Sioux reservation in southwestern South Dakota.

DEMONSTRATED PREJUDICE

After the defense rested, federal District Court Judge Fred Nichol recessed the trial saying he expected the trial to go to jury in 10 days. The trial, transferred to Minnesota because of demonstrated prejudice against Indians in South Dakota, began January 7.

The brevity and sharpness of the defense surprised the prosecution. Assistant U.S. Attorney R.D. Hurd was forced to ask for adjournment to give him time to bring in rebuttal witnesses.

Although Brothers Means and Banks had several lawyers, including Mark Lane and William Kunstler, the defendants themselves announced that the defense testimony was concluded when Gladys Bissonette, who cooked for the Indian occupiers of Wounded Knee, ended more than eight hours of testimony. Mrs. Bissonette, 56, sometimes rested her hand on a peace pipe that she said had been willed to her by her grandfather.

"This pipe was given to the Indian people," she said. "It was a rock given by mother earth and means life and hope is to be upheld by the Indian people. It is a very sacred thing to us Indian people." According to *The New York Times*, it was on such a pipe that Sioux chiefs pledged their honor in 1868 when they agreed to stop warring with the invading

White settlers in return for the government guaranteeing them the western half of South Dakota and parts of Wyoming and Montana.

Another defense witness, Frank Kills Enemy, 80, whose grandfather Red War Bonnet was a signer of the 1868 treaty, said that when the Sioux chiefs pledged by the pipe to observe their treaty, they thought that the government would observe it as well.

"Indians believed the White man," he said.

A scant three years later, the government began seizing parts of the Sioux reservation and government troops began roaming the territory in violation of the treaty. Today, Frank Kills Enemy testified, Indians get no justice from their own tribal governments or the federal government. The seizure of Wounded Knee, he said, was a cry for help. "We can't turn to nobody for help," he said. "We want help on our treaty."

Agnes Lamont, some of whose relatives were killed in the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890 when federal troops killed more than 400 unarmed Indians and whose son L.D. Lamont was killed during the government siege at Wounded Knee last April, said her son had told her that Indians needed a way to dramatize their lack of civil rights.

Mrs. Lamont broke into tears and began crying out in the courtroom as Mrs. Bissonette described that "awful" rifle fire directed into Wounded Knee by federal marshals on the day L.D. Lamont was killed. Mrs. Bisso-



American Indians are justified in refusing to obey U.S. laws.

nette also broke into sobs on the witness stand. Many spectators began to cry and the judge quickly adjourned.

The two authors who testified for the defense — Dee A. Brown, who wrote *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, and Vine V. Deloria, Jr., the author of several books on Indian treaty rights — testified that history demonstrated that the government had repeatedly violated the Treaty of 1868. □

BILL TO AID MINORITY BUSINESSMEN

(Sacramento, Calif.) - A bill spearheaded by state senator Mervyn Dymally has passed the Senate and is currently awaiting action in the Assembly Finance and Insurance Committee. The bill is to "benefit all small businesses but can be of great value to minority-run businesses which have had trouble securing loans in the past." □

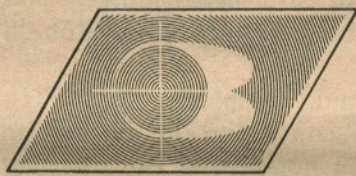


OUR HEALTH

The Black Panther Party believes that the government must provide health facilities for the people free of charge which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival.

We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, in order to in some way provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care. According to our principles as outlined in Point number 6 of the Black Panther Party Program, March 29, 1972 Platform, we must begin implementing our beliefs. For some time now the Party has initiated a number of People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics throughout the country, a Survival Program exemplifying what is possible in the realm of progressive medical care.

THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE is glad to announce that, beginning with our next issue, we will be featuring a health information column each week in THE BLACK PANTHER. We hope that this new column will be both educational and informative to Black and oppressed people. Any information that you may have of this type that you would like to share with our readers, please send to: The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, 8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. □



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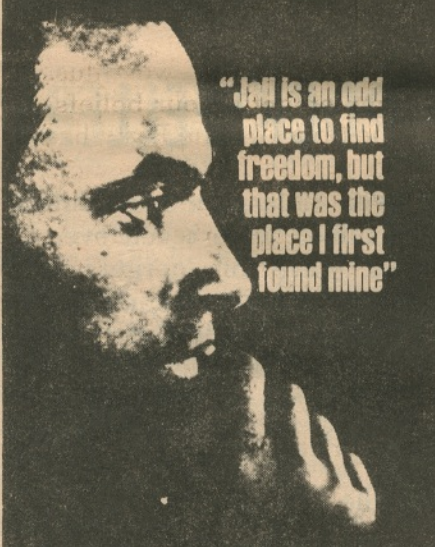


BY HUEY P. NEWTON

"What we seek," writes Huey P. Newton in the following essay, "is not power over people, but the power to control our own destiny." Written in 1971, in a period of analysis and self-criticism the Party went through during that part of its history, the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party seeks in this article to re-think the question of the role of the Black businessman in the Black community and to define the path that will bring the two together for the mutual benefit of all.

PART 1

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

This is a dialogue in our continuing discussion of the new thrust of the Black Panther Party, as we begin to carry out the original vision of the Party. When we coined the expression "All Power to the People," we had in mind emphasizing the word "Power," for we recognize that the will to power is the basic drive of man. But it is incorrect to seek power over people. We have been subjected to the dehumanizing power of exploitation and racism for hundreds of years; and the Black community has its own will to power also. What we seek, however, is not power over people, but the power to control our own destiny. For us the true definition of power is not in terms of how many people you can control. To us power is the ability to first of all define phenomena, and secondly the ability to make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

ARMCHAIR PHILOSOPHER

We see then that power has a dual character and that we cannot simply identify and define phenomena without acting, for to do so is to become an armchair philosopher. And when Bobby and I left Merritt College to organize brothers on the block we did so because the college students were too content to sit around and analyze without acting. On the other hand, power includes action, for it is making phenomena perform in the desired manner. But action without thinking and theory is also incorrect, for if the social forces at work in the community have not been correctly analyzed and defined how can you control them in such a way that they act in a desired manner? So the Black Panther Party has always merged theory and practice in such a way as to serve the true interests of the community.

In merging theory with practice we recognized that it was necessary to develop a theory which was valid for more than one time and place. We wanted to develop a system of thinking which was good anywhere, thus it had to be rather abstract. Yet our theory would relate to a concrete analysis of concrete conditions so that our actions would always be relevant and profitable to the people. Yet, at the same time, it had to advance their thinking so that they would move toward a

transformation of their situation of exploitation and oppression. We have always insisted on good theory and good practice, but we have not always been successful in carrying this through.

CULTISTS

When the Black Panther Party defected from the Black community, we became, for a while, revolutionary cultists. One of the primary characteristics of a revolutionary cultist is that he despises everyone who has not reached his level of consciousness, or the level of consciousness that he thinks he has reached, instead of acting to bring the people to that level. In that way the revolutionary cultist becomes divided from the people; he defects from the community. Instead of serving the people as a vanguard, he becomes a hero. Heroes engage in very courageous actions sometimes and they often make great sacrifices, including the supreme sacrifice, but they are still isolated from the people. Their courageous actions and sacrifices do not lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, nor do they produce fundamental changes in the exploitation and oppression of the people. A vanguard, however, will guide the people onto higher levels of consciousness and in that way bring them to the point where they will take sterner actions in their own interests and against those who continue to oppress them. As I've said previously, revolution is a process, not a conclusion. A true revolutionist will not only take courageous actions, he will also try to advance the people in such a manner that they will transform their situation. That is, by delivering power to the people the true revolutionist will help them define the social phenomena in their community and lead them to the point where they will seize the time and make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

Therefore, as revolutionaries we must recognize the difference between what the people can do and what they will do. They can do anything they desire to do, but they will only take those actions which are consistent with their level of consciousness and their understanding of the situation. When we raise their conscious-



Contributions of Black businessmen made B.P.P. Breakfast Program possible.

ness, they will understand even more fully what they in fact can do, and they will move on the situation in a courageous manner. This is merging your theory with your practices.

Point 3 of the original Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party is "We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALISTS of our Black Community." That was our position in October 1966 and it is still our position. We recognize that capitalism is no solution to the problems we face in our communities. Capitalist exploitation is one of the basic causes of our problem. It is the goal of the Black Panther Party to negate capitalism in our communities and in the oppressed communities throughout the world.

BLACK CAPITALISM

However, many people have offered the community Black capitalism as a solution to our problems. We recognize that people in the Black community have no general dislike for the concept of Black capitalism, but this is not because they are in love with capitalism. Not at all. The idea of Black capitalism has come to mean to many people Black control of another one of the institutions in the community. We see within this characteristic the seeds of the negation of Black capitalism and all capitalism in general. What we must do then is increase the positive qualities until they dominate the negative and therefore transform the situation.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

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

TOWARD A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY - ELIMINATE THE PRESIDENCY

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party urgently calls upon all Americans to join us in demanding and working toward the elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, and for the return of the usurped powers of the people to the elected representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States of America.

The recent accession to the throne of Gerald Ford and his nomination of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice-President, neither elected to these positions by the people makes action now mandatory in the interest of the future of this country, its people and the peoples of the world.

Recent moves in Washington, beginning with the decision to let Richard Nixon "slowly turn in the wind," represent, in effect, a major coup d'etat (takeover of state power) by the most powerful group of finance capital interests in this country today. (See article this page.) It has all been done smoothly, quietly and seemingly congenially. But it, in fact, guarantees that the primary interests of the great mass of American people workers, Blacks and other oppressed minorities, the poor, small farmers, white collar workers,

professionals, students, youth and aged — are in grave danger.

Rockefeller's imminent assumption of the office of Vice-President, the position he at one time said he'd never consider, downgrades Gerald Ford to a nonentity in the power structure of this country. At the same time it openly and blatantly unmasks the hidden face of corporate power long dominant in the White House, but thinly veiled from view by the hoopla of political party conventions, presidential election campaigns and the rhetoric of government of, by and for the people.

The Black Panther Party maintains in its Position Paper on the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President: "In 1776, the Founding Fathers drew on some two thousand years of recorded Western history to explain their 'right of revolution' to the world. Their sources: the Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian, Anglo-Saxon traditions.

"The ideas of individual dignity, governmental accountability to the governed, equal justice under law — were time honored. What was new, unique and revolutionary was the concept — the 'checks and balances' of power of how to implement the rhetoric that all

people have an equal right to pursue life, liberty and happiness. The framers of the American Revolution executed a stroke of genius: the Executive, though not completely a figurehead, was to be checked, systematically without violence, from becoming a king."

But, continues the Position Paper, within a decade of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the counterrevolution had begun. Ruling forces tried to use the Constitution to disenfranchise the masses of American people. Radical and conservative forces fought back, after the army had put down a series of worker-farmer rebellions, and managed to attach the 'Bill of Rights' as a series of amendments to the Constitution. But from that time on, the Executive Branch has swollen steadily usurping power from the courts. The king-like Executive has preempted the decision-making process inherent in the original checks and balances plan. The Executive, by claiming to represent 'all of the people, gets around representing any of the popular interests and instead becomes, inevitably, the captive of special interests. The last several decades have revealed the complete emergence of the Royal Executive."

OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE CORPORATIONS AND FOR THE ROCKEFELLERS

(Washington, D.C.) - With the expected Congressional confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice-President, a member of this country's most powerful finance capital family, interest groups will occupy the second seat in the White House, and, in fact, wield far more power than Gerald Ford.

In effect, this country has silently and, in the main, passively sat through a masterfully executed coup d'etat. The two highest offices in the land and the most powerful positions in the world are now or soon will be held by men who have not received the elective consent of the American people. The implications of this action for the American people and the peoples of the world are grave indeed.

Because of the already agreed upon conspiracy to conceal from the American people Nelson Rockefeller's actual massive banking, industrial, agricultural and other economic interests, both in this country and abroad, THE BLACK PANTHER here presents a brief but, we hope, penetrating look at the Rockefeller economic power, in hopes of documenting the serious implications to the people of this country and the world occasioned by his imminent confirmation as Vice-President of the United States of America.

Never has capital in the United States been so concentrated. Today in the hands of an extremely small number of financiers run the threads of the entire imperialist economy. From the corner gas station to a copper mine in Chile extends an empire controlled by a handful of closely allied financial groups that directly control the bulk of basic domestic industry, the bulk of domestic finance and all the overseas empire of American capital;

indirectly the rest of the economy is under their sway. These are the real rulers; they have all the power and they share it with no one.

In 1965, there were some 340,000 industrial corporations in the U.S. The biggest 500 of these amounting to .15 per cent of the total, had 60.2 per cent of the industrial sales and 71 per cent of the industrial profits. In 1969, the biggest 200 controlled well over 60 per cent of the industrial assets. The biggest 100 industrials, only .03 per cent of the total number, had nearly 40 per cent of the industrial sales. More than 68 per cent of the workers in the 340,000 industrial corporations worked for the biggest 500 in 1968.

A similar state of affairs existed in other branches of the economy. The 50 biggest merchandising chains had a net income of over a billion dollars in 1966; 62.5 per cent of that net income went to the ten largest chains. The three biggest commercial banks owned one-eighth of the assets of the some 13,000 banks in the country. There were 1,718 life insurance companies in the country with total assets of \$167 billion. The ten biggest of these held \$94 billion, or 56 and one-half per cent of the life insurance assets. Even more striking, the two biggest, Prudential and Metropolitan Life, owned 36 per cent of the life insurance assets. American Telephone and Telegraph owned 84 per cent of the telephones in the country, while General Telephone, its "competition" owned 50 per cent of the remainder.

While from 1948 to 1957, a nine year period, there were 4,303 mergers, in 1967 alone there were 1,496 mergers; 607 of those companies taken over were worth \$50 million or more. Twelve companies each worth over \$250 million were gobbled up in 1968. In the first

three months of 1969, 43 large manufacturing firms worth \$45.5 billion were taken over.

The tremendous wave of mergers and concentration of capital that has taken place in the last 20 years has been financed by the big banks, and particularly the big New York wholesale banks. The power of the main New York banks has grown tremendously in this period, and their domination of the U.S. economy has become complete.

TRIPLED SIZE

In general the New York wholesale banks tripled their size in the 12-year period 1955 to 1967. This reflected the increasing dominance of the New York banks over all fields of industry. Moreover, these six banks — Chase Manhattan, First National City Bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Morgan Guarantee, Chemical Bank and Banker's Trust — represent only three separate interest groups.

The Chase Manhattan, First National City and Chemical banks are controlled by a group of families and financiers in which the Rockefellers predominate. The Morgan Guarantee Trust and Bankers Trust are controlled by a group of financiers and families that J.P. Morgan put together. Manufacturers Hanover Trust is closely connected with the two groups and with Prudential Insurance Co.

Together the Morgan and Rockefeller banks control the majority of the biggest corporations in the country.

The period since World War II has been one of tremendous concentration and expansion of capital. Money has been increasingly dear and the industrial corporations have had to pay dearly for it. Thus the power of the big banks who have the money has grown faster. Thus

With the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice-President, the danger of internal confrontations between the Rockefeller administration (read financial empire) and conflicting, aspiring now-out-of-favor financial empires, principally the J.P. Morgan group, means industrial and commercial wars and banking feuds unparalleled in American history are just around the corner. Industrial workers, farmers and all us "little people" will suffer the major brunt of these confrontations at the top.

With the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice-President, the danger of overseas confrontations between the Rockefeller administration (read financial empire) and conflicting, aspiring overseas financial interests and foreign capital, means increased wars of plunder and the intensification of the exploitation of African, Asian and Latin American peoples and lands. We, the people, will fight those wars. We and those peasants we fight will die. With the confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice-President, the danger of the intensification of the repression and brutal suppression of the wide scale, popular move-

ments for self-determination and an end to colonialism, old and new, particularly in Africa, but as well in Asia, Latin America and the islands of the seas increases greatly, and the advent of a true familyhood of peoples is delayed.

All this at the direction of the Executive branch of government, allegedly in the interest of the American people and nation, but in fact, in the interest and to the benefit of the Rockefeller group of empirebuilders' dream of absolute and free reign over the wealth, material and human, of the entire globe.

The Black Panther Party Position Paper on the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President states in the section under The Legal Argument: "It is not the intention here to interpret the Constitution of the United States of America, but to argue, in the Constitution's own words, that the intent of the Constitution regarding the President of the United States was to allow such limited power to that office as to make such a person, in effect, little more than a figurehead.

"The intent of the Constitution is to guarantee a republican form of government,

administered by the people, for the people and through a representative Congress of the People. Further, the Constitution allows for the abolition and creation of laws as the Congress deems necessary to provide flexibility in government to constantly serve the interests of the people in the historic course of human events and the growth and development of the country.

The inheritor of the legacy of the notorious "robber barons," the "Butcher of Attica" and the very symbol of Yanqui imperialism throughout Latin America and many parts of the Third World, cannot represent or speak for the American people's interest. The audacity of the power structure to decide that a representative of the Rockefeller empire should be so designated should expose the Executive branch of government in this country for what it is and has been for many decades: a tool of the power structure to usurp the power of the people as manifest in the Congress of the United States of America. Elimination of the offices of President and Vice-President is long past due. If we are to save this country from descent into further infamy, we must act NOW. □

fewer and fewer corporations have been able to remain independent of the big banks. (Raising the prime interest rates accelerates this process.)

The Rockefeller group is centered on the holdings of the Rockefeller family, but includes the holdings of allied families and financiers and the much larger group of corporations that have fallen under the control of the Rockefeller banks and insurance companies. The Rockefeller family undoubtedly has the most important voice within this circle.

Three of the six big New York banks (Chase Manhattan, the Rockefeller "family bank; First National City Bank, Rockefeller cousins and Stillman-family owned; and the Chemical Bank) plus three of the four biggest insurance companies in the country (Metropolitan Life, Equitable Life Assurance and New York Life) make up the financial core of the Rockefeller circle.

Now we have a nonentity as "President" and the most powerful single representative of finance capital as "Vice-President." Whose special interests will this Royal Executive represent? Only those of empire building, Rockefeller-controlled finance capital. The people be damned!

The public assets alone of these six financial giants were over \$95 billion in 1968 (which at that pre-inflation period was nearly half the 1975 proposed actual national budget of the country at the height of the inflationary spiral). They are tightly interlocked with each other and as a group form the most powerful financial unit in the country.

The sharpening class struggle on a world scale, the growing scramble for overseas investments, in direct conflict with the rapidly emerging liberation movements of the Third World and the shakier position of all monopolies is reflected at the top by a growing



President GERALD FORD (left) and Vice-Presidential nominee NELSON ROCKEFELLER.

struggle between and even inside the main monopoly circles.

The two most powerful circles, the Rockefeller and Morgan groups, have shoved and jockeyed one another for better position even as individual monopolies sought better positions within the groups. While these groups have struggled with one another, they have united with each other against the workers they exploited, the oppressed nations they jointly plundered, the socialist countries and revolutionaries who opposed them and the smaller capitalists, rival imperialists and financial groups.

This unity of the Rockefeller and Morgan banks against the workers and others who threaten them is primary today, so the struggle is often quiet and behind the scenes, but fierce nevertheless. Since World War II, the struggle between the Rockefeller and Morgan groups may be characterized as follows: The Rockefeller group managed to seize or break up three key Morgan monopolies, but the Morgan banks managed to hold their position by bringing together the financial resources of some diverse but powerful anti-Rockefeller banks with the two Morgan banks in the center.

In the past 20 years an increasingly huge amount of capital has been invested overseas.

All the ruling circles are involved and there is contention and collusion between the groups, as each seeks a special advantage in this or that oppressed nation. But they all depend on the organized violence of the U.S. government to protect their growing interests abroad, and are united in seeing that the government continues to suppress the victims of this economic aggression in any way necessary and to provide an arena for expansion.

A brief look at a very small amount of the holdings of the Rockefeller Group overseas reveals that Chase Manhattan controls the banking and finance in most of the African and several key Latin American countries; Pan American Airways controls much of the air traffic in these three continents; International Tel & Tel controls communications in several Latin American countries with manufacturing plants in every continent; the six big Rockefeller oil companies control 100 per cent of Saudi Arabian oil production, 30 per cent of Iranian oil production, 50 per cent of Libyan Oil production, 23 per cent of Iraqi oil production, most of Venezuelan oil production and more. Anaconda and Kennecott Copper control copper production in Chile, Mexico and other countries in Africa and Latin America.

The U.S. Government is, of course, the chief instrument of the rulers' policies of aggression and war in defense of their imperialist interests. It is also the means of suppressing the domestic workers and others who are exploited by the ruling circles. The government is a joint dictatorship of all the ruling circles, with the leading position held by the New York banks, headed by the Rockefeller Group.

It is thus that Nelson Rockefeller's appointment as Vice-President places the American people in the position of directly underwriting, politically and with our tax monies, the empire building economic and financial interests of the Rockefellers. □

U.S. ARMY CONDUCTS SECRET RESEARCH ON ETHNIC WEAPONS

BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AIMED AT SPECIFIC GENETIC GROUPS

(Philadelphia, Pa.) Secret research by the U.S. Army is thought to be underway to develop "ethnic weapons," chemical or biological warfare agents (gases or liquids) that would harm or kill population groupings with specific genetic characteristics.

In the November, 1970, issue of *Military Review*, described as "The professional journal of the U.S. Army," an article appeared called "Ethnic Weapons," written by Carl A. Larsen, head of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Lund, Sweden.

On April 1, 1974, Dr. Richard Hammerschlag, of the Division of Neurosciences, City of Hope National Medical Center at Duarte, California, delivered an address to the American Chemical Society on this horrifying possibility. *Recon*, the radical, monthly newsletter on military affairs published here has reprinted excerpts from that address.

"Inherent in the strategy and tactics of war," Dr. Hammerschlag told his audience, "there is an intention of destroying members of certain nations or ethnic groups. Put in crude terms, this has been manifested historically by psyching up soldiers to believe in the inferiority of the enemy.

"In modern warfare this is manifested not only in preparation of the soldier, but also in the strategic design and use of weapons. Examples range from the destruction of food crops of a specific population as was done in Vietnam, to the currently existing potential of several nations for immunization of their own troops prior to initiating a biological warfare attack, and to the theoretical use of specific agents directed against the genetic makeup of a target population.

"This new concept," Dr. Hammerschlag continued, "conceived in terms of 'ethnic weapons,' is that a new class of both chemical and biological warfare agents might be designed to exploit naturally existing differences in gene frequencies among specific population groups.

"In theory, such weapons would possess a capability of incapacitating or killing a selected 'enemy' population to a significantly greater extent than a preselected population of 'friendly' forces. The concept is based on a growing number of findings that many proteins exist in

several different genetically controlled forms in human populations.

"The best known examples of these multiple-form proteins are the blood group substances ABO and RH, and the existence of *Sickle Cell Anemia*. As an example, blood group type B is practically absent in many tribes of American Indians, while it appears in highest frequency in several population groups in Southwest Asia and southern India."

CHATTANOOGA BLACK MAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

of patrolman Conner, that Brother Brown had anything to do with the Estes Company.

Among the questions the Black community is demanding answers to are:

1. Did someone really fire two shots at patrolman Conner? If so, where are the spent shells?

2. If they shot at him from inside the building, where are the bullet holes.

3. Where is the gun?

4. If there really were two men burglarizing the Estes Company, why wasn't the other man captured, since moments after his

BLACK LEGISLATOR JOINS FIGHT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

unthinkable. Slavery is over and we're not living in the 1920s anymore. I strongly urge the residents of Gillis' area to sign petitions on his behalf and give them to me. I will personally take these petitions to Gov. Shapp myself, and I will try to urge the governor personally not to extradite Gillis. I will also urge other legislators to join me in this effort."

For the past four years Brother Gillis has been a pipefitter for the Lisbon Construction Company, and his boss says he has been an outstanding, reliable worker. He has been supporting the three foster children of Mrs. Mae Bogley, whom he is planning to marry.

"These kids love me and think of me as their father," said Brother Gillis. "They're the only thing I have to live for, and if they send me back to North Carolina it would mean certain death. A couple of the guys who were in for

Dr. Hammerschlag comments: that he decided to find out if such "ethnic weapons" were being developed after a British colleague raised the possibility of their development at an international meeting on neurochemistry in Tokyo during the summer of 1973.

"That such a survey might already have been carried out within the Defense Department," Dr. Hammerschlag said, "is evidenced by the article that

call for help some 30 policemen were swarming over the area?

5. Did Conner really yell several times and then fire a warning shot into the air? Could he do all that before the men were out of sight?

6. If Brother Allen was really running away why didn't Conner aim for his legs instead of shooting him?

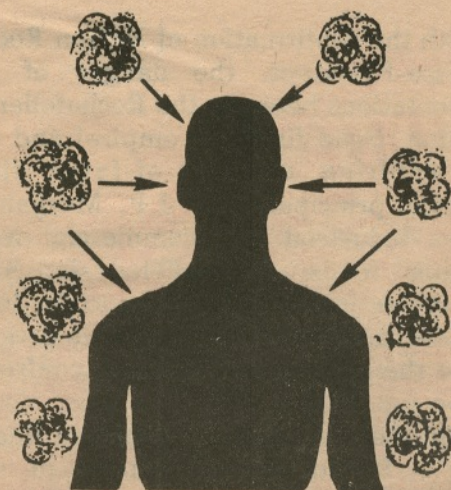
Officer Conner's story is filled with contradictions. The Black community is demanding that the Chattanooga Police Department provide some satisfactory answers to these questions or bring Conner to trial for the murder of Brother Allen Brown. □

life wanted to kill me and they never forget.

"What good would it do to send me back there? I admit I've made mistakes in life, but now I'm doing some good for some wonderful people for the first time in my life. Everything I have in life is right here. I want to prove to society that I'm a man, and I want to help my kids so they won't make the same mistakes I made in life." □

CAR PRICES TO RISE \$500

(Detroit, Michigan) - The country's three largest auto manufacturers (Ford, General Motors and Chrysler) have announced that prices for their 1975 models will go up an average of \$500. The 1974 models' costs were approximately \$500 over 1973 prices. It is also reported by the Chrysler Corporation that prices will increase as the year progresses. □



Biological warfare equals racial genocide.

appeared in the November issue of *Military Review*..."

When questioned as to why he came to write the article, Larsen replied, "There was, to my knowledge, no other way to bring this threatening development out into the open in such a way that civilian and military authorities can say, 'no, we won't have chemical weapons, selective or

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

ATTICA MASSACRE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

must, but justice will not be had until all indictments are dismissed."

No date for the trials has been set. Although the prosecution claims it is ready to proceed, it continues to withhold evidence from the defense. For instance, the prosecution has not turned over all of the discovery material — photos, video tapes, tape recordings, films of the inside of the prison during the rebellion, the names and addresses of potential witnesses, and more.

Already the state has spent \$4 million in preparation for the case, and the attorney general, the state Department of Corrections and Erie County are asking for a combined total of \$5 million more for prosecution expenses, increased security and more courtrooms.

"Now is this fair," asked defendant Richard Bilello, pointing to the assistant attorney general in court this spring, "that this guy has everything at his disposal — money, staff — and still I come here in handcuffs? The attorney general has spent millions of dollars on this case and all I get is 20 cents a day. This is a mockery. This is a farce."

"I know you have the power to take my life," said another brother in court that day, "and I've seen you take the lives of my brothers. If we have to go through this charade, I'm going to make it quite clear that Attica is transpiring all over again."

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

Intercommunal News

CHINA DENOUNCES U.S. OVER POPULATION MYTH

(Bucharest, Romania) The People's Republic of China has denounced the West's concern over increasing world population as an "imperialist" myth aimed at keeping the developing countries in subjugation. Speaking at the United Nations World Population Conference, here, China's Deputy Minister of Health Huang Shu-tse lashed out at the superpowers' claim that poverty is the result of overpopulation.

"One superpower asserts that there is a population explosion in Asia, Africa and Latin America and that catastrophe to mankind is imminent," Huang Shu-tse told representatives of 135 countries who assembled to formulate a global plan to meet population problems. "Another superpower," he continued, "makes the prpopaganda blast that rapid population growth is a millstone around the neck of the developing countries."

Both contentions were false, he said and were simply part of a pattern of "imperialist, colonialist and hegemonist (predominance of one state over another)" aggression against less developed countries. China has maintained that the problem of poverty is not one of overpopulation but is caused by the plunder of the world's resources and people by imperialist powers, and particularly the United States.

The general view put forward by the U.S. is that excessive world population growth is already overtaxing resources such as food and that in the developing countries a diversion of capital to support growing populations retards economic improvements.

The truth, however, is that the world's rich, owners of vast material wealth and capital, are in possession of an overabundance of resources and keep these valuable goods from the masses of people. These capitalists even go so far as to destroy large quantities of food which they cannot sell, while children the world over starve to death.

The Chinese delegate to the Conference, aligning his country with the developing countries as a fellow victim of "exploitation," "plundering" and obstruction of

U.S. FAILS DROUGHT-STRICKEN AFRICA

(Berkeley, Calif.) - Roger Morris, an ex-aide to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and an expert on the drought in north-central Africa, has charged that the U.S. government's relief program for the drought-stricken countries is negligent and crippled by bureaucracy. U.S. aid failures were in large part responsible for the deaths of more than 100,000 Africans last year, Morris said in his report, "Disaster in the Desert," published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

According to *Internews*, an international news service, Morris charged both the U.S. and the U.N. with failure to come to grips with the African crisis with a decisive, systematic aid program. "The international relief effort has been very, very uneven and the lack of planning and coordination has been almost as much of a tragedy as the drought itself," said Morris, who served on the National Security Council with Kissinger from 1969 to 1970, resigning in protest over the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

"Disaster in the Desert," a study of U.S. and U.N. relief programs in West Africa, states that this year's delivery of food is the latest in a history of failures on the part of the U.N. and U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) to lessen the suffering of millions of African people.

AID, said Morris, "tolerated and in a sense covered-up" discrimination against African nomads in the distribution of food by local officials in urban centers.



Although the U.S. has become rich from the economic plunder of Africa, it (U.S.) has failed to send needed food to starving children in drought-stricken Sahel.

He said that according to "internal AID documents," the U.S. sent cattle feed to Africa in 1973 for human consumption that "were low-grade sorghum (a cereal grass cultivated for grain) used in this country only for animal feed. It contains a relatively high percentage of impurities — sawdust, animal feces and so forth. We've never sent it abroad before in any other food programs."

Morris criticized the Agriculture Department for "playing down" the need for food in Africa. "It's in the interests of agribusiness, of course, to promote American exports of food for profit and therefore it's in their interests to cut down the apparent need for humanitarian assistance."

The initial problem, said Morris, was the lack of State Department concern for the nations of the sahel (the sub-Saharan region of Africa hit by the drought). The U.S. does not consider the region to be militarily strategic or profitable for investments. As Morris says, "These were the countries nobody paid any attention to."

Consequently, the study reveals, the U.S. and U.N. ignored repeated distress signals from Africa as early as the late sixties. It was not until the summer of 1973, after five years of drought and thousands of deaths, was an effort mounted to deal with the crisis.

SIMPLISTIC

AID officials attacked Morris' report as "simplistic and often inaccurate," but admitted that their Sahel relief program has not been a "model operation." Morris told *Internews* that after the release of his report "all the people who were involved in drought relief at AID were replaced" and the new staff was given a bigger budget.

Last year, international donations of over \$150 million in food, medicine and transportation narrowly prevented mass starvation. But, this year the situation is worse. The drought is spreading east throughout Ethiopia, as well as to parts of Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria, Gambia and the Central African Republic. A U.N. official told *Time* that he feared "1974 is going to make 1973 look like the horn of plenty."

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Guinea-Bissau liberation army troops, shown above, have successfully driven Portugal from their country after 500 years of colonial rule. In being one with the people PAIGC has won smashing military victories.

PORTUGAL PLEDGES RAPID DECOLONIZATION TO U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The Portuguese government has promised U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim that it will fully cooperate with the United Nations in the decolonization of Portugal's African colonies, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

In a memorandum handed to Waldheim on August 4, at the conclusion of his three-day visit in Lisbon, Portugal, the government of General Antonio de Spínola proclaimed its readiness to

recognize the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent state, to arrange for the immediate transfer of its administration and to support the republic's application for membership in the United Nations.

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is already recognized by over 80 countries in the world as an independent state and has established full diplomatic relations with many of these countries.

Meeting on August 8, the U.N. Security Council turned Guinea-Bissau's application for membership over to the membership committee for preliminary consideration and was expected to discuss the committee's report on August 12.

Despite Secretary-General Waldheim's enthusiasm over Portugal's pledge to decolonize as rapidly as possible, many Africa experts have expressed doubt that Portugal intends to carry out its promises. They believe that this latest statement to Waldheim is a scheme to deceive the U.N. and the rest of the world and buy time for the Spínola government to come up with a plan to actually maintain control over its African territories - Portugal's real intent.

The memorandum stated that Portugal would take immediate steps to enter into negotiations with the leading African political party of Mozambique, FRELIMO,

in order to hasten independence for that territory and that it (Portugal) intended to make early contacts with the liberation movements of Angola with a view to formal negotiations.

In an obvious move to put a price tag on its decision to decolonize, Portugal expressed "hope" that the U.N. would reconsider previous decisions and enable the country to fully participate in the social, economic, financial and technical programs of the U.N. and its agencies.

On another matter not referred to in the memorandum, a U.N. spokesperson said in reply to newsmen's questions that Portugal had assured Waldheim that it was actively reviewing its position on the mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia called for by the Security Council. To date, Portugal has ignored the sanctions in its support of the White racist minority regime in Rhodesia.

Abdulahim Abby Farah, assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, was scheduled to travel to the African countries of Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire, Senegal, Guinea, Algeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to inform African leaders and liberation movements of the results of Waldheim's visit to Portugal. □

PANAMA TO RENEW RELATIONS WITH CUBA

(Panama, Central America) - Panama, the third Latin-American country to do so, has announced its intentions to renew diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Relations between the two countries had been severed since 1962. Panama joins Argentina and Peru in renewing ties with the Castro-led government. □

AFRICA IN FOCUS



SOUTH AFRICA

On July 25, the South African police moved in to break up a strike meeting of African auto workers in East London, South Africa, a coastal town in the Eastern Cape. They threw tear gas grenades and unleashed dogs to disperse the workers. Later, 500 of the strikers met at a Community center to condemn the police action. They decided to continue the strike until a 25 per cent pay increase was won.

GUINEA

Three citizens of West Germany who had been imprisoned in Guinea for participating in a plot against the President of Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, were released recently to Italian foreign Minister Pedini. Italy had represented the interests of West Germany in Guinea since the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries as a result of the actions of the three West Germans.

Guinea demanded an official statement from West Germany condemning participation by its nationals in such plots. The United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim was successful in obtaining such a statement which resulted in the release of the three West Germans by Guinea.

"SPANISH SAHARA"

Spain announced last week that she will supervise a referendum in her African colony, "Spanish Sahara" next year, reputedly "to allow the people there to determine their political future," writes *The New York Times*. The territory, which has a mainly nomadic population of about 70,000 and which is rich in phosphate deposits, is claimed by three other countries - Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania. Morocco has objected to this action arguing that the majority of the nomadic people would not vote, leaving the decision in effect to a minority of residents in the towns who are mostly of Spanish background.

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"THE DIARY OF INHAMINGA"

The horrors of the massacres committed by the Portuguese army in Mozambique's Inhaminga region from August, 1973, to March, 1974, is the subject of "The Diary of Inhaminga," presented by THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY this week in its fourth installment.

The diary, which vividly describes some of the incidents of murder and torture perpetrated against the African people of Mozambique, was written by Dutch Catholic missionaries who left the country in April of this year as a protest against the mass murders and the failure of the Catholic Church to respond to them.

We are grateful to the Angola Committee of Amsterdam, Holland, for providing us with this translation.

PART 4

28th January Monday.

Third FRELIMO attack on the barracks, but without any trouble. Again Africans were taken prisoner, questioned and tortured. At the mission, 200 meters away from the police station, we were able to hear the cries of pain regularly, when people were tortured.

Fifth visit of the district governor to Inhaminga since the beginning of January.

The boy Mhamataka Miti, 18 years old, who was kept prisoner for five days because he happened to talk to two other boys in a shop, was released. He came directly to the mission to have his finger without nail and other injuries treated.

29th January - Tuesday.

Third attack on the village waterpumps in Dimba. In the afternoon 60 militia arrived, members of a group of 650 African men who came from and were trained in the most northern part of Mozambique.

30th January - Wednesday.

After pamphlets were spread by military helicopter to the different population groups of Massandra, in which people were ordered to gather without exception and to have themselves taken to Inhaminga, the army went to Massandra with several trucks to collect the Africans at the indicated places. Upon arrival, not a single African was to be seen. The two shops and the mill were cleared out and everything was taken to Inhaminga without the owners' knowledge. It later appeared that the population groups

which were given orders had fled further into the jungle in the direction of the freedom fighters, taking all their possessions with them.

31st January - Thursday

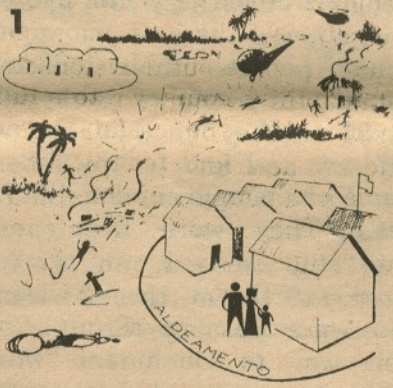
Sixth visit of the district governor to the village.

2nd February - Saturday.

The first train that day, coming from Beira, hit a mine 10 kilometers from the Cundue station network, Milha 65, with the same result as on the other occasions: 6 cars derailed, all traffic jammed until late in the afternoon. A seminarist from Murraca who was returning to the seminary after ending his vacation and who was held by the police in Inhaminga, was released through the intermediary of the Mother Superior of Murraca, who came to Inhaminga for that

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

AVISO À POPULAÇÃO
O POVO DEVE IR PARA OS ALDEAMENTOS



NO MATO HÁ GUERRA!
NO ALDEAMENTO HÁ PAZ!

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OVER 100 AFRICANS MASSACRED IN NAMIBIA

(London, England) - The mass murder of over 100 Africans by White South African paramilitary forces in a 1973 raid on a village in northern Namibia (South West Africa) has been revealed by two Swedish television reporters who visited the area. The journalists filmed the massacred village during a secret one month visit earlier this year.

This film shows ruined huts, spent grenades, charred skeletons and other debris in a village in the Caprivi Strip, about 30 miles south of the point where the Zambian, Angolan and Namibian borders meet. The South Africans attacked the village on September 19, 1973.

"The impression we got," said one of the journalists, "was of a fairly substantial village which was probably much as the South Africans had left it, though the ruins had started since then. There were plenty of vultures when we arrived, but they could have had no fresh meat left by then. This could explain why we found more skulls than other bones."

Brutality by South Africa, which has illegally occupied Namibia since World War II, has increased in recent months with the reinstatement of public floggings — beating people from 10 to 15 times with a hard palm cane.

Flogging was started in the country in 1973 as punishment for such so-called crimes as membership in the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the movement for Namibian independence. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, August 17, 1974,

story titled "Hundred of Namibians Flee to Angola.")

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights heard testimony and received evidence on the massacre in early July. As a result of the hearing, the Commission intends to further investigate the attack.

Among the evidence it received are still photos of the village and of the lone survivor of the attack, Aaron Hangula, 75, who was blinded and scarred by knives and left to die. He survived, however, and was taken by SWAPO guerrillas to Zambia where he recovered and was interviewed by the Swedish journalists.

Hangula said that SWAPO guerrillas had attacked a nearby South African military camp on September 18, 1973. Both sides lost two men. The next day the South Africans bombed the village from a helicopter and then attacked on the ground.

"In the evening the Boers (South Africans) came and put us in a line," Hangula told the journalists, "and one Portuguese soldier told me to run away, otherwise we would die. And I ran away. But my house, my children and my wife stayed behind and all the people in the area. Altogether 105 were killed. The Boers poured petrol on them and set fire to them," Hangula said.

He was later caught, questioned by South Africans about other SWAPO locations in the area, and tortured.

Other photos submitted to the Commission include gruesome stills of many charred skulls which the cameramen found lying near a small area of bush at the edge of the village.

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



SWAPO guerrillas on military maneuvers.

BALTIMORE BLACK COMMUNITY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

have them ready until this week. "There are no charges," John Walton, the school board president is reported as saying, "This is no court, no evidentiary kind of procedure."

Larry S. Gibson, a Black member of the school board, said that he believes one of the prime motivations for the move to oust the Black superintendent is politics. He said Dr. Patterson had incurred animosity at City Hall by taking hundreds of school aides and substitute teachers' jobs out of the patronage system. "He's depoliticized the department," Mr. Gibson told *The Baltimore Sun*.

BLAME

Black Congressman Parren J. Mitchell laid the blame for the ouster move directly on Mayor Schaefer's doorstep. "All of us know that the Mayor could have put an end to this before it even started," Dr. Patterson told reporters.

The Black community has rallied in strong support of Dr. Patterson. A demonstration was held in front of the Mayor's home led by the leaders of the local NAACP demanding that Dr. Patterson be maintained. Another demonstration was held at City Hall making the same demand. Strategy meetings were held at the Greenspring Junior High School.

The White school board member, Robert Schaefer, who made the motion for the ouster of Dr. Patterson, has announced he is considering resigning from the school board. This followed two

SAVE THE PEOPLE ORGANIZES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

On August 8, the day Nixon announced he would make a nationally televised statement and subsequently turned his regime over to Ford, the Save the People picket at the White House received international press exposure, "which is good in terms of exposing the issue on hand as seen by Blacks to the world."

For Save the People, their last survival picket, on August 9, was the most significant and important. "It represented not a victory, but a call to continue struggling. By this we mean the fact that Nixon resigned represents no people's victory. Justice has not been done..."□

days of picketing by supporters of Dr. Patterson at the First National Bank of Maryland of which Schaefer is vice-president.

Schaefer, who is the school board's finance committee chairman, explained that the picketing of the bank had reminded him "of my responsibility to my employer and stockholders." He called the distribution of leaflets urging the community to boycott the bank "unfair," but said he is not under any pressure from the bank's management to resign from the school board.

At issue was the threat to the city that the Baltimore school system would lose \$22 million in federal funds because of its failure to arrive at an agreed upon desegregation plan. The failure was due to White power structure opposition to real desegregation of Baltimore schools, and its repeated attempts to thwart efforts of the Black community to

"THE DIARY OF INHAMINGA"

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

purpose, since the priests were not able to do anything to help obtain this boy's release from prison.

3rd February - Sunday.

At 7 o'clock in the morning Mr. Joao Carrelo, mechanic at the city workshop went to Beira by jeep alone, since he was going to start working for Codanto the next day. At Milha 94, south of the railway-crossing, he was surprised by a group of freedom fighters who wanted to stop him. He tried to escape after having tried to defend himself. He was shot. His shoes and watch were removed and the jeep was set fire to.

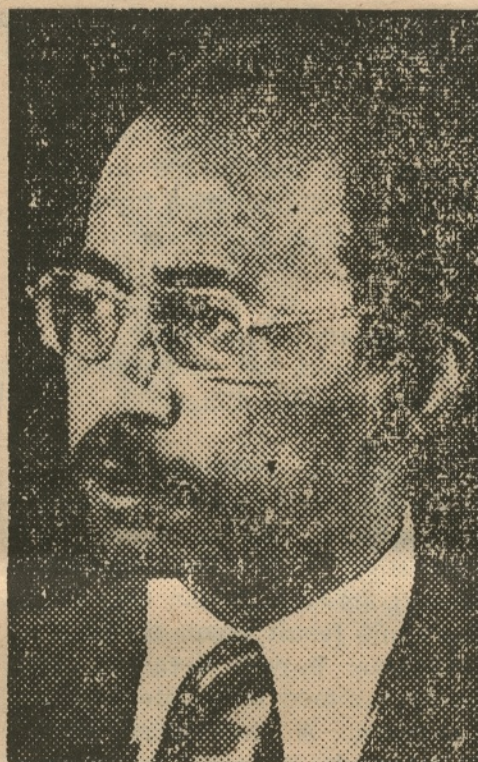
On the same day and at the same place some time later a truck was stopped. The driver was forced to give all his money (a few contos) and was then allowed to continue.

As a result of these events a group of soldiers and local representatives of the PIDE-DGS carried out an investigation on the spot, whereby several men and women were arrested and

CHINA DENOUNCES U.S.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

development by the superpowers, said that development lags were due to "exploitation by the superpowers (U.S. and Soviet Union) and that "the large population of the Third World is an important condition for the fight against imperialism and hegemonism."



Dr. ROLAND N. PATTERSON.

achieve some agreement, even on a weak plan, in order to guarantee that Baltimore received the funds.□

taken to the Inhaminga police station. A crowd of White people had gathered there to show the "guilty people" their indignation. It was a day of panic and hatred on the one side and of suffering and fear on the other. Few White people came to the H. Mass. They were frightened. After the second, in Portuguese, at 9:15 a.m., three Africans who were passing through on their way to Quelimane were arrested at the baker's and brought to the police station. There, in front of the entrance to the building, they were beaten without having been heard, in the presence of many Whites, men, women and children; just to show them how "terrorists" were dealt with. Glasses were broken, watches were taken from them, and one of them lost consciousness. 5:50 p.m.: the Europeans drove their cars in procession to the airfield to see the body of the killed mechanic off which was taken to Beira. Mr. Faria came to the mission to obtain information about the school and possible havens of refuge for the refugees from Massandra.

TO BE CONTINUED

There is a fear on the part of the superpowers that a growing Third World population presents a greater likelihood of revolt against domination by these powers. Also, the chance of a successful struggle against superpower-oppression is greatly increased with larger populations.□

WORLD
SCOPE



UNITED NATIONS

In a blistering attack on the "superpowers," China said last week that predictions of doom because of overpopulation are part of a plot by the U.S. and Soviet Union to maintain their dominance over the Third World. Addressing the United Nations World Population Conference in Bucharest, Romania, Huang Shu-tse, vice minister of health, said that overpopulation is due to "...the exploitation, aggression and plunder of the superpowers."

SOUTH KOREA

Two high officials in the South Korean government resigned last week as part of a symbolic display of accepting responsibility for the assassination of Mrs. Park Chung Hee, wife of the country's president, on August 15. President Park's long-time confidant and bodyguard and the home minister resigned. Park rejected the mass resignation of Premier Kim Chong Pil and the rest of his cabinet, eight senior presidential aides, five leaders of the governing Democratic Republican Party, the ambassador to Japan and the mayor of Seoul.

MEXICO

Mexico's labor movement threatened a nationwide strike last week unless the government and private employers guarantee a 35 per cent emergency wage increase to compensate for inflation. The confederation of Mexican Workers' threat is aimed at 180,000 companies of various sizes all over the country. Confederation leader Fidel Velazquez, 74, has ordered affiliated unions to issue strike notices with September 20 set as the strike deadline unless a settlement is reached.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

American ex-patriots who fled to British Columbia because of their resistance to the Vietnam war may hold a meeting "to plan resistance to Ford's amnesty," according to a man active in the expatriate group called AMEX. Ed Starkins, originally from San Diego, California, said, "If we ever return, even for a visit, it will not be with the idea that we are being forgiven, but because the war is over and the issue is dead."

ENTERTAINMENT

MIRIAM MAKEBA TO HEADLINE ENTERTAINMENT FESTIVAL FOR FOREMAN-ALI FIGHT



THE SON OF MAN TEMPLE SINGERS gave an expert performance as they accompanied AMINATA MOSEKA on several numbers.

AMINATA MOSEKA THRILLS AUDIENCES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4
 Brother Walter E. Dallas. This was the play's second appearance at the Community Learning Center and audiences enjoyed this new revised version even more than they did the first time the play was performed in April of this year during the Oscar Brown benefit.

The play concerns a Black Vietnam war veteran's search for inner peace upon his return to the states. The play makes an eloquent plea that all Black people can relate to—stop the killing in our communities. □

DROUGHT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15
 The drought has already taken a large toll in the West African countries of Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad. After a tour of this region in February, U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim warned, "If sufficient action isn't taken in the next few months, people and countries could disappear from the face of the map."

In response to Waldheim's appeal, donor nations, including the U.S. promised 800,000 tons of food — just short of what the U.N. estimates it must distribute to temporarily avert mass starvation. But most of the food shipments were delayed several months and are now arriving all at once, jamming the African port and transportation facilities. Food is piling up on docks and in warehouses, where much of it is rotting, eaten by rats or stolen and sold on the commercial market. □

All proceeds from the highly successful benefit went to the Community Learning Center, a multi-purpose people's institution providing free educational, cultural and social activities in the heart of the East Oakland Black community.

The Center's many programs include the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model school for over 100 Black and poor youth; the Son of Man Temple, a Sunday community forum; the Free Music Program; the Free Dance Program; the Black Drama Program; an Adult Education Program for high school equivalency diplomas; and a class in People's Art. □

(Kinshasa, Zaire) - Internationally acclaimed South African songstress Miriam Makeba will be one of the featured entertainers at "Zaire 74," a series of concerts scheduled here for September 20-22 as part of the week-long celebration leading up to the world heavyweight championship fight on September 24, between George Foreman, the current title holder, and Muhammad Ali, the people's champion.

Other top-name Black American and African performers scheduled to star in the momentous gathering include The Crusaders, Manu Dibang, the Fania Latin All-Stars, Stevie Wonder, Aretha Franklin, James Brown, B.B. King, Johnny Nash and The Spinners.

Hugh Masekela and Steward Levine, producers of the three-day event, report that several other renowned Black pop-rock stars and their African counterparts are still to be finalized. The two producers also said that the entire group of Black American stars will depart for Zaire in mid-September on specially chartered jets. A big kick-off party is scheduled for New York City, followed by a special reception in Zaire.

In addition, negotiations are almost completed with a major production company to film the

concert activities for a forthcoming musical movie feature to be released internationally. Masekela and Levine revealed that a series of albums will be produced and distributed by at least two major record companies.

The heavyweight championship is expected to draw over 88,000 people, including 5,000 Americans and 2,000 Europeans, to Kinshasa's 20th of May Stadium. □

I Have Hoped

...I have hoped; I have planned; I have striven to the will,

To the will — while the very best in me I have given.

I have battled against the pitiless master; that the meek and the weak call "chance."

I am getting old, but I am young, tired and I feel cheated of all the things youth has urged me to win.

But yet number me not with the defeated, for tomorrow again...

I begin.

Larry T. Carr
 (Maryland Penitentiary)
 Baltimore, Md.

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FIVE WHITE YOUTHS SENTENCED FOR CROSS BURNING

(Sacramento, Calif.) - A U.S. District Court here has set sentencing of five White youths on arson charges for September 1. The five pleaded guilty to burning a cross in the yard of Ms. Donna Rae Buckner and throwing a gasoline-filled bottle through her window in January. They are also charged with burning a truck in front of the home of Dorsey L. McGowan.

The charges in both cases describe the youths' actions as "willfully attempting by threat of force, to injure, intimidate and interfere" with Ms. Buckner and Mr. McGowan because of their race and where they live. □

SHOCK AND DISBELIEF

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

destroy him. Garry added: "I am satisfied Huey doesn't intend to show up. I think he got a belly full of six-and-a-half years of intimidation and harassment by Oakland police."

Asked why he had suggested that Huey's life was in danger, Garry revealed for the first time the existence of a tape in which former Oakland Police Chief Charles Gain told Garry that a \$10,000 contract on Brother Huey's life had been issued by a group of Oakland gangsters.

Contacted by newsmen in St. Petersburg, Florida (where he is now Public Safety Director), Gains confirmed that he had told Garry in July of 1973 that there was a \$10,000 contract on Brother Huey's life issued by unspecified underworld figures. The Bay Area Public Broadcasting TV and radio stations obtained a copy of that conversation and played portions of it on their TV and radio programs Friday evening.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* quotes Gains as saying: "My staff felt that based upon information they had gained we should give credence to the threat. Had we determined it was a crank thing, I would not have called Garry."

Huey's companion Robert Heard, arrested on the ludicrous charge of harboring Huey on the the evening when Brother Huey voluntarily surrendered himself to police, was in court for the arraignment. He pleaded not guilty to charges of "harboring a principal in a felony" and assault.

700 BULLETPROOF VESTS FOR OAKLAND POLICE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Oakland City Councilmen have seen fit to authorize the purchase of 700 bulletproof vests at a cost of \$53,000. The vests will be purchased from Armour of America, a Beverly Hills firm.

Chief of Police George Hart explained that the vests protect against most bullets, "but most important," says Hart, "from ammunition fired from a .357 magnum which is the gun police themselves use." Over the past year, five policemen have been killed—two of them when someone got a hold of a police gun. Hart refused to allow the vests to be photographed, indicating he wanted "to keep a low profile" on the fact that police would be wearing them. □

A preliminary hearing date will be set this Friday for Brother Heard.

The vindictiveness of the Oakland power structure at having lost what they were sure was an opportunity to imprison Huey P. Newton, and thereby, they hoped, undermine the very effective political and survival organizing work of the Black Panther Party, was revealed in Saturday's *Oakland Tribune*.

Under the front page banner headline, "Huey Bail Bond Probed," the paper prints the names and addresses, taken from court and county records, of the several individuals who contributed to Brother Huey's \$42,000 bail. His failure to show in court for the arraignment has resulted in forfeiture of that bond and a bench warrant for his arrest without bail.

The intent, of course, is to publicly identify these individuals, all of whom are property holders in the Bay Area, for intimidation and harassment by police agencies, other city, state and federal agencies, newsmen and right-wing extremists.

Asked what effect these latest developments will have on the work of the Black Panther Party, Ms. Elaine Brown, the Party's leading spokesperson and candi-



Brother HUEY P. NEWTON, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, greets guest at book party held in his honor last February at the Community Learning Center.

date for a Council seat in last year's municipal elections here, assured reporters that the work of the Party will proceed unhampered.

She revealed for the first time publicly that she plans to run for an Oakland City Council seat in 1975, and expressed confidence that she would win. On previous occasions Ms. Brown has said that in 1975 the Party will be involved in the campaigns for at least five city council seats.

It was the demonstrated ability of the Party to organize a highly

effective, fast-moving, community-rooted political machine in key areas in Oakland for last year's municipal elections, that has frightened the Oakland power structure into extreme measures in an attempt to discredit, undermine and destroy Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party.

"But," Ms. Brown assured reporters, "none of their efforts will succeed because the Black and other oppressed communities of Oakland understand why Huey and the Party are under attack." □

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ISSUES BEHIND THE BIG PRO FOOTBALL STRIKE



N.F.L. strike characterizes the exploitation and low wages in professional football which has led players to seek control of sport in the context of workers' control over industry generally.

BY PAUL HOCH

"Pro footballers on strike?!!" the sports editor fumed. "What's the world coming to?" Yet this year with runaway inflation "officially" underestimated at close to 15 per cent, "professional" football players joined garbage men, transit workers, dock loaders, teachers, airline stewardesses and many, many others on the picket lines.

In general terms, in the seven years since the merger of the American Football League into the National Football League, and the demise of an (even token) competition for players between the two leagues, football players salaries have fallen way behind those of players in other sports, like hockey and basketball, where there has been player competition between two rival leagues. In very rough terms the average NFL footballer gets about half of what the average pro hockey player pulls down, and less than one third of what the average pro basketballer pockets.

BASKETBALL

Probably the main reason why pro basketball players have been able to keep their salaries up, is because the strong and unified NBA players' association, under the leadership of militant Blacks like Oscar Robertson, not only got the proposed NBA/ABA league merger blocked in the courts and Congress, but got themselves prepared for effective strike action against any possible merger.

The football players' associations have traditionally been made of far weaker stuff, and indeed the NFL players' association was only belatedly "recognized" (and partly organized) by the NFL owners as a 'sweetheart' alternative to what would have been a single players' union for all sports being organized through

the Teamsters by former all-pro defensive back Bernie Parrish. Indeed one of the most active player organizers of the American Football League players' association was Buffalo quarterback Jack Kemp, who, as a member of the House of Representatives, went on to be one of the most right wing hawks in the entire U.S. Congress.

RACISM

One of the most crucial ideological weapons in management's pacification arsenal is their ability to use racism to divide White and Black players. In the present NFL strike, you didn't have to have especially good eyesight to notice all those Black players carrying picket signs at training camp gates, while many White vets (including especially a large number of higher paid glamor boy White quarterbacks) marched into practice. The establishment press seemed to relish giving attention to this aspect of things, perhaps in hopes of turning a fairly united and solid players' strike into some sort of race war.

It didn't work. There was in fact, except for the quarterbacks, almost total Black-White unity among the strikers right to the end. Aside from the quarterbacks, what scabbing there was came from almost entirely marginal players, many of whom would not even have been in the league but for their scab duty vis-a-vis the strike.

The quarterback situation was peculiar in another way too. Though Blacks had previously been virtually completely barred from this position in the NFL in the past, in the middle of the strike several clubs including the New York Jets suddenly came up with Black quarterbacks. This undoubtedly stimulated fan inter-

est, especially in cities like New York with large Black populations, and was used to attract people to the low quality scab exhibition games. In effect, the "blacklegs," who had been barred from a certain job, were once again being used with some success as strike-breakers.

In order to prevent this situation from recurring in the future, it is in the interest of every NFL player, be he White or Black, to put racism aside and fight for the right of qualified Black players to be quarterbacks. It is very disappointing that the NFL players' association has not so far taken a stand on this important issue.

As in most strikes, particularly those involving what are called "professionals," one of the major issues quickly became the viability of the union itself. Even the fact that in this case the union still describes itself in the more low key term "players' association" is a highly significant indication of their still low level of trade union consciousness. (Which in turn does largely reflect the highly individualistic, and parasitic, role of professional entertainers vis-a-vis material production.)

PROFESSIONALS

The standard play of football owners, newspaper brass, ministries of education, and so on, is to emphasize and re-emphasize to their employees that the latter are "professionals," not workers, and they should refrain from rubbing shoulders with those dirty truck drivers and garbage men in those nasty things called unions.

This ideology of "professionalism" has long been one of the most effective weapons for keeping white collar workers split off from their blue collar comrades (and hence for keeping both

groups fairly ineffectual). One reason it was so effective is that for many years the White collar/blue collar split did correspond to highly significant wage and privilege differentials within the work force.

PROLETARIANIZATION

However in recent years with what is sometimes called the increasing "proletarianization" of many white collar jobs (i.e., a decline in salaries and privileges in the white collar sector relative to the blue collar sector), many "professionals" from teachers to journalists to football players have been increasingly less willing to accept pay in prestige and ideology. (And so too with university students, the society's future "professionals." Their partial desertions from the banners of "professional" ideology marked the upsurge of the student movement in the late '60s.) The football players' strike is thus a highly significant development in itself, and provides an important barometer for measuring the feelings of other increasingly proletarianized professionals in the white collar sector.

Then too in the football strike, as in all other strikes, there has been a strong tendency for the battle to shift beyond the wage demands which supposedly are the overt "issues" into an all-out struggle over whether management or workers are to have control over the final product. Dick Young of the New York *Daily News*, who is perhaps America's most widely read sports columnist (and certainly one of its most establishment oriented), was quick to get the point. The real issue, he recognized, was who would control the sport: the Lords of Football or the union; management or labor.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

ETHNIC WEAPONS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

otherwise, they are simply suicidal.' "

Dr. Hammerschlag comments: "Surely, Larsen must appreciate that few civilians and fewer scientists keep up with military journals, so that his 'warning' would be hardly audible outside military circles. As to the military reaction to his article, a letter in *Military Review* from a U.S. Army colonel, that can be imagined as a representative response, states:

"...the lead article 'Ethnic Weapons' is one of the most thought-provoking to appear anywhere in some time. The military implications of the research upon which Dr. Larsen reported are doubtless greater than any of us realize at this point. I would hope that the article might stimulate further discussion of this matter."

Dr. Hammerschlag concludes: "The major conclusion at this time is that while the understanding and prevention of hereditary diseases is a generally laudable goal of human genetic research, it is imperative for a ripple of awareness to spread through both the community of scientists engaged in this research, and through the general public, of the possible exploitation of this work for the development of ethnic warfare agents..." □

SUIT FILED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

This suit, if upheld by either the district courts or the Texas Supreme Court, will expose Harris County's scandal-a-day administration for what it is.

Just two days after the suit was submitted in the district courts, county officials, acting in a panic-stricken frenzy, feverishly plotted to blemish the image of the Black Panther Party. Their attempt became part and parcel of the national enforcement agencies diabolical scheme to systematically destroy the Party and on Wednesday, August 7, both local and federal law enforcement agencies raided an office of the Houston Branch of the Black Panther Party. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, August 17, 1974.)

Afterwards it was disclosed that the raid was instigated by county detectives along with the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco. However, the harassment of the power structure of Harris County is fruitless and insignificant, because the people of Harris County are determined to end corruption within local government. □

"ISSUES BEHIND THE BIG PRO FOOTBALL STRIKE"

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

One of the main ideological obstacles to workers' control over production in industry generally is the myth that management is supplying "their" machinery, and without "their" machinery the workers would be unable to produce the goods. (Of course in reality the machinery is brought out of the blood and sweat of previous generations of workers, management's minimal policing role notwithstanding.)

In sports like football, except for uniforms and minimal equipment, there is obviously no "machinery" necessary to produce the product. So that, theoretically, there would seem to be no reason whatever why the players' associations could not simply rent stadiums, sell tickets, arrange TV contracts, and run the sport themselves for their own profit and benefit. *Without owners.* And the possibility of doing just that has been under discussion, to one degree or another, in virtually every football or baseball players strike in recent years.

PLAYERS' LEAGUE

Indeed in 1890 in the midst of a productivity clause strike in the National League, the baseball players' union set up its own Players' League, run entirely by the union and staffed by almost all the regular players of the old league. The National League became what was politely called the "sandlot league," or more impolitely the "scab league," staffed almost entirely with rookies off the sandlots and assorted scabs. The other major league, then called the American Association was similarly decimated by a mass exodus of its top players to the new Players' League. In its first year of operation the new league drew more fans than both of the old leagues combined, and yet went bankrupt and had to fold up shop. The reasons why this happened shed a good deal of light on the limitations of workers' control in any one industry, and the obstacles any players' association would face in taking control of its sport today.

The fact is that, even in 1890, other capitalists including those who owned the banks and newspapers did not much like the idea of workers deserting a business and setting up their own. So the Players' League found it nearly impossible to raise money. It could not get bank loans. More often than not, its games received no press coverage. What news there was of the new league amounted to a new scandal

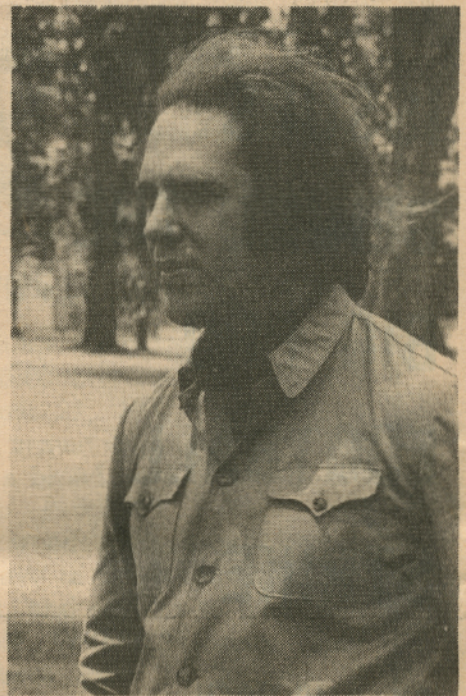
"uncovered" every week. Indeed the press coverage of the recent NFL strike was not very different. Newspapers like the *New York Daily News*, day after day, in banner headlines lauded veteran scabs as returning heroes and announced daily (in very hopeful terms) that the strike was "on the skids."

In other words, with capitalists in control of the mass media, it is far from obvious that a new players'-controlled league would be able to get decent press coverage, no less negotiate the sort of multi-million dollar TV contract upon which (in the absence of substantial bank loans) the survival of the new league might well depend. This situation could only change decisively if workers in the media, the banks, and industry generally, began to take control over their industries, too. As a general rule, and as the baseball players found to their sorrow in 1890, it is virtually impossible to long maintain workers' control in any single large industry without having workers' control in all industries. There can be no significant islands of socialism in a sea of capitalism. Nevertheless the movement toward greater players' control in sports can be a significant part of, and a psychological impetus toward, workers' control in industry generally.

FREEDOM ISSUES

On the surface, the main stumbling block to settlement of the present NFL dispute has been the so-called "freedom issues," which involve essentially the minimal capitalistic "freedoms" of workers in other industries to sell their labor to whatever bosses they can get the best deal from. In the context of the present football monopolies, and the under the table agreements between the NFL, WFL and CFL to respect each other's option clauses (giving management an additional year's option on the players' services), the players have more or less been reduced to high paid serfs bound to a particular feudal owner until such time as he may choose to put them up on the trading block.

Although in theory each NFL player can play out his option year (at slightly reduced salary), and then negotiate with whichever club will have him, the owners have prevented even this limited labor mobility through an ingenious device known as the Rozelle rule (after NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle who was the first to wield this weapon in the



PAUL HOCH, professor of sports sociology at Dawson College in Montreal Canada.

defense of the existing monopoly). Basically the hitch was that if a player moved to another team after playing out his option, his new team was obligated to give "compensation" in players and money that was satisfactory to the old team, and if this wasn't satisfactorily arranged, NFL Commissioner Rozelle would rule on the compensation he felt was necessary.

When five years ago Rozelle ruled that the New Orleans Saints would have to give up their number one draft pick for the next two years as compensation for a player they'd acquired who'd played out his option, the option clause became virtually a dead letter to players seeking to get a better deal elsewhere around the league. From then on, it became obvious that even if the various owners were so foolish as to compete for players, the league commissioner simply wouldn't allow it and would use the Rozelle rule to punish any club that sought to buck the monopoly labor market by signing a "rival" team's player.

The NFL dispute might have been settled (and possibly will be settled) if the football owners are willing to accept the same sort of outside arbitration on compensation that already exists in other sports. Of course from the players' point of view, although this might be a satisfactory temporary armistice, in the long run they must fight to oppose any compensation, any reserve or option clause, any limitations over free player mobility, and ultimately any owner involvement in the control of sport. The real goal, as even a Dick Young can see, can only be players' control of sport in the context of workers' control over industry generally. It is still a long road. But the players are moving ahead. □

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

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

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

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

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

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

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

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

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

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

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

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

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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



FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

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

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

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

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT

[S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

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

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

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

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

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

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

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

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

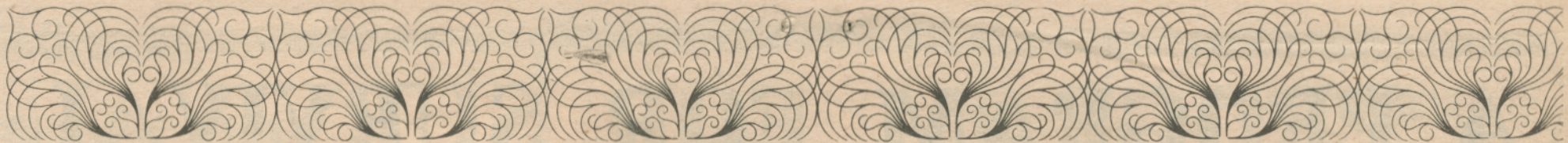
Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution."

—Huey P. Newton



AT THE COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER
AUGUST 23, 24&25, 1974
AMINATA MOSEKA - IN CONCERT

'The Beautiful Lady

Is So Lovely. Naturally.'

