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THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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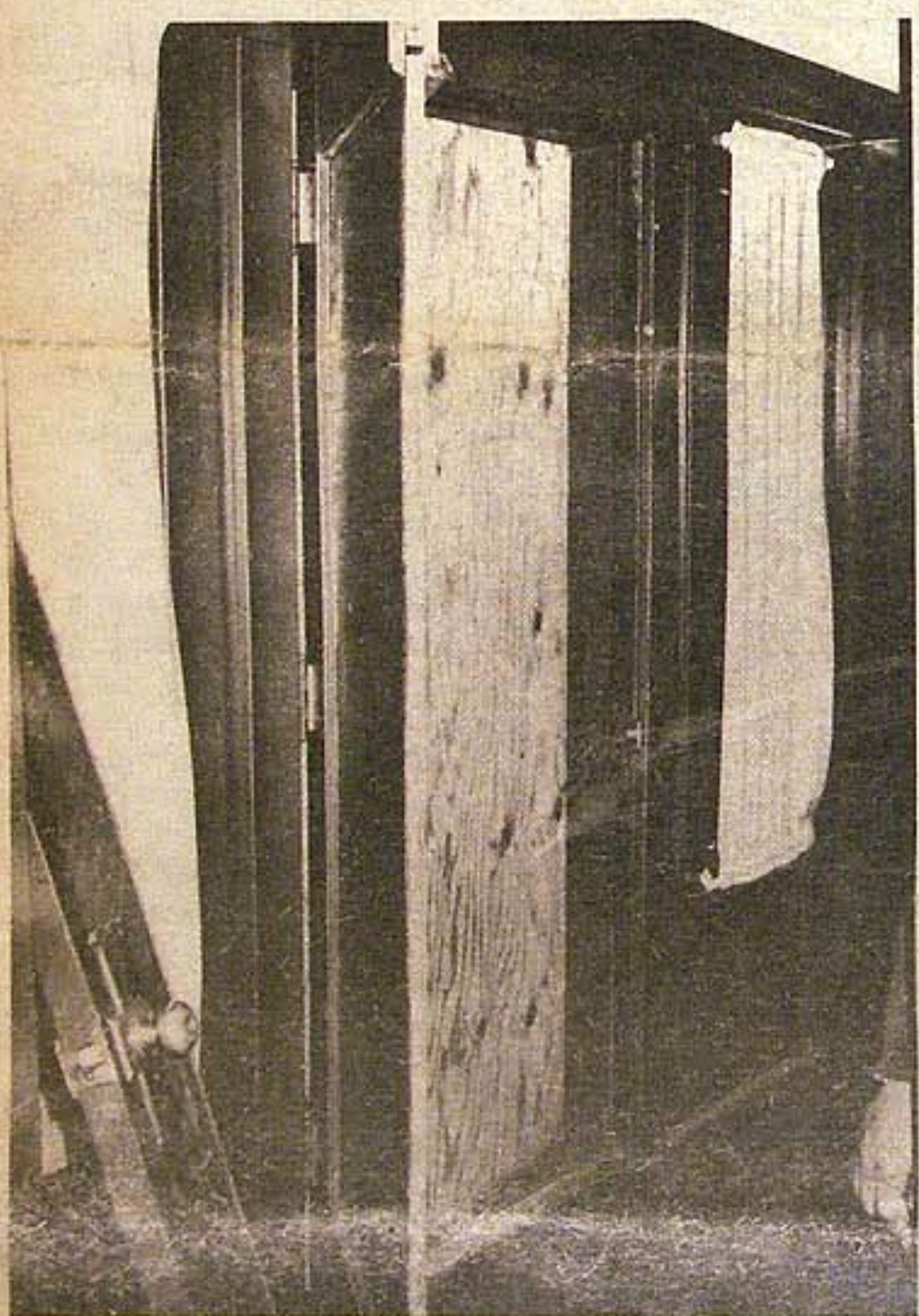
VOL. XI NO. 18 SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1974

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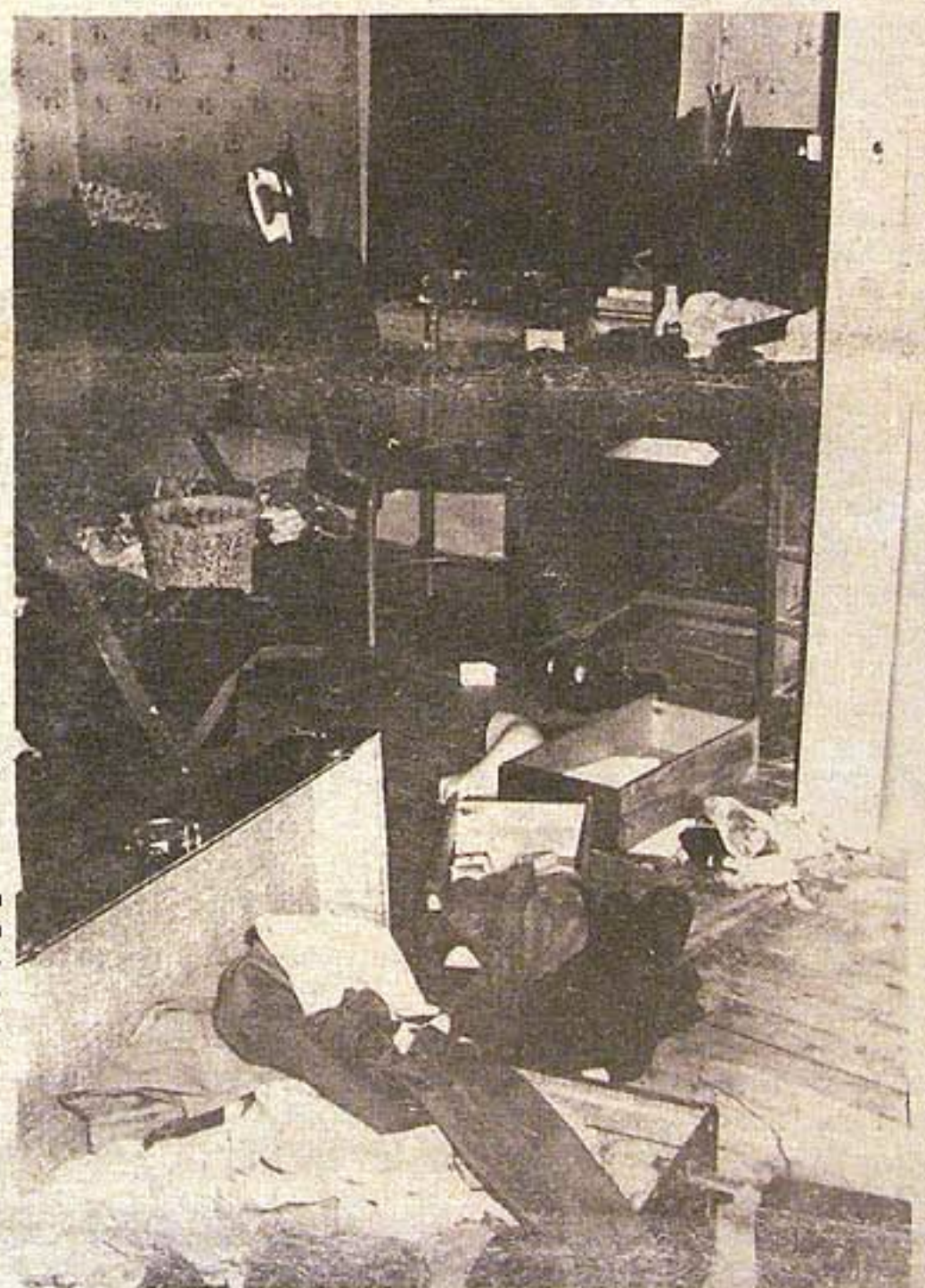


BOBBY SEALE

"POLICE PREDAWN RAID POLITICAL"



Boarded up front doorway shown after police kicked down door. [Part of broken door is at left.]



Room of house on 29th Ave. shown after it was ransacked by Berkeley and Oakland police.

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Editorial

WE WILL WIN IN 1975

For the first time in the history of Oakland Black and poor people here can look forward to the election in 1975 of a majority of City Council members who will genuinely represent their interest and work for its realization. Such is the example, the Black Panther Party, together with progressive Black forces in this city, is setting for the country.

This country's power structure, however, is determined to frustrate this effort by any means necessary. For us this explains the sudden emergence of the terrorist SLA, the wholesale violation of 1st and 14th Amendment rights of young Black men under the guise of a hunt for the "zebra killer," the dawn raid of more than 50 policemen on one of the Party's campaign headquarters and the re-emergence of threats against the life of Huey P. Newton.

The Black communities of the Bay Area are under siege. The purpose is to provoke racist elements in the White community to attack us and for our communities to retaliate. Recently released F.B.I. documents detail the fascist methods this administration has used to undermine our struggle for liberation. The agent provocateur is high on the list of those methods.

Who but agents of the power structure would, in the name of revolution, order the murder of the son of a slave and then provide the daughter of one of this country's most infamous power structure families the opportunity to change her allegiance, join them and live?

The forces that are responsible for Richard Nixon, Watergate and much more that is infamous in America today are growing desperate. The example of the Black Panther Party as a viable political and survival force in the community increases that desperation.

Relying on the deeply ingrained racism of this country's White population, the Nixon forces (long centered in California) are urgently and ruthlessly attempting to create those conditions which will make possible a declaration of a national state of emergency, suspension of Constitutional rights and the imposition of the police state.

We are not deceived. Nor will we be swayed from our determination to serve the people. We WILL win in Oakland in 1975. □

'Go home! If you keep following me around
people will think you're my dog'



Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

...Sir, I am presently confined at the state prison in McAlester, Oklahoma and since the recent insurrection of 7-27-73, I feel as though my Black brothers are aware of our present dilemma. I must admit we are now ready to take a more constructive stand in the development/or history of the so-called United States.

The state of Oklahoma in my opinion has treated its Blacks like criminals. For much too damn long a Black in this institution/or state suffers not only from racial discrimination, but injustice in the so-called courts.

I am presently setting up a Black awareness group behind these isolated "White" walls, therefore I am seeking advice or some kind of outline one could go by in achieving such a goal.

...Thanking you in advance for all consideration given in this matter.

Blackness Bro.
Jerry Lee Duffey
McAlester, Okla. 74501

Dear Sir,

I, Albert J. Sullivan #40075, am a Jail House Lawyer. The reason I am writing is because my good friend, Mr. Skorusa and myself have now been locked up about seven straight years. We were kidnapped and brought here to this Menard Prison Psychiatric Division without first being declared legally insane by a judge or court. We were brought here without being given any psychiatric tests or evaluation tests by independent, disinterested psychiatrists.

Three times a day, every day that we have been here, they force us to take strange, dangerous drugs that greatly affect our health and well being and keep our resistance low. They refuse to do anything except experiment on us like we are a bunch of guinea pigs, and do not answer our legitimate complaints or requests.

This is a mad house. They have mad doctors here like Dr. Craine, Dr. Perez, Dr. Whittingberg, Chief Security Guard Assemier and other members of their goon squad are of an extreme sadistic nature.

They will not even allow me to take any college entrance examination tests, even though I graduated from Hyde Park High school in Chicago, Ill., in January, 1967. They claim that they can't find any record of my graduation and that the school will not answer them when they write. However, we know this is just another form of harassment simply because I have lawsuits in court against them.

They tamper with and stop 99 percent of all incoming and outgoing mail. They don't even care if it is legal mail addressed to the courts. They still cross out and censor it. They refuse to supply us with a notary public for our legal papers.

You even have unscrupulous counselors masquerading as upright citizens. One counselor in particular, Mr. Rick Wilderson, tricked Mr. Skorusa out of \$1,000 dollars over a period of three years, and he refuses to give the money back. He is hired by the state and receives a salary but does nothing. It is illegal for them to accept any money from a prisoner.

We would like you to print this in your newspaper, if you dare, and send me a copy. We hope and pray that some concerned citizen or organization will demand an investigation into our illegal confinement in this pseudo-psychiatric division and come and talk to us for a change.

Thank you and you don't have to withhold our names.

Respectfully submitted,
Albert J. Sullivan #44075
Stanislaw Skorusa #33778

COMMENT

BLACK PANTHER PARTY DENOUNCES S.F. ZEBRA BLACK MAN HUNT

The so-called San Francisco Zebra manhunt that has been ordered by Joseph Alioto, California gubernatorial candidate, is a vicious and racist attempt on Alioto's part to round up Blacks like Hitler rounded up Jews.

The sketchy drawings of a Black man blasted across Bay Area newspapers of the so-called killer of several White people in San Francisco justify every racist policeman and vigilante to arrest or assault any Black man. Since San Francisco racist policemen are known to arrest arbitrary Black people generally under the theory that "all Black people look alike," this malicious tactic puts every Black man in the Bay Area in jeopardy of losing his life.

MALICIOUS TACTIC

The Black Panther Party says that if this is going to be the current tactic of Alioto and his police, then this same tactic could be useful in capturing other wanted persons and criminals. The so-called search to find *Chronicle - Examiner* publisher Randolph Hearst's daughter, Patricia Hearst, being sought in connection with a San Francisco bank robbery, could be simply ended by arresting every White girl in the Bay Area that resembles Patricia Hearst.

The apprehension of the "Zebra killer" cannot be accomplished through the mass forfeiture of the Constitutional and civil rights of Black men.

Alioto appears intent on kindling the fires of racial hatred by ordering the showy "Zebra Dragnet." Surely he realizes that these repressive measures will sharply increase tension between the already brutal San Francisco Police Department and the oppressed Black community.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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

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BOBBY SEALE

"POLICE PREDAWN RAID POLITICAL"

(Oakland, Calif.) - The release of 14 members of the Black Panther Party 30 hours after they were the victims of a multi-city, predawn police raid, gives added weight to the charge that the local power structure — in conjunction with federal authorities — is attempting once again to discredit and destroy the Black Panther Party.

This point, in addition to the charge that the police flagrantly violated a long-standing agreement between the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Justice Department and the Panthers famed lawyer, Charles R. Garry, were the major emphasis of a hastily convened press conference called by Brother Bobby Seale and Ms. Elaine Brown the afternoon of the raid, Tuesday, April 16. (See text of press conference, this page.)

Charles Plummer, the city of Berkeley's acting chief of police, ordered the release of the 14 Party members when he was told by the prosecuting attorney's office in Berkeley that there wasn't enough evidence to hold them. Yet, the day before, the news media in the Bay Area had a field day blasting huge pictures of a "large cache of guns and narcotics" supposedly confiscated during the raid. If, in fact, the "arsenal" did belong to the Party members, their release would have been highly unlikely.

The raid, which occurred at 4:25 a.m., was typical of the police raids against the Black Panther Party which took place throughout the country just a few years ago; as Elaine caustically commented, it was that "type of harassment that comes out of J. Edgar Hoover's old memoirs."

Without warning — and without knocking — over 50 Oakland and Berkeley policemen, some armed with M-14 rifles and others carrying Thompson .45 caliber machine guns, kicked down the door at 1524 29th Avenue in East Oakland, allegedly seeking a Party member wanted on an assault warrant in Berkeley.

Inside the building, the 14 Party members lay sleeping, only to be suddenly awakened by racist insults and threats against their lives. Contrary to the police claims, and as the neighbors can readily testify, there were at least 50 police involved in the raid, not nine. The police also, in their typical fashion, completely ransacked the office.

The office raided was a centralized precinct house used for

city campaign organizing purposes. During last year's People's Campaign in Oakland, the building served as campaign headquarters. The office held many valuable files, lists of names and contacts to be used for future organizing purposes, particularly for use in the upcoming 1975 city elections. Many of these files and lists were "confiscated" by the police.

In his condemnation of the raid, Brother Bobby Seale emphasized that a simple telephone call to Panther attorney Charles Garry could have avoided the entire incident.

In a statement to THE BLACK PANTHER, Mr. Garry explained that at the initiation of the U.S.

Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, over four and one half years ago, an agreement was reached with the police departments in the Bay Area that, in case of a police warrant against any Black Panther Party member, the police would contact him (Garry) and he would surrender the Panther in question.

The Justice Department, in fact, went to great lengths to set up the agreement, which was culminated during a three day meeting in the conference room at San Luis Obispo, where Huey P. Newton was at that time incarcerated. Participants in the meeting were Garry, Huey P. Newton, a Justice Department official from Washington, the



Office ransacked by police.

head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division in San Francisco, and two other Black Panther Party officials.

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TEXT OF PRESS CONFERENCE BY BOBBY SEALE AND ELAINE BROWN FOLLOWING POLICE ATTACK

The following is the transcript of the press conference conducted by Brother Bobby Seale and Ms. Elaine Brown on Tuesday, April 16, 1974, concerning the police attack upon an East Oakland Black Panther Party office and the arrest of 14 Party members. The press conference was held at 1:00 p.m., that afternoon, at the Son of Man Temple auditorium.

Statement by BOBBY SEALE:

In the early morning hours, somewhere between 5 and 6 a.m., around 15 Black Panther Party members were arrested at a centralized precinct house where we kept all the records of all precinct workers in the previous campaign. These Party members are being falsely charged with a lot of totally absurd charges; supposedly possession of shotguns, stolen property, hand grenades, some kind of charge of conspiracy which we do not have all the details of now, possession of all kinds of narcotics. This is absurd.

We feel that the arrest this morning with absurd bail of over \$300,000—approximately \$20,000 or more per person — is the same old type of hysterical harassment which was waged against the Party a few years ago. The only reason that the Black Panther Party can see for this type of harassment and arrest and the absurd charges is that the powers that be, the power structure, is out to discredit the Black Panther



BOBBY SEALE is joined by ELAINE BROWN at a press conference held to denounce the police attack upon a Black Panther Party campaign office and the arrest of 14 Party members.

Party especially myself and Elaine (Ms. Elaine Brown).

We have been quietly organizing some 3,000 precinct workers in the Oakland community for the up-coming election, one year from now, when we hope to support and also run candidates for five City Council seats, which will be the majority control. That would place the vote control on the Oakland City Council in the hands of the people. Plus, we intend to run a couple of candidates for the Oakland School Board.

This is the only thing we can see; this is the greatest threat on the part of the Black Panther Party to the power structure — when the people are organizing on a mass scale to be politically and electorally in opposition to the power structure. Fifty police-

men raided the house. We're saying that Charles Garry had reached an agreement years ago with the Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco Police Departments that if there is to be an arrest of any Black Panther Party member, all the police would have to do is call Charles R. Garry, his law firm, and we will have that person surrender himself.

Now, Elaine has something to say about the people who were arrested because there was a pregnant sister arrested there, with the other people.

ELAINE: Yes, I think that the most astonishing part is that after having run in last year's campaign that the people that work in our various programs would have

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YOUTH INSTITUTE

GROUP 6: MOTIVATION IS NO PROBLEM

(Oakland, Calif.) - Group Six at the Intercommunal Youth Institute is composed of ten highly motivated eight and nine year old students. Motivation, a serious problem in the public school system, is strong in Group Six as well as throughout the Institute because the children can see both the relevance and the enjoyment in their learning experience. This is practiced in their three major academic classes: Language Arts, Mathematics and Political Education.

In mathematics, children are introduced to the concept of fractions by cutting apples into various parts. Logic is taught by playing games of thought and strategy like chess, puzzles or constructions. The practical relevance of mathematics is shown by having persons skilled in various trades such as carpentry or cooking demonstrate how math and measurement is necessary in building or cooking. Consequently, the children are stimulated and inspired to learn.

There are other reasons why the children in Group Six have such a strong desire to learn. Whatever their abilities are they are encouraged to express themselves. During a creative writing session

in Language Arts class, the children might express themselves in collective or individual poems, by writing stories and short books, by writing letters to political prisoners, or through the use of other interesting and relevant activities. The instructors help the students with their grammatical errors. The result of this method has been the development of many brilliant young poets.

As is true throughout the Institute, the prevailing principles are "The world is a child's classroom" and "Children should be taught how to think, not what to think." In Political Education class these principles are exemplified by the group's discussion of Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old Black youth killed by Emeryville police. Many of the children could identify with Tyrone because he was not much older than they. Through collective discussion the group decided that they could best show their concern for what



A member of Group Six at the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

happened to Tyrone Guyton by circulating a petition in the Black community demanding that the policemen who murdered Tyrone be brought to trial.

The children in Group Six understand very well that the Intercommunal Youth Institute is not a parochial school, separate from the community, but a model school that is one with the community in its struggle for survival

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ZEBRA BLACK MANHUNT

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The Black community of San Francisco has responded to Alioto's scare tactics with angry protests and court action against the manhunt. Attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and three individual San Francisco Black leaders filed a federal complaint before U.S. District Court Judge Alfonzo J. Zirpoli. Judge Zirpoli has ordered the city of San Francisco to appear before him on Wednesday (April 24) to show why the police should not be restrained from the practice.

BLACKNESS CAUSE FOR ARREST?

NAACP Counsel Nathaniel Jones stated: "We take the position that Blackness doesn't constitute probable cause for an arrest. Today people are being singled out; tomorrow it may be Jews and the next day Japanese-Americans. It means that no one's Constitutional rights are protected or preserved."

Reverend Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church warned that the manhunt "creates the possibility of war by the establishment of a police state."

American Civil Liberties Union General Counsel Paul Halvonik

called the manhunt "a racist outrage and a massive violation of the Constitutional rights of every Black man in the city." He said the ACLU would "pursue all appropriate legal action to halt the stops and searches as soon as feasible."

Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *Sun Reporter* newspaper in San Francisco, blamed Mayor Alioto for "this drive against the Black people of this community that he has undertaken as part of a desperate political campaign..."

Jessie Byrd, a Black San Francisco patrolman and president of the predominantly Black 80-member Officers for Justice, said, "We do not approve of the gestapo-type tactics that are being used. We can only view this as another type of harassment."

Percy H. Steele, Jr., Executive Director of the Bay Area Urban League, said, "Violating the civil rights of American men is not the standard procedures for apprehending murder suspects in San Francisco. It is only when the victims are White and the search is for a Black person that such measures are deemed necessary. We must speak out strongly against Mayor Alioto's sanctioning of this illegal police action."

BLACK HISTORY

APRIL 27, 1874

The White League, a White racist terrorist organization modeled after the Ku Klux Klan, was founded on April 27, 1874.

APRIL 27, 1903

On April 27, 1903, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld those clauses in the Alabama state constitution which disenfranchised Black people from voting.

APRIL 24, 1951

The University of North Carolina admitted the first Black student in its 162-year history on April 24, 1951.

APRIL 25, 1959

On April 25, 1959, Mack Charles Parker, accused of raping a young White mother, was taken from his jail cell in Poplarville, Mississippi by a White mob and lynched.

APRIL 19, 1960

On April 19, 1960, the home of Z. Alexander Looby, counsel for 153 Black students arrested in sit-in demonstrations was destroyed by a dynamite bomb. Almost immediately, more than 2,000 students marched on the Nashville, Tennessee, city hall in protest.

APRIL 27-29, 1970

After two nights of firebombing and widespread rebellion, police dressed in full riot gear and armed with fixed bayonets patrolled the streets of predominantly Black River Rouge, Michigan, an industrial suburb of Detroit. Police from 14 neighboring communities participated in "containing" the rebellion, which threatened to overflow into downtown Detroit.



"Until We're Free"

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

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621.

Also available at major record stores near you.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY ELAINE BROWN

Album produced and distributed by MOTOWN RECORD CORP.

CHATTANOOGA BLACK CABBIES UNDER ATTACK

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) - The city administration here is attempting to eliminate the economical Black-owned system of independent taxi and jitney drivers in an effort to save an inadequate city-owned bus service. The city government is putting excessive restrictive measures on independent Black taxicabs, threatening to eventually phase out the jitanys altogether.

Black-owned and operated taxicabs have served the Black community in Chattanooga some fifty years, going back to rigid "Jim Crow" days in the South. A few of the older cab drivers can recall how they started during the period when racist White bus drivers humiliated Black people daily, making them move to the back of the buses and streetcars or forcing them to give up their seats to White passengers.

So, a few courageous Black men got some automobiles together and started running a jitney line from Downtown Chattanooga to the Black-populated Eastside, providing Black people with dignified transportation to and from downtown and work; they charged only a nickel each trip.

INDEPENDENT BLACKS

Through the years the jitney service grew into a prosperous business for independent Black cab drivers, providing fast, convenient and inexpensive transportation for the Black community. The fare was always lower than the local bus company fare and the service was better. The Black taxicabs made money while the local White-owned bus company was going broke.

In 1969, the city government hired a professional firm to do a survey/study on just how many people were riding the jitney cabs in comparison with the number of people who rode the buses. The study showed that while many buses were almost empty of passengers, the taxicabs were bustling. Black people simply preferred the quick, convenient jitney service to the slow bus service with its fare raising almost every year. The bus company was almost bankrupt and the city fathers knew something had to be done.

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REFUSAL OF CALIFORNIA AUTHORITIES TO EXTRADITE S.L.A. LEADER CONFIRMED

TACKWOOD NAMES DEFREEZE AS AGENT

(Oakland, Calif.) - It has been confirmed that requests for the extradition of reputed Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) leader, Donald David Defreeze, by New Jersey police officials, while Defreeze was in the custody of Los Angeles police, were repeatedly denied by California police officials.

Defreeze was wanted in New Jersey in connection with a 1965 kidnapping and assault with a deadly weapon charge.

It has also come to light that Louis E. Tackwood, confessed agent provocateur for Los Angeles police intelligence, has told

associates that he remembers Donald D. Freeze as an operative with the Los Angeles Police Department Criminal Conspiracy Section at the time he (Tackwood) was employed by the CCS.

Investigative reporter's attempts to check the police records of Donald Defreeze in Los Angeles, to determine the status of the extradition requests, have revealed that Defreeze's file is under lock and key in the safe of the Watch Commander of the L.A. Police Department Criminal Conspiracy Section, and can only be released by written approval of the Watch Commander.



DONALD DEFREEZE.

It has also been learned that the files of brothers Larry and George Stiner, "escapees" from San Quentin prison, have also been taken out of the general police files and placed, with that of Defreeze, in the safe of the Watch Commander of the L.A.P.D.

Larry and George Stiner were serving time for the 1969 murder in Los Angeles of Black Panther Party members Bunchy Carter and John Huggins. Both Stiners were lieutenants of Ron Karenga, one-time leader of the US organization in Los Angeles, and admitted collaborator with the Los Angeles Police Department as well as recipient of financial "gifts" from foundations and agencies of the U.S. power elite.

The above information tends strongly to confirm earlier suspicions that Defreeze is, in fact, an agent provocateur, under the direct and personal supervision of California Attorney General Evelle J. Younger, and that the Stiners as well as Defreeze (also an alleged "escapee" from Soladad prison) are part of a Younger plan of attack against the Black Panther Party, using convicted killers holding long-standing grudges against the Party.

Knowledgeable sources in Los Angeles insist that Defreeze's assignment is to create conditions in Oakland and the general San Francisco Bay Area, by any means necessary, whereby the Black Panther Party and its leadership, headquartered in Oakland, can be made scapegoats for criminal and terrorist activity for which it has no responsibility.

An earlier report in THE BLACK PANTHER (April 13, 1974) referred to Defreeze's own admission that New Jersey authorities had been eager to

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RAFFLE DRAWING FOR TYRONE GUYTON FUND

Young DAVID WILLIAMS draws a winning raffle ticket from a box held by MRS. MATTIE SHEPHARD, mother of Tyrone Guyton, a 14 year old murdered by Emeryville policemen. The drawing was held to raise funds for the Tyrone Guyton Foundation.

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CHICAGO CONFERENCE

BLACK DRUG WORKERS ORGANIZE NATIONAL GROUP

(Chicago, Ill.) - Charging this year's National Drug Abuse Conference with failure "to deal with the social, economic and political needs of Black people," a group of Black drug workers have formed the National Committee of Black Drug Workers to end drug abuse in the Black community.

A minority report by the committee submitted to the conference held March 30 to April 1 at the Conrad Hilton Hotel here, says, "the drug abuse problem in America is synonymous with the Black Liberation struggle in America," and it lists the following objectives:

"1. To set up a national communications network so information can be passed on.

"2. To coordinate and enhance cooperation among Black drug abuse workers nationally in order to deal affectively with 'the problem.'

"3. To use our unity as a force to alleviate inequities and inadequacies in state agencies and their method of local funding; they must be accountable to the needs of the community.

"4. To recognize and support programs that create alternative methods of dealing with drug addiction other than the existing model set up by the National Drug Abuse Association. (For example, the Black Muslims and other such organizations.)

"5. To research, develop and implement strategies for more effective programming to deal with the problem of drug abuse.

"6. To monitor the use of surveillance techniques as a solution to drug addiction by the criminal justice system. We will monitor the action of single state agencies as they relate to surveillance, licensure and accreditation for employment.

"7. Work to eliminate the constraints placed on ex-addicts and so-called para-professionals that are working in drug abuse programs and, at the same time, work toward having the state fulfill its requirements to protect these employees.

"8. To immediately control and eventually eliminate chemotherapy and utilize counseling relevant to the Black experience and daily realities. (For example, information, training, communication and working conditions.)

"9. To develop and implement a National Black Drug Abuse Conference."

A press release by the National Committee on the recent conference states in part: "It should be noted that of the 69 treatment workshops, 54 were geared toward methadone or chemotherapy. The session on acupuncture, one of the few alternatives presented, was poorly attended, because as a drugless therapy it threatens the economic base of the American health empire.

"Because many acupuncture treatments can be performed by 'ordinary people,' it also threatens White male professional control. By keeping medical skills and knowledge out of the hands of the people, and refusing to be held accountable for their actions, these pill-pushing professionals are responsible for the suffering and deaths of many of our sisters and brothers!" □

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EARN MONEY

Sell THE BLACK PANTHER

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



Heroin addiction is a plague spread throughout the Black community.

WORKERS CAN BE FIRED FOR FREE SPEECH

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Supreme Court, by a 6 to 3 margin, affirmed the language of the Lloyd-La Follette Act and said the federal government had the right to dismiss civil service employees whose public statements supposedly impair the efficiency of the government agencies they work for. Dissenting justices claimed the decision would have a "chilling" effect on free speech.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

NO WARRANT, NO ARREST

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - The California State Supreme Court recently ruled that police without a warrant cannot arrest and search a householder who verbally refuses them permission to search for suspects.

WELFARE RIGHTS WON

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A welfare recipient who becomes pregnant is entitled to have her grant increased to the maximum amount allowed for an additional family member, the California State Supreme Court ruled last week.

CALLEY PAROLE SOON?

(Washington, D.C.) - "Killer" Calley, the lieutenant convicted of the massacre of Vietnamese civilians at My Lai, S. Vietnam could be walking the streets within six months. Secretary of the Army Howard Callaway has cut his 20-year prison sentence in half, making this murderer of over 100 human beings eligible for parole in less than six months.

KENT STATE SUITS

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Supreme Court has permitted the parents of three Kent State University students killed by National Guardsmen in 1970 to sue the governor of Ohio and National Guard officers for damages for their roles in the deaths. The ruling reversed two lower court decisions that held that state officials are immune from such lawsuits.

JAIL GUARDS INDICTED

(New York, N.Y.) - Five New York City corrections officers were indicted on narcotics and perjury charges last week as part of a continuing investigation by the state prosecutor's office into reports of widespread drug trafficking in the city's jails.

SAN QUENTIN TO STAY

(Sacramento, Calif.) - Governor Ronald Reagan's proposal to replace San Quentin Prison with two new penal institutions was set aside indefinitely by a state assembly subcommittee. Inmates' groups had argued that the new prisons would perpetuate the existing inhumane penal system and asked that no new prisons be built until Reagan leaves office.

B.P.P. CONDEMNS KILLING BY COP

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party joins the outrage of the entire Black community in demanding the immediate firing and prosecution of White Berkeley policeman Charles Crane for the vicious shooting of a Black twelve-year-old boy.

Acting Berkeley police chief Charles Plummer has attempted to pacify the Black community by suspending this White policeman, saying that Crane's shooting of this child was a "clear-cut, uncalled for violation of department gun policy." The Black Panther Party says that if Chief Plummer admits that one of his officers violated their own policy, he can easily fire this man and file criminal charges against him.

The youth, whose name has not been released because of his age, was allegedly tampering with the parked car of the policeman's girl friend. Officer Crane is an inspector on the Berkeley force.

The shooting was not unlike the slaying of young Tyrone Guyton last winter by three Emeryville policemen. He, too, was allegedly stealing a car.

In another police outrage, the parents of a San Mateo County youngster are suing the county for the death of their fifteen-year-old son Gregory White. He too was allegedly riding in a stolen car when San Mateo County deputy sheriffs stopped the vehicle and chased the fleeing youth. The chase was ended with Brother Gregory White's life when Officer Larry Bringhurst shot him in the back.

The alarming rise in police shootings of Black youth is a nationwide phenomenon that is becoming particularly rampant in the Bay Area. □

CHARLOTTE 3

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT PAYOFFS REVEALED

(New York, N.Y.) - An eight week investigation by the *Charlotte Observer* has found that Robert Mardian, a former Justice Department official, approved a secret \$4,000 payoff to two men who testified against the Charlotte 3— Charles Parker, T.J. Reddy, and Jim Grant. As a result of this "bought" testimony, the three Black activists were convicted in July, 1972, of burning down the Lazy "B" riding stable in Charlotte, N.C., where the White owner refused to rent horses to Blacks.

The three were sentenced to 10, 20 and 25 years respectively.

The payoff funds were obtained by the U.S. Treasury under the 1970 Organized Crime Control Act.

According to three law enforcement officers in North Carolina who knew the witnesses, Washington bragged to them of receiving additional funds ranging from \$38,000 to \$70,000 for their testimony.

The *Charlotte Observer's* investigation found that the two prosecution witnesses, Walter David Washington and Theodore Alfred Hood, were each given \$1,000 by Treasury Department officials prior to their testimony. They were given another \$3,000 following their testimony in the Lazy "B" case and for testifying against Grant in an earlier federal case.

An attorney who negotiated funds to the men for the government said they received \$15,000. "They wouldn't have done it (testify) without the money," said the attorney, who refused to be identified in the *Observer* story.

Based on this new information, the North Carolina Board of Paroles is considering recommending that Governor James Holouser commute the sentences.

Mardian, then head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division, approved the deal between the two men.

(Mardian was indicted this March along with John Mitchell, Maurice Stans and others, for conspiring to obstruct justice in the Watergate cover-up). Although the burning incident actually occurred in 1968, the Charlotte 3 were not indicted until four years later, when they were politically active in the Black People's Unity Party.

UNJUST REWARDS

In the federal case, Grant was convicted for helping Washington and Hood flee to Canada to avoid charges of illegal possession of weapons and dynamite. During their testimony against Grant, one of the two admitted that the federal government was paying him \$105 a week. As a further reward, the government agreed to revoke prison terms they had acquired for armed robbery.

In September, 1972, Hood was arrested for killing a man in Charlotte. His bail was set at \$4,000 and he was even freed pending trial. When the Charlotte 3 were arrested, their bail was set at \$50,000 each and today, despite the evidence that they were framed, the three activists remain in jail.

Vicki Reddy, wife of imprisoned T.J. Reddy, said that the defense committee had earlier asked the governor for a commutation and that the new evidence would weigh in their favor in a court appeal.

For more information about the case, write to North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee, P.O. Box 2712, Charlotte, N.C. 28201.

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

B.P.P. RESOLUTION SUPPORTS NATIVE AMERICANS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party has resolved that it fully supports the struggles of Indian peoples "for a full redress of their just grievances," and also supports the demand that all charges be dropped against 129 people the government is attempting to prosecute for their stand in defense of their human rights during the Wounded Knee occupation.

The resolution, adopted last week, reads as follows:



AIM leader RUSSELL MEANS.

"WHEREAS, Native Americans have been mistreated and robbed of their lands by the U.S. Government, real estate speculators, corporations such as railroads and mining combines, as well as giant utilities companies, and

"WHEREAS, Native Americans signed 371 treaties in good faith with the U.S. Government which has continually violated those treaties and its obligations to Native Americans, resulting in the severest poverty, highest infant mortality and suicide rates

in the population and extreme economic hardships, including wage earnings far below minimum rate, often less than a dollar an hour, and

"WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States of America has ruled that treaties entered into by the U.S. Government and approved by Congress carry the same force of law that the Constitution does, so that violations of treaties signed with Indian Nations demonstrates a lack of respect for the highest laws of this land,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we fully support the struggles of Indian peoples for a full redress of their just grievance for self-determination."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

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SUPPORT MOUNTS FOR PITTS AND LEE

(Tallahassee, Fla.) - Support groups are planning demonstrations and other actions aimed at winning the release of two Black men, Freddie Lee Pitts and Wilbert Lee, falsely convicted of murder eleven years ago.

Charged with kidnapping, robbery and the murder of two White attendants at a gas station in St. Joe, Florida, Pitts and Lee were sentenced to death in 1963. They were convicted without material evidence whatsoever. The entire grounds for their convictions consisted of involuntary confessions, obtained as a result of severe beatings and threats.

In August, 1963, two attendants from a St. Joe gas station disappeared and were later found dead, both shot in the head. Racist sheriffs rounded up six Black soldiers and their friends who had passed through the station earlier that night.

Pitts was unmercifully beaten until he confessed to "beating the attendants to death," although it was much later before police revealed that the attendants had been shot. He told investigators he confessed "because I was afraid for my life." Wilbert Lee confessed to the murders after he was told "they...was going to shave my wife's head and electrocute her."

Willie Mae Lee, a woman who had been at a party Pitts had attended earlier that night, was coerced by sheriffs to testify that Pitts and another Black soldier committed the murders. When the other soldier was cleared because of a solid alibi, she changed her story to include Wilbert Lee, a pulpwood cutter and the owner of the home at which Pitts had attended a party that night.

In 1968, five years later, the woman finally admitted that she had lied because the police had threatened her.

In 1969, the Florida Supreme Court agreed to a new grand jury trial for Pitts and Lee based on the fact that all Blacks had been excluded from the original grand jury. However, the jury that indicted them for the second time was still all-White.

In the 1969 grand jury trial, the prosecutor suppressed evidence that would have clearly acquitted Pitts and Lee: a confession to the same crime by Curtis Adams, Jr., a White man, and the corroborating testimony of his girlfriend, Mary Jean Akins.

However, lawyers for Pitts and Lee were never able to convince the District Attorney to hear tapes of their confessions, and were told, "the case is closed." In March, 1972, Pitts and Lee were again found guilty and sentenced to be electrocuted.

The Pitts and Lee Defense Committee is asking people to write Florida Governor Reubin Askew and Attorney General



WILBERT LEE

Robert Shevin at the capital in Tallahassee, Florida, demanding immediate release of the two men. For more information, including a petition that the Defense Committee has been distributing, or, to send contributions, write to the Pitts and Lee Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1092, Opalocka, Fla. 33054. □

(THE BLACK PANTHER thanks the *Liberation News Service* for the information in this story.)

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WORLD SCOPE

WEST BERLIN

(W. Berlin) - Under the title "Paris, May '74," the West Berlin *Extra-Dienst* examined the possibility of a military coup in France, pending the chance that left-wing candidate Francois Mitterand is elected as the country's new President. Intervention of the French Army is likely if the communist-supported socialist leader appears to be able to win the Presidential election, according to *Extra-Dienst*. French polls show Mitterand ahead of the two Gaullist candidates, Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing and former Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas.

MEXICO

(Mexico City, Mexico) - A dozen leftist militants have been murdered in Mexico since February in what appears to be a "counteroffensive" launched by political groups of the extreme right. Police have tried to attribute the assassinations to internal strife within the leftist groups themselves.

Spokespeople for several leftist groups feel the murders are being carried out by a terrorist organization called "The Black Hand," inspired by a notorious right-wing group in Guatemala called "The White Hand," and also by a semi-secret Brazilian organization called "The Death Squad," made up of police officers.

BRAZIL

(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) - The infamous paramilitary "Death Squad" of Brazil executed eleven people during the first week of April, a Mexican daily has reported. Meanwhile in Brasilia, Government censors have ordered newspapers to stop publishing stories about the Patricia Hearst case because of what the censors called the girl's apparent defection to the SLA. Sources quoted the censors as saying this set a bad example.

JAPAN

(Tokyo, Japan) - The People's Republic of China and Japan have announced they will sign their first civil aviation agreement in Peking. Taiwan (the reactionary government on the island of Formosa) has retaliated by banning Japanese planes from its air space.

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Black servicemen smiling and displaying clenched fist salutes in a show of solidarity. Repressive conditions force Black servicemen to unite in resistance.

U.S.S. LITTLE ROCK

ELEVEN BLACK SAILORS WIN SPECIAL HEARING

(Naples, Italy) - Concrete evidence smashed American military intelligence attempts to illegally railroad eleven Black sailors in U.S. military court here. Although many illegalities and maneuvers have marked the prosecution's proceedings, it is wiretapping that has forced racist judge Commander Lt. Mirtsching to grant a special hearing.

If the U.S. military intelligence heads in Berlin, Heidelberg and Washington refuse to discuss the bugging of the Lawyers Military Defense Committee's offices the judge may have to dismiss the case.

"RIOT" ABOARD

The sailors are charged with having "rioted" aboard the flagship of the Sixth fleet, the U.S.S. Little Rock, on November 8, 1973. Black and White seamen fought hand-to-hand on the giant ship while it cruised the Mediterranean Ocean that day. The ship was on alert during the 1973 Middle East War which raged beyond the banks of the southern Mediterranean coast.

The motion for a hearing to examine the activities of the military spies was won when classified military documents were recorded into evidence by the defense counsel. Information about the illegal surveillance of defense lawyer's offices in Heidelberg, Germany, and Washington, D.C., was subsequently impounded by the government because of its classified status but is already in evidence.

The information in the documents that makes them top secret isn't really a secret anyway. It has already been made public on American T.V., in the *New York Times* and in open U.S. Senate hearings. There is no reason for

the government's confiscation of this evidence.

The fighting of November 8, was started by an attack upon one Black crewman, Brother Eulie Jessie, by a White crewman. Seaman William Linley, who was the only White charged for that night's violence, said at his own court-martial: "Yes, I called him a nigger when I hit him in the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

STEEL INDUSTRIES' DISCRIMINATION PACT INADEQUATE

(Washington, D.C.) - Nine major steel companies and the steelworkers union have accepted an agreement described by the government as the first program in history to insure an end to job discrimination in American industry. Several civil rights groups have charged that the settlement is ineffectual, however.

The program, announced last week at a joint news conference by the Departments of Justice and Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, is designed to give back pay amounting to \$30.9 million to victims of job discrimination on the basis of race or sex. More than 40,000 Black, Spanish-surnamed and women workers hired before January 1, 1968, will receive the back pay.

In addition, the agreement sets up "goals and timetable" to increase the number of minority workers and women in jobs where they have been unrepresented. The ruling will bring a great many women into steel pro-



Black steelworkers have made a step toward equal job rights.

duction and craft jobs, according to a government official.

The agreement also requires that minority workers be permitted to transfer into departments or "seniority lines" previously reserved in practice for White male workers, without suffering any cut in pay even if the new job is lower in scale.

The nine companies that accepted the agreement are the Allegheny Ludlum Industries, Inc., the Armco Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, the National Steel Corporation, the United States Steel Corporation, the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. Inland Steel, the only major company to reject the agreement, claimed it had not discriminated and had no obligation to give back pay.

The job discrimination program was embodied in two consent decrees filed in United States District Court in Birmingham, Alabama. By signing the decrees the steel companies and union satisfied a lawsuit filed by the Justice Department on behalf of Peter J. Brennan, the Secretary of Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In agreeing to the program, the government, union bureaucracy and steel corporations were attempting to put the fire out from under a fast growing rank and file workers' movement, lead by Black workers. The desire was to prevent rank and file organizing, work stoppages and plant takeovers, such as the one that hit the Detroit Chrysler automobile plant last fall involving Brothers Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

DELLUMS' CORNER

ON UNEMPLOYMENT

(Washington, D.C.) - Congressman Ronald V. Dellums recently expressed major concern over the severity of unemployment among the victims of Nixon economics. The California congressman said that the Nixon administration has not given any attention to "this crucial problem," causing unemployment to soar to almost 5%.

"Gallop inflation, Watergate and other disasters of the past twelve months of the Nixon administration have been so calamitous that they have overshadowed the extremely serious problem of 4.3 million Americans who cannot find jobs," the progressive congressman said. He pointed out that the high rate could have been avoided had a sound policy of full employment been followed instead of the Nixon game plan of unemployment, inflation and recession. During the first session of the 93rd Congress, Rep. Dellums sponsored eight major pieces of legislation in an effort to curb high unemployment.

Meanwhile, last week Congressman Dellums, the Democratic candidate for re-election in the 8th Congressional District (Calif.), received the endorsement of R. Sargent Shriver, 1972 Democratic nominee for Vice-President of the United States. Shriver was among the first non-Californians to support Rep. Dellums in 1970.

Congressman Dellums has also received the endorsement of the United Auto and Aerospace Workers (UAW), the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, COPE, Communications Workers of America and other labor organizations and unions because of strong support for him among the working people and his support of their interests. Dellums is now campaigning toward victory in the June 4th primary election.

RACIST MERCHANTS SUE CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS OVER BOYCOTT

(Port Gibson, Miss.) - White merchants, driven into bankruptcy in this small southern town during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, are waging a vengeful counterattack against the Blacks here. Through highly disciplined shopping boycotts of the merchants, Blacks had accomplished much in the way of desegregating public places in the town.

But store owners have filed a \$3.5 million suit against the boycotters and the civil rights groups in which they hold membership. The suit's outcome may have significant impact on the future of major civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The boycotters assert that they did nothing more than exercise their Constitutional rights. The merchants, however, allege that Port Gibson's stores were subjected to a "secondary" boycott, generally illegal in the United States. The merchants claim that the boycott was "secondary" because its primary aim was not desegregation, but was to pressure businesses into using their influence to force local elected officials to meet Black demands for equality.

In two little-noticed suits tried in recent years in Grenada, Mississippi, and Savannah, Georgia, White merchants in collusion with racist courts have reversed the U.S. Constitution and successfully prosecuted civil rights activists for conducting secondary boycotts.

In the Port Gibson case, now up for final arguments, the major defendant is the NAACP, along with individual boycotters and a local antipoverty agency, Mississippi Action for Progress.

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Black people protesting, like the people of Cairo, Ill. [above], have achieved many demands by voicing opposition to the established order.

Port Gibson's bankrupt merchants refuse to disclose how they will pay their lawyers, highly experienced men whose legal standing normally would bring them at least \$350 each for a day's work in court. The case has already gone over 125 courtroom days. The Black community has charged that right-wing groups are backing the merchants.

Maintaining that the boycott had broken no laws because the Constitution protects the right to protest, defense lawyer Charles Carter said, "Our position is that we were right from the start and that some of the Mississippi laws and procedures cited and used by the plaintiffs are illegal."

"They've harassed us every way they can," Carter continued, "everything from freezing funds to changing courts to making witnesses drive to another county and then wait around for days to testify. By dragging out the trial with those days and days of repetitious testimony, they make sure we'll have to pay at least \$10,000 just to get a transcript of the record, in case we have to appeal."

"And there's a final catch. If we do lose the first round and have to appeal, the law says we must first put up a bond equal to 125 percent of the lower court's judgement against us... which would amount to more than \$5 million." □

CHATTANOOGA BLACK CABBIES UNDER ATTACK

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

They decided that it was the city's responsibility to rescue the failing White-owned business and eliminate the Black-owned businesses. So, the city bought the failing Southern Coach Lines, while some officials suggested that the city buy up all the independent taxicabs for \$1,000 each, spreading a rumor that the jitneys were illegal anyway.

But the cab drivers banded together and rejected the ridiculous offer to deprive them of their livelihood as well as the myth about their illegality. So, the city hall gang decided to force the Black cabs out of business "legally."

When the city of Chattanooga took over Southern Coach Lines they renamed it Chattanooga Area Regional Transportation Authority (CARTA). They ran an expensive advertising campaign to encourage more bus riders.

At the same time the city government was spending tax money on CARTA's advertising campaign, the city fathers, through their taxicab inspector,

were putting more restrictive measures on the Black taxicabs, with threats of eventually phasing out the jitneys all together.

The White cab companies have "my cab only" contracts with the airports, the bus stations and such companies as South Central Bell Telephone Company where the Black taxicabs are not allowed to make pick ups. According to the Black drivers, it was CARTA who forced the Black jitney drivers to raise their fares to forty cents a trip. Now, CARTA plans to buy mini-buses and run them on the jitney route to cut even more into the livelihoods of the jitney drivers.

It is apparent that the "legal" methods the city is using to eliminate the Black taxicabs are tainted with Mafia style. A CARTA official told one independent driver who complained about being squeezed out of business, "You don't have a business."

Obviously, he meant that Black people don't have any business having a business. □

BLACK SAILORS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

head with a wrench, but that's beside the point."

After this occurred, wild battles tore the ship's discipline to shreds. Nevertheless, an all-White jury of officers from the U.S.S. Little Rock acquitted Linley, taking the position that his physical and verbal attack, which opened the melee, was indeed, "beside the point."

The defense will be unable to use Linley's tape-recorded court testimony in preparing for the eleven brothers' courts-martial because government prosecutors erased ninety minutes of it, supposedly by accident, the day after the defense attorneys said they were going to need it.

A defense motion was made that judge Mirtsching is not impartial and should disqualify himself. This was denied even after it was revealed that Mirtsching had discussed a ruling he was going to make before he heard the legal arguments in court.

Brother Eulie Jessie of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, one of the defendants, reports that, "I wanted to serve my country, but this court-martial has turned me against the Navy and the government." □

STEEL - DISCRIMINATION PACT INADEQUATE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

In opposing the settlement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said it would file an objection in United States District Court asking that the consent decrees be set aside. The NAACP charges that the agreements will weaken court cases, which have been a major means of obtaining relief and remedies for Black workers under Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

A statement issued by Ann Scott, legislative vice-president of the National Organization for Women, also expressed "major disagreements" with the program. "One is the amount of back pay," the statement said, "and another is that the settlement allows the government to go into court on behalf of the company, not the party discriminated against, in future legal actions."

Denouncing the settlement, Black workers have charged that the average back payment, around \$450, is absurdly small compared to the amount they should receive for years of discrimination and therefore denial of higher paying jobs. □

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON

AND HUEY P. NEWTON

In continuing their Oakland conversation, which comprises the latter half of the book *In Search of Common Ground*, co-authors Huey P. Newton and Harvard Professor Erik H. Erikson are joined by J. Herman Blake, acting Provost at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and Erikson's son, Professor Kai T. Erikson, in an examination of violence and nonviolence as political tools.

NEWTON: I think it would be wrong to compare other situations to Gandhi's action. You have to leave it in context and regard it in terms of the particular contradictions involved. Now I would have agreed with the

notion that Indians join the British Army in order to get the training necessary to oppose the army: I can understand that at some point it is worthwhile to play upon the weakness of the oppressor. Gandhi did this knowing the character of the British quite well, but I think he would have acted differently here. People here who tried to act the same way he did, I think, missed the mark and were not realistic.

BLAKE: Most people would say that the apostle of nonviolence in this country with respect to Blacks was Martin Luther King. He had a clearly stated philosophy and openly expressed a debt to Gandhi. Now I would suspect that most people, not understanding the context in which you are speaking, would expect to see a very strong clash between your views and Huey's views on this particular subject. And I would like to see that cleared up, because I've always argued that there have to be certain social bases for nonviolence...

E. ERIKSON: Look, the last thing I would wish to do is advocate nonviolence outside of a concrete situation, particularly since it makes exploited people all the more vulnerable. Unless one is very careful, the whole nonviolent point of view could be used against people rather than for them. I gave a seminar at MIT once, and somebody brought Tom Mboya to one of the meetings. The students and I had just been discussing Gandhi, so we asked Mboya what he thought about nonviolence. Well, he said, you can use it with the British but you can't use it with the Belgians. No two historical situations are ever identical in this sense. What Mboya may have also meant was that Gandhi had become something of a Britisher himself: he had been educated in England, of course, and so he knew where he could count on the British to react to nonviolence in a certain way. I guess that is really all I have to say. I just have a feeling that you are not an advocate of violence as such, you know.

NEWTON: No, I don't advocate violence. I advocate nonviolence. If I really had a choice, I would prefer the nonantagonistic kind of contradictions because they usually can be resolved in a

peaceful way. But of course we have to deal with concrete conditions and the reality of the situation at this time is that there are many contradictions that probably can only be resolved in antagonistic ways and will probably result in violence—and this will probably be the case until man and society develop to the point where contradictions will no longer be antagonistic. So I am working for the day when antagonisms will no longer exist. And this will probably be only after the people commonly own and share things.

BLAKE: Erik, you were saying the other day that the Panthers may understand nonviolence better than anyone else because they understand violence so well. And I was thinking about that in connection with Huey's statement that we advocate the abolition of war. We say that power grows out of the barrel of a gun, Chairman Mao's words; but we also say that the purpose of picking up the gun is to get rid of it. Now most people in this society pick up the gun for the purpose of maintaining control, and they do not understand that someone else might pick it up in order to abolish control.

NEWTON: Use violence in order to eliminate it.

BLAKE: Right. Right.

E. ERIKSON: The point is that you cannot step from undisciplined violence to nonviolence. In India, Gandhi failed mostly where he could not restrain people from rioting, and you remember (I remember, at least) how he called off some of his nonviolent campaigns because rioting broke out. Now the Panthers have actually opposed violence for its own sake, isn't that right?

NEWTON: Nondisciplined violence, yes.

E. ERIKSON: Only a very self-disciplined use of force can lead to disciplined nonviolence and the abolition of violence. And, of course, it also takes a pretty high set of moral aspirations for leaders to make people understand all of that...

K. ERIKSON: O.K., the machine is on again. It's time for Oedipus and the controller.

NEWTON: Well, the Oedipus myth, as I understand it, is used in psychoanalysis as a symbol. The son competes for the



"Free Huey" demonstration, Oakland, Calif., July 30, 1968.

mother's love and feels hostility toward the father because he keeps him from the mother. Now I concluded that it is not always the father per se, but the controller in the house. The Oedipus complex is not so much a sexual drive as a drive to eliminate the controller or take control away from the controller. As a matter of fact, that is something we have to make quite clear: eliminating the controller and assuming the place of the controller are two different things, taking on the positive and casting off the negative.

E. ERIKSON: Which would then be a dialectical kind of thing, right?

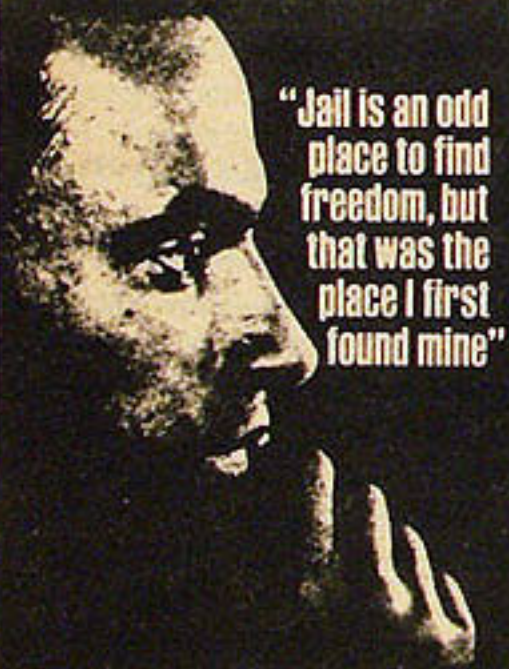
NEWTON: Right.

E. ERIKSON: You love your father and you want to become like him, but at the same time you want to get rid of him so you can replace him. So it is built into a society that you end up being more or less like your father, and represent the same to your children. Now I gather you are saying that something happens in a revolution to change that repetitive pattern, but I don't quite see...

NEWTON: That is exactly what I wanted to take note of. There's a difference between eliminating the controller and assuming control: it is possible to get rid of the controller without assuming all of his negative characteristics. One way is to not only eliminate the controller but all of his creations at the same time, although it shouldn't be done the way some people in the youth movement are doing it. It is a very immature thing to run away to communes and to plow the soil all over again—renouncing all of the technological equipment the father happened to produce because they oppose him. They are rejecting one manifestation of freedom if they do that, the freedom to choose whether to plow or not, you see.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



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

Huey P. Newton

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

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THERE IS ONLY ONE PEOPLE'S FIELD MARSHAL--

GEORGE JACKSON ON WITHDRAWAL

The following article, "On Withdrawal," is the second in a series of five *THE BLACK PANTHER* will be publishing on the works and words of our beloved comrade, George Jackson.

The general title of this series, "There Is Only One People's Field Marshal — George Jackson," was specifically chosen to reflect the growing need to combat the many gross distortions Comrade George's writings and interviews have been subjected to. While the reason for these distortions have been many and varied, the result has all-to-often been the same: the prison movement in particular and the human rights movement in general have been misrepresented — benefitting not the Black and poor communities of America but the American ruling class.

As the following article clearly reveals, George Jackson was not a narrow-minded revolutionary; he never arrogantly avowed arbitrary "underground" terror tactics — murder, kidnapping, bank robbery — to achieve notoriety or vague, ill-conceived, political ends. Rather, as one of the foremost people's political strategists and as an outstanding organizer, Comrade George understood the need for a Black vanguard party to serve the needs of Black people; to create a concrete framework, an "infrastructure" as Comrade George called it, for the future liberation of us all.

SYLLOGISM, n. argument with two premises and a conclusion; a logical scheme of a formal argument consisting of a major and minor premise and a conclusion which must logically be true if the premises are true.

—Merriam-Webster

After revolution has failed, all questions must center on *how* a new revolutionary consciousness can be mobilized around the new set of class antagonisms that have been created by the authoritarian reign of terror. At which level of social, political and economic life should we begin our new attack?

First, we, the Black partisans and their vanguard party, the old and new left alike, must concede that the worker's revolution and its vanguard parties have failed to deliver the promised changes in property relations or any of the institutions that support them. This must be conceded without bitterness, name-calling, or the intense rancor that is presently building.

There have been two depressions, two great wars, a dozen serious recessions, a dozen brush wars, crisis after economic crisis. The mass psycho-social national cohesiveness has trembled on the brink of disruption and disintegration repeatedly over the last fifty years, threatening to fly apart from its own concentric inner dynamics.

But at each crisis it was allowed to reform itself; with each reform, revolution became more remote. This is because the old left has failed to understand the true nature of fascism.

We will never have a complete definition of fascism, because it is in constant motion showing a new face to fit any particular set of problems that arise to threaten the pre-dominance of the traditionalist, capitalist

ruling class. But if one were forced for the sake of clarity to define it in a word simple enough for all to understand, that word would be "reform." We can make our definition more precise by adding the word "economic." "Economic reform" comes very close to a working definition of fascist motive forces.

Such a definition may serve to clarify things even though it leaves a great deal unexplained. Each economic reform that perpetuates ruling class hegemony has to be disguised as a positive gain for the upthrusting masses. Disguise enters as a third stage of the emergence and development of the fascist state. The modern industrial fascist state has found it essential to disguise the opulence of its ruling class leisure existence by providing the lower classes with a mass consumer's flea market of its own.

To allow a sizable portion of the "new state" to participate in this flea market, the ruling class has established currency controls and minimum wage laws that mask the true nature of modern fascism. Reform (the closed economy) is only a new way for capitalism to protect and develop fascism!

After the German SS agents or Italian Black Shirts kick in the doors and herd Jews and Communist partisans to death camps, after Peg-Leg White's Black Legion terror and the Guardians of the Republic and their offspring legitimize the F.B.I., in other words, after the fascists have succeeded in crushing the vanguard elements and the threat they pose is removed, the ruling class goes on about the business of making profits as usual.

The significance of the "new fascist arrangement" lies in the fact that this business-as-usual is accompanied by concessions to the degenerate segment of the working class, with the aim of creating a buffer zone between the ruling class and the still

potentially revolutionary segments of the lower classes.

Corporative ideals have reached their logical conclusion in the U.S. The new corporate state has fought its way through crisis after crisis, established its ruling elites in every important institution, formed its partnership with labor through its elites, erected the most massive network of protective agencies replete with spies, technical and animal, to be found in any police state in the world. The violence of the ruling class of this country in the long process of its trend toward authoritarianism and its last and highest state, fascism, cannot be rivaled in its excesses by any other nation on earth today or in history.

With each advancement in the authoritarian process and strengthening of the ruling class's control over the system, there was a corresponding weakening of the people's and workers' movement.

AMERIKA THE FASCIST

And intellectuals still argue whether Amerika is a fascist country. This concern is typical of the Amerikan left's flight from reality, from any truly extreme position. This is actually a manifestation of the authoritarian process seeping into its own psyche. At this stage, how can anyone question the existence of a fascist arrangement? Just consider the awesome centralization of power, and the proven fact that the largest part of the Gross National Product is in the hands of a minute portion of the population.

Of course, the revolution has failed. Fascism has temporarily succeeded under the guise of reform. The only way we can destroy it is to refuse to compromise with the enemy state and its ruling class. Compromises were made in the thirties, the forties, the fifties. The old vanguard parties made gross strategic and tactical errors. At the existential moment, the last revelation about oneself, not many members of the old vanguard choose to risk their whole futures, their lives, in order to alter the conditions that Huey P. Newton describes as "destructive of life."

Reformism was allowed. The more degenerate elements of the working class were the first to succumb. The vanguard parties supported the capitalistic war adventure in World War II. Then they helped to promote the mass consumers' market that followed the close of the war, the flea market that muted the workers' more genuine demands. Today we are faced with a clearly different set of class antagonisms, the complexities of a particularly refined fascist economic arrangement, where the controlling elites have coopted large portions of the lowly working class.

When we ask ourselves: Where will we attack the enemy state? We are answered: At the productive point.

The next logical question is, With whom and what will we attack the fortified entrance of the productive and distributive system in a nation of shortsighted, contented, conservative workers? Obviously, the fascist movement is counterrevolution at its very center. Fascist reformism is a calculated response to the classic, scientific-socialist approach to revolu-



The people's only Field Marshal, GEORGE JACKSON.



Wreckage after last week's police raid on Party office. "At this stage," asks George Jackson, "how can anyone question the existence of a fascist arrangement."

tion through positive mobilization of the working classes. From its inception the fascist arrangement has attempted to create the illusion of a mass society in which the traditional capitalist ruling class would continue to play its leading role. A mass society that is not a mass society; a mass society of authoritarians whose short-term material interests are perfectly suited to the development of the perfect totalitarian state and centralized economy.

The most precise definitions of fascism involve the concept of "scientific capitalism," or "controlled capitalism," a sophisticated, totalitarian, "learned" response to the challenge of egalitarian, scientific socialism. After its successful establishment in Spain, Portugal, Greece, South Africa and the United States of America, we are faced with the obvious question of "how to raise a new consciousness."

We are faced with the task of raising a positive mobilization of revolutionary consciousness in a mass that has "gone through" a contrapositive, authoritarian process.

The new vanguard elements seem to agree that withdrawal from the enemy state and its social, political and economic life is the first step toward its destruction. The new vanguard elements seem to agree that the new revolutionary consciousness will develop in the struggles of withdrawal. However, after this point, agreement grows vague and is all but lost in a sea of contradiction. The contention turns on one primary question — the scope and range of violence within the revolutionary process.

After the lengthy and clearly unnecessary ideological battle that laid to rest a direct approach to revolution by the White or Black worker, we are now faced with an equally unnecessary ideological battle over which of the various communal (revolutionary cultural) approaches has the stronger revolutionary validity.

The problem is compounded by the almost apolitical withdrawal of the growing Weatherman faction, and their estranged allies on campus, to organic food gardens and a life of sex, music and drugs. Their Nietzschean-

Hegelian withdrawal mimics the European historical experience of the last five generations. In our equation, this must be considered the minor side of the syllogism. Though revolution is in fashion, the realistic, cohesive synergism seems as yet impossibly remote.

On the other side of the equation, we have Huey Newton's concept of Black communes set well within the huge population centers of the enemy state. This concept accepts any level of violence that will be necessary to enforce the demands of the people and workers. These communes will be tied to one another by a national and international vanguard party and joined with the world's other revolutionary societies. They are the obvious answer to all the theoretical and practical questions and problems about an American revolution — a revolution that will be carried out principally by Blacks.

The question I've asked myself over the years runs this way: Who has done most of the dying? Most of the work? Most of the time in prison (on Max Row)? Who is the hindmost in every aspect of social, political and economic life? Who has the least short-term interest — or no interest at all — in the survival of the present state? In this condition, how could we believe in the possibility of a new generation of enlightened fascists who would dismantle the basis of their hierarchy?

Just how many Americans are willing to accept the physical destruction of some parts of their fatherland so that the rest of the land and the world might survive in good health? How can the Black industrial worker be induced to carry out a valid worker's revolutionary policy? What and who will guide him?

THE COMMUNE

The commune. The central citywide revolutionary culture. But who will build the commune that will guide the people into a significant challenge to property rights? Carving out a commune in the central city will involve claiming certain rights as our own — out front. Rights that have not been respected to now. Property rights. It will involve building a political, social and economic infrastructure, capable of filling the vacuum that has been left by the establishment ruling class and pushing the occupying forces of the enemy culture from our midst.

The implementation of this new social, political and economic program will feed and comfort all the people on at least a subsistence level, and force the "owners" of the enemy bourgeois culture either to tie their whole fortunes to the communes and the people, or to leave the land, the tools and the market behind. If he will not leave voluntarily, we will expel him — we will use the shotgun and the antitank rocket launcher!!

Who will build on an ideal that begins with force? The vanguard party is now nationwide. But vanguard parties cannot build revolutions alone. Nor can a vanguard party expect full party line agreement before it moves in the direction of the people. Revolution is illegal. It's against the law. It's prohibited. It will not be allowed. It is clear that the revolutionary is a lawless man. The outlaw and the lumpen will make the revolution. The people, the workers, will adopt it. This must be the new order of things, after the fact of the modern industrial fascist state.

In Blacks, the authoritarian traits are mainly the effects of terrorism and lack of intellectual

stimulation. The communal experience will redeem them. At present, the Black worker is simply choosing the less dangerous and complicated strategy of survival. All classes and all people are subject to the authoritarian syndrome. It is an atavistic throwback to the herd instincts. But it requires only the proper trauma, the proper eco-sociological set of circumstantial pressures to bring forth a revolutionary consciousness.

Racism enters on the psycho-social level, in the form of a morbid, traditional fear of both Blacks and revolutions. The resentment of Blacks, and conscious or unconscious tendencies to mete out pain to Blacks, throughout the history of America's slave systems, all came into focus when Blacks began the move from South to North and from countryside to city to compete with Whites in industrial sectors, and, in general, engage in status competition. Resentment, fear, insecurity, and the usual isolation that is patterned into every modern, capitalist industrial society (the more complex the products, the greater the division of labor; the higher the pyramid, the broader its base and the smaller the individual brick tends to feel) are multiplied by ten when racism, race antagonism, is also a factor.

There is certainly no lack of evidence to prove the existence of an old and built-in character assassination of programmed racism (what class controls the nation's educational facilities, prints the newspapers and magazines that carry the little cartoons, and omits or misrepresents us to death?) has always served to distract and defuse feelings of status deprivation suffered by the huge sectors just above the Black one. Then also to account for the seemingly dual nature recognizable in the authoritarian personality (conformity, but also a strange latent destructiveness), racism has always been employed as a pressure release for the psychopathic destructiveness evinced by a people historically processed to fear, to feel the need for a decision maker, to hate freedom.

The revolutionary is outlawed. The Black revolutionary "is a doomed man." All of the forces of counterrevolution stack up over his head. He's standing in the tank-trap he has dug. He lives in the cross hairs. No one can understand the feeling but himself. "From the beginning" of his revolutionary consciousness he must use every device to stay alive. Violence is a forced issue. It's incumbent on him. The very first political programs have had to be defended with duels to the death. The children's breakfast programs haven't been spared. The next round of commune building could cause the third great war of the century.

We must build with the fingers of one hand wrapped around a gun (an anti-personnel weapon). We cannot leave the central city. This must be understood by the other revolutionary people if we are to move together to conclusive action.

The war will be fought in the nerve centers of the nation, the cities where Angela was finally captured as she was at work for the revolution, where Huey was found hiding and working by the government's propaganda apparatus.

We cannot withdraw from the cities. In order to complete the revolutionary syllogism, the fascists must be forced to withdraw. And under cover of the guns which force their withdrawal, we will build the new Black communes. A BLADE IN THE THROAT OF FASCISM.

GEORGE JACKSON LIVES

THE GLASS HOUSE TAPES

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

The recent wave of Bay Area terrorism, including murder and kidnapping, found to be the work of government agents masquerading as "revolutionaries," makes the book *The Glass House Tapes* particularly timely. Written by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee, the book is the confession of Louis E. Tackwood, former agent provocateur for the Los Angeles Police Department.

The following excerpt describes government attempts to implement "Big Brother" propaganda and spy systems like the one George Orwell warned about in his novel 1984.

TACKWOOD: "When they're not talking about important business, they'll talk normal, on the phone. So somebody calls, using the paranoia thing, 'My phone is already tapped,' and they'll start talking funny. So the Police Department hears this funny talk between two people, and they automatically know, hey, this is something. So what they'll do on a particular day, they have the phone tapped. See my point, how they follow people on the tail thing? This is a Big Brother watching you, thing."

PICK YOU UP

"On a particular day, say, Sam will call Henry, and Sam will say, 'Hey, what it is, I'll be over, okay? I got something important to talk to you about. So don't talk on the phone, you know how it is.' So what they'll do is contact one of their substations closest to your home, and this cat will pick you up. And you know the tail is behind you. They don't actually know where Sam lives at, really, they haven't chased back the trace yet, and they don't know how important he is."

"They watch you now, and if you go into some place normally, you'll just go in, but if you're going to do something, you'll go around the block, up the street, down the corner, and everything else."

"This is how they start tapping phones, and watching people. Now, you can place Sam in the position of being suspected because of the funny phone call you made to him or he made to you and then the funny way you went to his house."

"Now, they can lose you, going around the block, and they laugh at that, because at a certain point

they cut it off. They just want to make sure that where you're going is the man they suspect."

"Then they'll go back to the line that they were tapping and the number will be cross-indexed into this machine. Then through the clicks they'll find the number and now they have Sam's number and his home address."

"Then they listen to who he calls, to who he is going to be funny. So you see that the individual gives the person up. In other words, like if me and you were doing something, all they could suspect you in doing is the way I act and react..."

"In '65, I think it was, seven—through seven states, twenty-six different Police Departments got together on intelligence work. And they designated C.I.I. of California as a central bureau that all intelligence would flow through. So I know there was a working agreement between C.I.I. and C.C.S. Now C.C.S. being the top political intelligence organization in California, would automatically work with the top California branch. C.I.I. is the state investigating arm. But the people who put the plan (coverage of the Marin County shoot-out) together, weren't the C.I.I.; it was C.C.S. Everybody up there who was involved in it was from Southern California."

SAD is the Special Analysis Division of the Office of Emer-

gency Preparedness and its objectives are to compile a national list of persons to be watched and to develop a censorship program that could be put into effect during a "national emergency." Until June 17, 1972, the head of this group was Watergate agent James W. McCord, Jr.!

NATIONAL CENSORSHIP PLAN

According to the National Censorship Plan—Section 1, Chapter 4—the plan would go into effect in the event of "(a) general war; (b) limited war or conflicts of the 'brush fire' type, in which the United States forces are involved elsewhere in the world on land, sea, or in the air." The President, who claims the censorship power as part of his inherent powers in foreign affairs, can implement the SAD plan by executive order. The President could impose censorship in the United States at any time the country became involved in a conflict like the Vietnam War.

SAD provides two types of censorship—voluntary and mandatory. The first type—voluntary—is like the kind Spiro Agnew suggested the press impose upon itself. Censorship of mail and telecommunications could be mandatory and automatic, but the suggested "voluntary" type of censorship of the press quickly becomes mandatory censorship



Watergate agent JAMES MCCORD was head of the Special Analysis Division of the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

because the transmission of news by telephone, mail or cable falls under the automatic, mandatory censorship.

Democratic Representative William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania, chairman of a House subcommittee on Government Information, suggests that the watch list may include the names of thousands of civilians gathered by the Army—the same dossiers of private and political activities which Secretary of Defense Laird was forced to order the Army to destroy.

Lists such as the one being compiled by SAD have been made in the past, in the United States. They are related to and have caused some of the least democratic periods of American history, such as the arrests and incarceration of Japanese-Americans during World War II and the Palmer Raids after World War I.

According to John Lannan, a White House Science Office spokesman, the office recently requested representatives of Federal agencies to present proposals on how new technological developments might meet the social needs of the country. The *Los Angeles Times* has said, "The White House Science Office has come up with a plan to put special FM radio receivers in every American home to permit the government to communicate directly with citizens twenty-four hours a day. Under the proposal, manufacturers would be required to install the FM receivers in every boat, automobile, radio and television set. The system must be operated twenty-four hours per day to cover 100% of the population..."

TO BE CONTINUED

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AVON

Intercommunal News

FORMER ETHIOPIAN CABINET MEMBERS

ARRESTED

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) - Ethiopia's Prime Minister, Endalkachew Makonnen, announced last week that security forces had been ordered to place cabinet ministers of the former government under house arrest.

Radio Ethiopia said the Premier made the announcement at a meeting of about 2,000 officers and enlisted men from various branches of the armed forces in Addis Ababa.

The ministers to be arrested were members of the government that was forced to resign at the end of February by a mutiny in the armed forces that sparked a popular and widespread movement of the people.

The British news agency Reuters reports that military sources said the Premier was summoned to the meeting by the armed forces who warned him that unless immediate action was

taken on the arrest of the former cabinet ministers, the army would be compelled to intervene.

The military men accuse the former cabinet ministers of creating economic chaos, illegally enriching themselves while in office and conspiring to cause disruption since their resignation at the end of February.

NEW CABINET, NEW STATEMENT

In a lengthy policy statement issued by the new cabinet two weeks ago, the cabinet ministers promised to disclose their personal wealth and "at all times endeavor to put Ethiopia's interests above our individual interests."

However, continuing strikes, protests and demands from all segments of the population express the attitude that the people don't want promises; they want deeds. Three thousand army veterans demonstrated in Addis Ababa last week demanding pension increases. Garbage collectors and other municipal workers have struck, including customs officials and Finance Ministry employees. □

AFRICAN DROUGHT LINKED TO NIGER COUP

(Niamey, Niger) - An apparently bloodless coup d'etat (military takeover), led by Niger

army Chief of Staff Lt. Col. Seyni Kountie overthrew the civilian government of President Hamani Diori last week.

News of the takeover was carried on Niger's official radio, monitored in neighboring Lagos, Nigeria. Explaining the reasons, Lt. Col. Kountie charged in a radio broadcast that Mr. Diori had mishandled the disastrous situation resulting from six years of drought and famine. He also accused the Diori government of corruption.

Niger is one of the six African countries in the African Sahel most severely affected by the massive drought. The others are Mali, Mauritania, Chad, Senegal and Upper Volta.

The military takeover in Niger is the 32nd in Africa since 1952. The Chief of Staff announced that the Constitution was suspended, the National Assembly dissolved and all political organizations suppressed. He said a supreme council of officers would be created soon to run the government.

"We could not stand by in the face of the catastrophic situation in the country," Lt. Col. Kountie is reported as saying on Niger Radio, "despite the prestige of the man who has been the incarnation of the Niger nation for 15 years."

However, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) commentator said shortly after the takeover that Niger, an exporter of uranium ore, is thought to possess massive, undeveloped deposits of this essential nuclear power natural resource, and that Mr. Diori's government resisted U.S., French and other Western attempts for the greatly increased exploitation of those deposits on

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Ousted President HAMANI DIORI of Niger.

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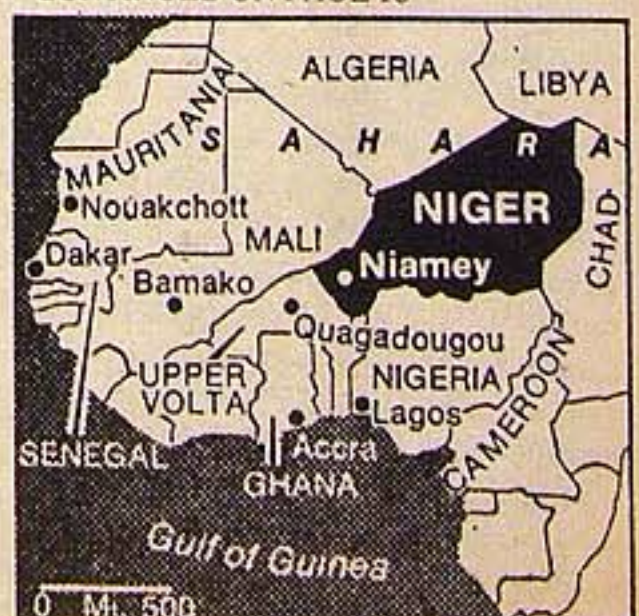
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SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS HARASSED

Two members of the South African Student Organization being accosted by a White policeman while selling their organization's newsletter. The policeman tried to confiscate the newsletter, but Mthali Shezi [right] made him pay. The South African Student Organization is the target of intense government repression. The popular student leader Abraham Ramo-Thibi Tiro, Permanent National Organizing Secretary of the SASO, was killed two months ago by a letter bomb.



TEXT OF B.P.P. PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING POLICE ATTACK

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

to endure this type of harassment that comes out of J. Edgar Hoover's old memoirs.

"There was a pregnant woman, Ms. Constance Webb, six months pregnant — a serious point in pregnancy — who was arrested and taken from her bed without an opportunity to change clothes. Another woman, Ms. Annette Roper, who has a serious asthmatic condition and is under a doctor's care almost daily for that, was arrested. The woman who was responsible for the health care for the children at the Intercommunal Youth Institute, Ms. Lintonia Sheppard, was arrested. (The children at the Institute number over 100 and Lintonia works with the East Oakland Health Alliance and the Children's Hospital for the care of these children.)

PROGRAM WORKERS

"Several of our S.A.F.E. (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) program workers were arrested, three of our Sickle Cell Anemia technicians were arrested, and 2 of the people who are responsible for the cooking and the obtaining of the food for the school were arrested.

"So, what we are saying is that the people who were there were the people who were involved in our programs. We can only see this as an assault on the part of the police department and on the part of the power structure of both of these cities and of other cities of this area to attempt to stop our programs from functioning, and to attempt, as Bobby has said, to keep us from having the controlling vote in the City Council of Oakland which we intend to have.

Q: BOBBY, all of this started last night when Michael Foster, who claims to be a former Black Panther Party member was supposedly assaulted by three Black Panthers in Berkeley. That assault was supposed to have led to the house in Oakland that was raided.

BOBBY: This is the first time I have heard of any Michael Foster who was a member of the Black Panther Party, that's for one. I don't know any name like that in this area. I don't even know who this is.

Q: Have you ever heard of the Jackson Learning Center? He's president of that in Oakland.

BOBBY: I heard something on KDIA, as a news item. Secondly, I heard that there was a warrant

for some Party member, whose name I don't know.

But, I am saying that in the case of any warrant for any Black Panther Party member, the police departments in Oakland, Berkeley and San Francisco know that they can call Charles R. Garry and we will surrender the person. We would rather have the person surrender, arrested and bailed out so that we can continue to do the work here.

I can't say much more than it's obvious to me when you start having mass arrests of Black Panther Party members, all these absurd charges, the same charges we used to get across the



ELAINE BROWN and BOBBY SEALE at press conference.

board before. And, when they get in court, they can't even prove the junk. Then they paint a picture in the press that we are this or we are that.

The whole atmosphere of what's been going down throughout the Oakland - San Francisco Bay Area seems to be an attempt to discredit the freedom fighters, to discredit those who are working for liberation, discredit members of the Black Panther Party who are revolutionaries. This is the whole concept. Revolution means what we are doing in the community, ourselves. We understand where they are coming from.

Q: Have you been in contact with the people who were arrested yet?

BOBBY: No, only with the lawyers. The lawyers have been in contact with them.

Q: Do you want to be more specific about "powers that be" that you mentioned before? Do you want to name anybody specifically?

BOBBY: Oh, I will start with the new police chief Hart himself. (Oakland Chief of Police George A. Hart.)

Q: How about the mayor?

BOBBY: The mayor is inter-related with the total power structure of this city.

Elaine Brown has been doing some tremendous work concerning \$12 million worth of new housing here (reference to the City Center replacement housing proposal recently adopted by the Oakland City Council) and we put the power structure up against the wall with a federal law.

LIBERATION STRUGGLES TO BE COVERED BY NEW GENEVA ACCORDS

(Geneva, Switzerland) - An amendment to subject wars of national liberation to the requirements of international law was approved in Geneva recently, despite U.S. opposition.

The approval came on March 22, at the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable to Armed Conflicts, which convened on February 20. Attended by 104 nations, the Conference was called primarily to revise the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

The amendment redefines as "international" rather than "internal," all "armed conflicts in which people are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination."

If the vote on the amendment is sustained at the full Geneva Conference in 1975, liberation movements in armed conflict will receive the full protection of the new Geneva Conventions. The new law would also lend diplomatic and political prestige to anticolonial forces, isolate and deny legitimacy to the colonial power and facilitate the delivery of material assistance from other countries to the new, emerging nations.

Amending the 1949 conventions was the method chosen by Third World and progressive governments to win recognition of the political and human character of liberation movements and overcome the inadequacies of the old international law.

Formulated by the Western industrialized nations after the two world wars, the 1949 Geneva Conventions reflected the char-

acter of conventional European warfare but excluded entirely the Vietnam - type, guerrilla wars which have dominated the post-World War II era. Under the old conventions, the genocidal wars in Indochina twice and in Algeria, Indonesia, Kenya, Angola, Mozambique, Malaysia, etc., were conveniently classified as "internal" or "non-international" conflicts and were therefore excluded from international sanctions.

Q: What about the arms and the ammunition supposedly found?

BOBBY: All I can say is that it's the same old police agent provocateur operation. In the past Black Panther Party members were arrested in Los Angeles, Chicago, across the country for "possessing machine guns." No machine guns ever showed up in court. It's the same old F.B.I.-

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The U.S.-led opposition to the amendment failed miserably at the Conference. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 70 to 22 (with 12 abstentions and 31 absent). Almost every Third World nation voted for the amendment, and the few which didn't are U.S.-sponsored dic-



FRELIMO guerillas at work in the fields of the liberated area of Mozambique.

LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA

(London, England) - Conditions of life for Africans in the racist Republic of South Africa were detailed in a recent edition of the newsletter *X-Ray* published here.

The newsletter reports that a Professor John Hansen, head of the department of Pediatrics at the Witwatersrand University, has disclosed that over 60 per cent of Black children admitted to Baragwanath Hospital in Johannesburg are treated for malnutrition.

A survey by the South African Bureau of Market Research showed that average Black incomes in towns in the Free State province were less than half those paid in Johannesburg. About 40 per cent of those miserable incomes are provided in the form of housing and food. The average monthly expenditure of a family of six persons is just under R30 (\$37).

More than three and a half million Black farm workers on White farms "work appalling hours for miserably low wages." They are totally unprotected by legislation and are excluded from any wage regulating machinery. They are bound to the land by the Masters and Servants Act — a medieval law that confines them to their places of work like the slaves of old.

Their average cash wage is R12 (\$15) per month. In the Eastern Transvaal, the going rate for farm laborers is about \$9 per month.

The "resettlement villages," involving some 1.6 million Africans who have been forcibly removed from towns and other so-called White areas, are located on the bare veld (flatlands) in Bantustans. The Africans are not allowed to own livestock and their small gardens cannot support them. Government grants to destitute families amount to R10 (\$12) per family per month, while disability and old-age pensions come to a maximum of R15 (\$22) every two months.

In the township of Evaton, the only area in the whole country outside the Bantustans where

TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR

"CHINA COOPERATION EXAMPLE FOR THIRD WORLD"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - China's cooperation with Tanzania in the construction of the Tan/Zam railway will become a "prototype" for other Third World and developing countries, Tanzanian Ambassador Paul Bomani told a press conference here last Tuesday.

Praising the practice of mutual assistance among Third World countries, Ambassador Bomani said that China "set an example" in Tanzania that other developing countries should follow.

Ambassador Bomani was in San Francisco to meet with individuals and groups involved in preparations for the U.S. participation in the upcoming 6th Pan African Congress, to be held June 3 through 13, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The soft-spoken ambassador said that China's participation in the building of the important East Africa rail link had resulted in the training of many Tanzanian experts in many different fields. He



Students going to classes in the Science Facility of the University of Dar es Salaam. In Tanzania free education is provided for both young and old.

praised the simple and yet very effective training methods used by the Chinese and expressed delight that now as a result, Tanzania has its own experts and technicians for further such development projects.

Mr. Bomani said that from the Chinese experience, Tanzania has been convinced of the advantage of engaging experts and technicians from other devel-

ping and Third World countries. He said that Tanzania now employs experts from Pakistan and India. He said the cost to Tanzania for these experts is one third the cost of engaging experts in the same areas from the U.S.A.

"China has set the example. Other countries will follow," he said. Tanzania is attempting also to assist other Third World and developing countries in the same way, despite its limited reserve of experts.

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

"We are now assisting the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau with some experts in administration," Mr. Bomani said. "We are willing to send others when possible," he added. He described the practice as a "new approach to self-help and mutual assistance" among Third World countries.

Responding to a question on the current discussions underway at the special session of the United Nations, Ambassador Bomani said that the solidarity of the Third World is necessary to bring about change in relationships with the developed world.

He said that "primary producers" (producers of raw materials and agricultural products, largely Third World countries) should derive the fullest benefit from their product. Price mechanisms should be created to assure that fair prices are paid by the developed countries for the raw materials of developing and Third world countries.

He added that trade between developed and developing countries should be favorable to the seller as well as the buyer, and that Tanzania's Foreign Minister, who has come to the United

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CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

Africans can own land, the government has ordered the demolition of hundreds of houses. The occupants are left homeless and elderly owners are deprived of the income from the rentals of rooms.

An arbitrary regulation empowers the local authority to instruct the owner to pull down a building it considers unsightly. But most houses are neatly kept brick structures.

Bloemfontein City Council now affixes a plastic armband to its 2,300 African workers to keep trace of the payment of wages. The armbands are fixed by machine and are almost impossible to remove. The rings are color-coded to denote the person's status, that is whether they are tribal or local natives. Previously they wore removable dog-tags. □



Black South African workers building a railroad while being watched by White overseer.

CHINA COOPERATION

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

States to present Tanzania's statement to the General Assembly session, will express his country's support for all efforts aimed at equalizing economic relations between developed and developing countries.

On the upcoming Pan African Congress, Ambassador Bomani said that he had succeeded during his trip to the Bay Area in establishing contact with persons and groups in connection with the Congress. He added that the Congress will discuss ways and means of greatly increasing all types of cooperation among African countries, and among peoples of African descent from technical and scientific problems to the independence struggles in those parts of Africa still under colonial and White racist rule.

In response to a question on the difficulty of media workers in this country securing reliable information about Africa, Ambassador Bomani said the Congress will take this matter under consideration and he looks forward to decisions being taken that will greatly facilitate the exchange of information between Africa and the U.S. □

NIGER COUP

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

terms unfavorable to Niger, possibly explaining the reasons behind the coup.

Lt. Col. Kountie, who is 43 years old, imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew which he said would be eased as the situation in the country was normalized. But he stressed that "we do not want to undertake anything in a hurry."

Kountie is a product of French military training. He joined the Niger Army in 1961, one year after the country won its independence from France. He became Chief of Staff in 1973. Mr. Diori, a former schoolteacher, had led his country to independence in 1960, and held the position of leadership from that time.

Niger, a West African country of more than four million people, is one of the continent's poorest lands. Because of the drought, tens of thousands are in refugee camps and totally dependent on relief supplies for survival.

Mr. Diori has in recent years made repeated requests to industrialized nations for large scale aid and assistance to help the country overcome the effects of the disastrous drought, but his appeals have been largely ignored. □

Africa In Focus

UNITED NATIONS

The Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization of the United Nations called on Britain recently "to take all effective measures to terminate the illegal racist minority regime" in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), and to ensure the political and human rights of the people. It also called for actions to strengthen the U.N. Security Council's sanctions against the Salisbury regime, including steps by the U.S. to put an end to the operations of certain Rhodesian agencies in the U.S.

ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

Ronald Sadomba, a Black member of the Rhodesian Parliament, revealed before that body that two South African police working in Rhodesia killed a Black baby last December after failing to get information from the baby's mother concerning the whereabouts of guerrillas. Sadomba was promptly accused of supporting the guerrilla movement by the racist government's Minister of Justice, Desmond Lardner-Burke, and of "undermining the army's anti-guerrilla operations." Sadomba is one of the few Black members of Parliament, appointed to his place by the White-minority regime.

GUINEA

The Republic of Guinea recently reported that a large number of troops from Guinea's neighbor to the east, the Ivory Coast, were being concentrated on the common border of the two countries during the last few weeks. Radio Conakry said that included among these troops were many White mercenaries from West Germany, France, Portugal and Israel.

ETHIOPIA

More than 40,000 Ethiopians marched through the center of Addis Ababa last week in a demonstration for religious freedom for Moslems in this predominantly Coptic Christian country. The demonstration was the largest ever seen in Ethiopia, and included a massive contingent of Christians in support of the demand. The Moslem community is demanding the right to own land, religious freedom in the schools and an end to discrimination against Moslems in employment and in the courts. The demonstration included a large contingent of Moslem women demanding equal rights for women.

Africa in Revolutionary



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FILM REVIEW

ENTERTAINMENT

ATTICA SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

Attica is a clear and simple statement of the events surrounding the Attica Prison rebellion in September, 1971. It is a well made film. The evidence and testimony are presented fairly showing both sides of the case. The part-color documentary is similar to *The Murder of Fred Hampton* documentary in its impact, content and style.

The words of New York State Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald and those of the leader of the police attack, Assault Commander Monahan, sound like a sequel to Chicago States' Attorney Hanrahan's lying contradictory statements.

The filmed testimony of a "qualified" New York State Police rifleman explaining his high-powered rifle, its ammunition and the timing and position of fire used in the attack in which 43 people were killed, is fascinating. He smiles and frankly re-enacts the techniques for pacing and rapidly firing at the, "game or target animal," as he put it. He explains that this was the same method he'd ordinarily use, "when I'm hunting."

The prisoners' best defenses were football helmets and sticks, of which there were few. Prisoners were told to stand and surrender by National Guard helicopters specially mounted with loudspeakers. Then the high-powered expanding dum-dum bullets began to rain in the prison yard. Qualified New York State Police marksmen and other police and military personnel fired at will from the parapets surrounding the yard and from the roofs of the ground assault.

White and Black prisoners worked in unity to hold their rebellion together and they died and were wounded in unity along with the hostages they tended. Before the assault, one hostage guard named Cunningham is asked if he has any statement for the press and for Governor Rockefeller on his condition. His answer is that if Rockefeller's answer to the prisoners is "No," then, "I'm dead." Hours later hostage Cunningham was killed by state gunfire.

Several prisoners testify that Brother L.D. Barkley was taken prisoner with them in the bloody yard. One of the outside observers on the negotiating team also remembers seeing him after the assault, after "order" was restored. Nevertheless, L.D. Barkley shows up on the lists of the

dead a few days later, the victim of a gunshot wound. Witnesses recall that shots were fired all through the night following the recapture of Attica State Prison and many additional men were missing and dead the next day.

The photography, production and editing of this film are a credit to the artists and to the producer-director, Cinda Firestone.

The photography, production and editing of this film are a credit to the artists and to the producer-director, Cinda Firestone. The eloquent words and beautiful spirit of the Attica Brothers also contribute to the overall success of the film.

The viewer notes the words and actions of the rebellious prisoners and sees a system of organized cooperation, humane consideration and practical reason; sharing and providing for each other and even more for their thirty-five hostages. The thousand men who filled the small short-lived society possessed incredible love.

Outside, state forces drilled with organized precision and systematically, efficiently carried out the task of preparing to repress and kill the men inside. "Detail halt," cries the drill leader and the lines of feet are stilled. "Get your rifles and shotguns," and the lines quickly break; every man is armed.

The state police issued 270 high-powered rifles and thirty riot shotguns that day. Volunteer police agents from at least eleven local county sheriff's departments and other police forces as well as prison guards from Attica and volunteer guards from Au-



The film *Attica* portrays the heroic struggle of these prison inmates who stood up and said, "We are men. We are not beasts."

burn State Prison brought their own guns. Included were M-16 automatic weapons and Thompson submachine guns.

Former Governor Nelson Rockefeller and President Richard Nixon approved the assault plans and gave the order. Mass murder was committed and later it is all condoned for the delusion of the American public. The cat will be out of the bag if *Attica* is widely distributed.

State lies to the press and coverups of the truth are revealed. The reflections of survivors are recounted. When Warden Vincent Mancusi is asked if he has instituted any measures since the rebellion to prevent its recurrence his only answer is, "We have two new gun posts in the central yard."

Attica will join *The Murder of Fred Hampton* and *Executive Action*, in the library of filmed documentation of American fascism, terrorism and racism today.

D.B.

FOR CAROL

In the beginning
Was the end
And the end
Was the beginning
But where was the middle

You asked
Why don't you write
Poems about
big trees

green grass
sweet flowers
and blue skies

And I chuckled
and said I only write about women

I looked out my old backyard
Don't have any green grass
Plenty of cement

Across the street
A lot of old fire traps
Even on warm days
The factories gave us a black sky
Right On-Black Power

Didn't know about any blue skies
'Til I fell asleep on the El
And went to the suburbs

Flowers
Flowers for proms
And funerals
And weddings
West Garfield never got
Too many flowers
Flowers were for proms
And funerals
And weddings
And...
Placing on top of momma's coffin

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REGISTER TO VOTE

B.P.P. RESOLUTION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

tice by supporting the three demands of the American Indian Movement, the Oglala Sioux Nation and the people on trial in St. Paul and Sioux Falls for their participation in the liberation of Wounded Knee Feb. 27 - May 8, 1973, specifically:

"1. Congress should establish a Treaty Commission to examine the 371 treaties signed with Indian peoples.

"2. That the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 be re-examined or repealed because the IRA places Indian self-government under the direct and total control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and because the IRA has imposed non-Indian systems of government on Indian peoples, which systems have become corrupted in the process.

"3. Remove the BIA from the Dept. of the Interior and set it up as an independent agency to end the conflict between the corporate interests the Department represents and the management of Indian lands.

"THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that all charges be dropped against the 129 people the government is attempting to prosecute for their stand in defense of their civil rights."

Meanwhile, in Saint Paul, Minnesota, a number of contradicting witnesses were called by the government in its attempt to prosecute American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

Two undercover FBI agents who infiltrated the Wounded Knee occupation repeatedly contradicted each other in their testimony on events. A court file clerk testified that she never saw a piece of evidence the prosecution said was in her possession until immediately before it was subpoenaed by the government. And, two Bureau of Indian Affairs police officers denied knowledge of their membership on the "goon squads" of Richard Wilson, tribal council chairman.

A final witness, who was brought to court to testify as to the accuracy of government maps of Wounded Knee, reported that there were "glaring inaccuracies" in the exhibits. The map in question was not entered into evidence. □

REGISTER TO VOTE

GENEVA ACCORDS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

tatorships. They include Brazil, Chile, the Philippines and Guatemala, all of whom abstained.

Voting "No" with the U.S. were South Africa, Belgium, Spain, South Korea, Portugal, Germany, Uruguay, France, Israel and several others.

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, still engaged in the last stages of their liberation war against Portugal, was seated as a legitimate government by acclamation at the Conference. "(It is) very fruitful for minimizing the suffering of the people struggling for national independence," said Fidelis Cabral D'Almada, chief of the Guinea-Bissau delegation, in evaluating the amendment. □

YOUTH INSTITUTE: GROUP 6

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

and liberation. Solidarity with the communities throughout the world is the guiding principle in the Intercommunal Studies period in political education class.

The goal of "an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society" is kept in mind during the history periods in political education class. The children are taught Black history, as well as Chicano and American history in order to clarify their perspective of the present and the future.

Due to positive educational methods there is a strong sense of unity between instructors and students in Group Six. The instructor doesn't have to pretend to have all the answers and students can honestly express their views without being condemned.

The example of the Intercommunal Youth Institute concretely demonstrates that there are alternatives to the public school system's outmoded, bureaucratic and harmful approaches to education.

□□□

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SPORTS

SPORTS AND THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

THE IMPACT OF THE BLACK REVOLT

The following is the first of a series of an article by Mark Naison, Instructor at the Afro-American Institute at Fordham University in New York City. The article, in more extended form, first appeared in the monthly *Radical America*, and is reprinted here with the permission of Brother Naison.

Since the Second World War, sports has been one of the major areas for the supposed assimilation of new racial groups (Blacks and Latins) into the mainstream of American life and the incorporation of backward and developing sections (the South and Southwest) into the orbit of modern capitalist relations. Black players began to enter major-league sports in large numbers at the exact time (1947-1950) that a series of executive orders "integrated" the U.S. Armed Forces, and the expansion of professional (major-league) football, basketball, and baseball to the South directly followed the passage of Federal Civil Rights legislation.

In addition, athletic events have increasingly reflected the dynamics of an emergent American imperialism. As the American political economy "internationalized" in the post-war period, many of its most distinctive cultural values and patterns, from consumerism to military preparedness, have become an integral part of organized sports.

Professional sports events have become "spectacles" whose political and cultural impact lies as much in the marching bands, the cheerleaders, the commercial endorsements and the introduction of politicians and visiting servicemen as in the competition on the field. The spectator is dazzled by an image of American civilization that is so overwhelming that it seems incomprehensible and futile to try to change it or exist outside its framework.

Nevertheless, the use of organized sports as an instrument of political control and repression has not been entirely successful. The enormous American sports industry has not only failed to defuse social discontent off the field, but has found itself increasingly torn by rebellion within its own ranks.

The Black revolt, the anti-war movement, and women's liberation have all had an impact on contemporary sports, an impact which seems to get progressively greater the more sports are "capitalized" and exposed in the media. In the last ten years, with more TV coverage than ever, sports events have been interrupted by strikes, boycotts, and racial conflict to an unprecedented degree.

In addition, sports, particularly on a local level, continue to serve as vehicles for creativity, self-expression, and cultural growth for oppressed people. In working-class and poor neighborhoods throughout America, both Black and White, participation in sports (as distinct from viewing) serves as a highly affirmative experience which can define communities, express personalities, and help people endure the pains of daily life.

In Harlem, for example, basketball is more than just physical exercise and competition, it is a sphere of life in which young men affirmatively experience their Blackness, feel the full-flowering of their abilities, and experience pride in their origin and community.

There is a kind of pathos in this (described in Peter Axheim's excellent book, *The City Game*) that in communities where creative outlets are few, opportunities for mobility limited, and forms of living death legion, a sport should become the focal point of such emotion and energy. But it also represents a triumph of human ingenuity and creativity, an example of people's ability to use an "irrelevant" or even repressive institution as a tool of self-development and solidarity.

The rise of the Black athlete has been one of the more dramatic occurrences in post-war professional sports. Since 1947, Black football, basketball, and baseball players, once limited to segregated teams, have moved quickly into the major leagues in their respective sports. By the late 1960s, they had become a dominant force, comprising over half the professional basketball players, over one-quarter of baseball and football players, and the majority of "all-stars" in all three sports.

The meaning of this phenomenon has been the subject of much journalistic speculation and barroom debate. The "superiority" of the Black athlete has

been attributed to everything from extra muscles in the legs, to a unique bone structure, to a "constitutional ability to remain calm under pressure." However such biological theories and images represent a fundamental misreading of the character of contemporary professional sports.

Team sports are activities which are governed by the dynamics of modern industrial life and require highly specialized behavior. Professional athletes need far more than natural ability to succeed — they must practice their skills steadily, use strategic thinking, and co-operate with teammates and comrades (fellow workers) in a manner which is quite comparable to industrial work situations.

RISE OF THE BLACK ATHLETE

The rise of the Black athlete thus tells us a lot more about the rapid movement of Black people into urban society and their creative assimilation of industrial values than it does about inherited racial differences. Blacks now compose almost 40% of the work force in the American automobile industry and over half the transit work force in Chicago, New York, and Detroit; yet no one talks about the "natural propensity" of Black people for assembly-line work, or their "constitutional" attraction to fast moving vehicles.

The significance of sports in the political modernization of agrarian (and colonial) people has been brilliantly analyzed by CLR James in his history of cricket in the West Indies, *Beyond a Boundary*. As James shows, cricket was one of the primary vehicles through which English culture was transmitted to the West Indies and, in turn, West Indian identity was forged in a distinctive way. West Indians learned English values and the norms of industrial and commercial life as much on the cricket field as in the school and the work place, and their success in developing great players and great teams marked their coming of age as a people.

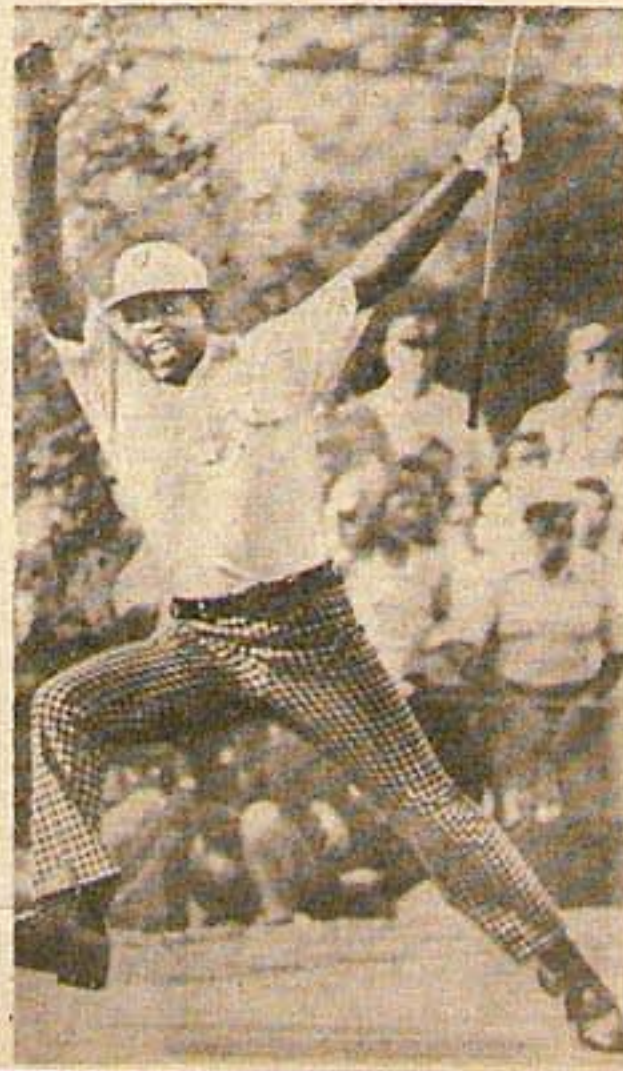
When West Indian teams demonstrated their ability to beat the best of the English teams using styles and techniques all their own, it symbolized their mastery of modern social organization, their ability to produce dominant personalities, and the viability of their traditional cultures. Cricket, a sport which had been imported to legitimize English culture and English rule, was thus transformed into a proving ground for West Indian self-government.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

LEE ELDER WINS BIG ONE, QUALIFIES FOR MASTERS

LEE ELDER jumps for joy after sinking a magnificent 18-foot putt to win the Monsanto Golf Tournament and gain automatic qualification for next year's Masters' Tournament, becoming the first Black golfer ever to do so. Elder, 38, won his first American title championship after overcoming seemingly insurmountable odds to break the White-upper class domination of golf.

CONGRATULATIONS, LEE!!



TEXT OF B.P.P. PRESS CONFERENCE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

Hoover tactics that were recently reported about. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, April 6, 1974.) The same agent-provocator coming in planting things on the Black Panther Party.

Q: What was the house then Bobby? What was it used for?

BOBBY: The house was used for a precinct headquarters. We clocked all the precinct operations, all the precinct workers, all the names and addresses of our precinct workers were there. Practically all the people who voted for us by name were filed in that house. We did a broad operation when we ran our campaign. We have all kinds of lists, mailing lists, everything centralized there. From the information that I have gotten, they (the police) have loaded up our political files and taken things out of that house.

I don't know now if they confiscated those or not. But, I know I heard somebody say that the police took trucks or something to the 29th Avenue office.

Q: What are you doing about the \$300,000 bail?

BOBBY: We are asking the people in the community to start helping us out right away because \$300,000 bail even at 10% is \$30,000. That is a lot of bail and we are back in the same old position that we used to be in before, trying to raise bail to get this many people out of jail, at the same time as we try to work on all these different programs and keep things moving.

Q: You said that this would affect your campaigning for public offices. But how seriously?

BOBBY: Well, when you start talking about \$300,000 bail we suspect there might be other arrests. We discussed this for 2 or 3 hours this morning since the arrest occurred and if they keep this up it starts draining any and all funds we can raise. We already have to run the S.A.F.E. program, the Institute, Clinics, Sickle Cell Anemia operations and all kinds of programs.

It drains funds coming in and funds for the campaign. To run for 5 City Council seats and 2 Board of Education seats in the next, upcoming election one year from now, you're talking about a 3, 4 or 500,000 dollar campaign which is the type of campaign we prefer to run. We ran over a \$100,000 campaign when Elaine and I ran the last time. So, we think it will affect us.

As to the arrests, some of those people were very significant coordinators. Some of these people who were arrested know 75 to 100 persons as friends in our community. They were organizing precinct workers in our community. And this is the type of thing we are up against when these mass arrests start.

We're talking about 3,000 precinct workers this upcoming election whereas last time we only had 1,200 precinct workers. That's the highest it ever got. We're talking about pulling those people out and we're talking about controlling City Councils. We're affecting the power structure which elects other corrupt lackey politicians. That's what we're doing and I say that's what they are really scared of.

Q: Do you think that federal and state authorities were involved in the raid?

BOBBY: Definitely. I believe that they are behind it because we had too much harassment from federal authorities during the last election. We had over 100 voter registrars arrested in the last election and the FBI attempted to question them inside the jails and prisons where these people were held. People have reported that FBI agents have said that they were going to see to it that Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown didn't win the election here in Oakland when we were running the last time.

Q: You say you are trying to get 50,000 more voters or do you already have them?

BOBBY: No, we already know that there are at least 40,000

black people who did not go to polls last year but who are, in fact, registered voters. We only had 1,200 precinct workers to bring out the amount we did. (Elaine garnered 34,000 votes on April 17, 1973, and Bobby drew 44,000 on May 15.) We believe that if we get 3,000 precinct workers we can bring out 80 to 100,000 Black people and we can also register another 10 or 20,000 people before the next election. We're talking about 100,000 people going to the polls and voting. We say we can do it and they know we can do it. □



ELAINE BROWN speaks to newsmen about the agreement between the Black Panther Party's legal counsel and the police.

REFUSAL TO EXTRADITE CONFIRMED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

him back to face charges. This admission was contained in court records copies of which have been secured by THE BLACK PANTHER.

The transcript of the proceedings of the 1969 case resulting in Defreeze's conviction for assault with intent to kill, possession of a fraudulent check and robbery, contains the following dialogue between Defreeze ("Defendant") and Judge William Ritze ("The Court"):

"POLICE PREDAWN RAID POLITICAL"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Proof of the Party's good faith in keeping the agreement was provided on Thursday, April 18, when Charles Garry surrendered Brother Leonard Colar, 20, the Party member supposedly sought in Tuesday's raid, in Berkeley Municipal Court. Receiving assurances of good conduct from Brother Leonard's parole officer and from Mr. Garry, Leonard was released without bond, on his own recognizance.

Summing up the entire incident, Bobby Seale commented: "The powers that be are out to discredit the Black Panther Party, especially myself and Elaine... We have been quietly organizing 3,000 precinct workers in the community for the upcoming city elections, one year from now. In that election we hope to run and/or support five persons for City Council seats. That would be a majority, that would bring about people's control in Oakland. And, that is what the power structure wants to stop." □

"THE COURT: Is there still some time you are suppose to do back in Ohio?"

"THE DEFENDANT: Yes.

"THE COURT: Are you wanted back in Ohio on another charge?"

"THE DEFENDANT: In Ohio?"

"THE COURT: Yes.

"THE DEFENDANT: That's suppose to be an attempted bank burglary.

"THE COURT: I see.

"THE DEFENDANT: Everybody's... not to be joking, sir, but...

"THE COURT: I'm not joking. I'm deadly serious.

"THE DEFENDANT: I know you are serious. I'm serious, too. But it's funny how everybody gets on the bandwagon, you know. You see, the charge is not true, but this is...

"THE COURT: I understand you are also wanted back in New Jersey.

"THE DEFENDANT: Kidnapping, yes.

"THE COURT: Kidnapping.

"THE DEFENDANT: Kidnapping, attempted extortion and assault with a deadly weapon. This is also untrue, too, but, you see, you don't know that, but I know it and they know it. But to make sure that this Court tries to send me as far in prison as they can, they have been trying to get me back there for a probation violation since '65 and California refuses and they didn't refuse in a nice way. They had to do it nasty, and California doesn't like that."

California Governor Ronald Reagan must answer the following question: Why was the extradition request from New Jersey—long before the creation of the Symbionese Liberation Army—denied by California authorities? □

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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

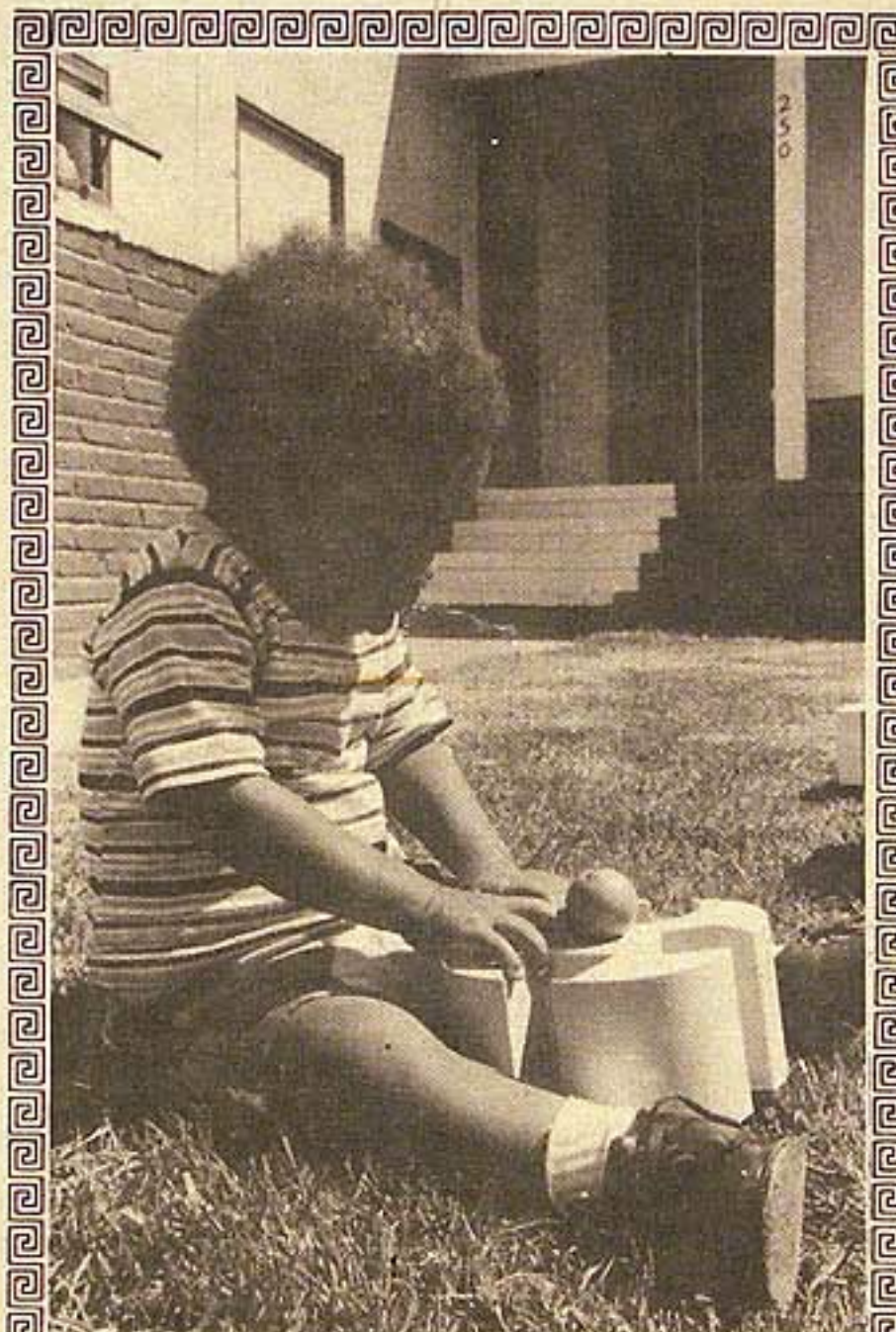
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

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.



CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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.

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

Bobby Seale

AMERICA... GIVE ME A CHANCE

PERIODICALS ROOM



MEDIA: GRAPHITE PENCIL, PEN AND INK

DRAWING BY EMORY