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# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE



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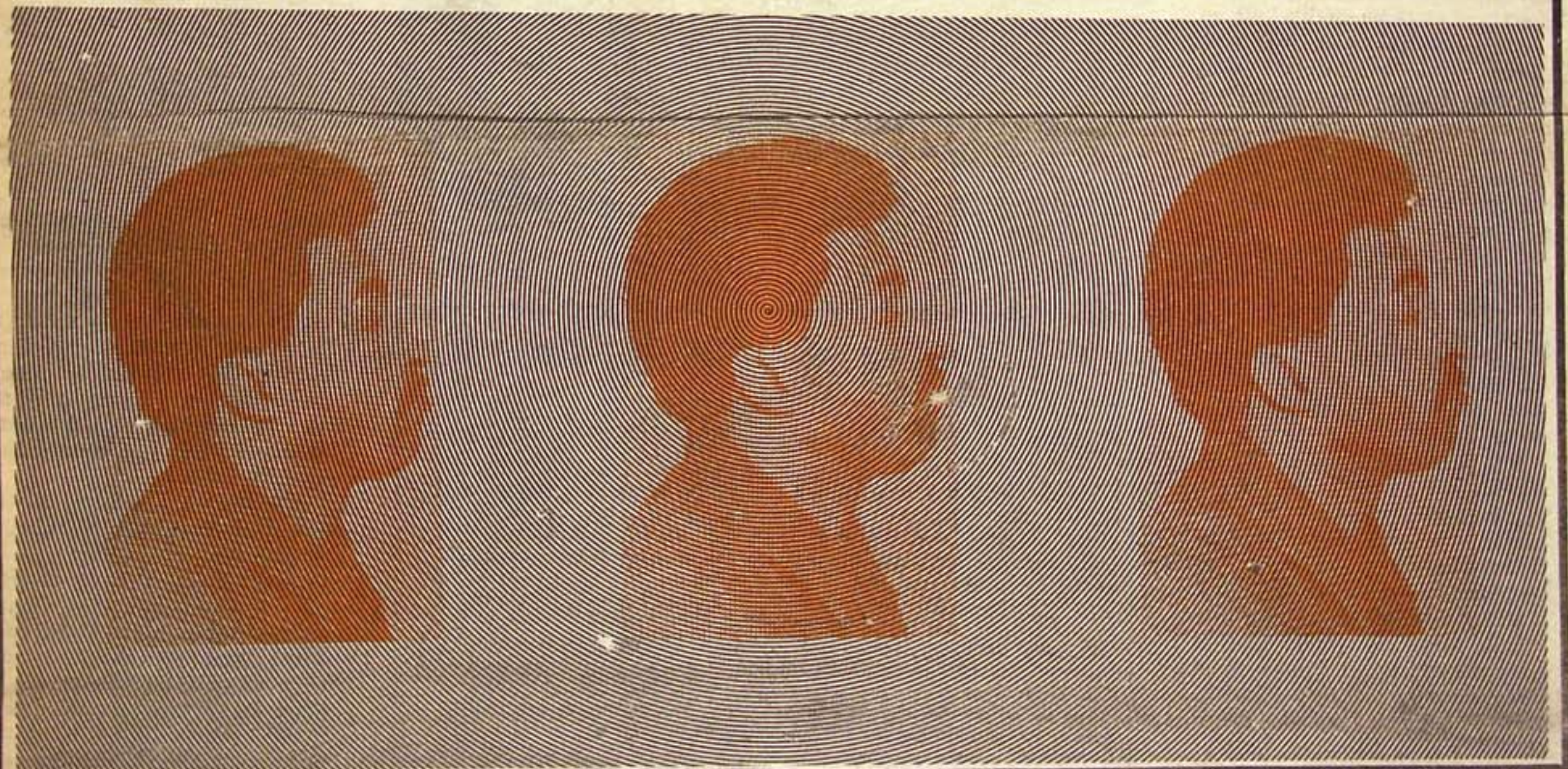
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### CITIZENS GROUP REVEALS MORE POLICE LINKS

# PROBE OF S.L.A.'S CINQUE DEMANDS

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## Editorial

### PROBE DEFREEZE POLICE LINKS

Last week at the packed press conference in San Francisco called by Donald Freed and Lake Headley of the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee, more documented evidence was released establishing that Donald D. DeFreeze, "Field Marshal of the Symbionese Liberation Army," was an informant and agent of the Los Angeles Police Department.

Reflecting the popular resistance to accept the existence of crime among the alleged crime fighters and patterns of law and order violations among the advocates and alleged protectors of law and order, many of the experienced and expectant media representatives present did not want to believe what they saw and heard.

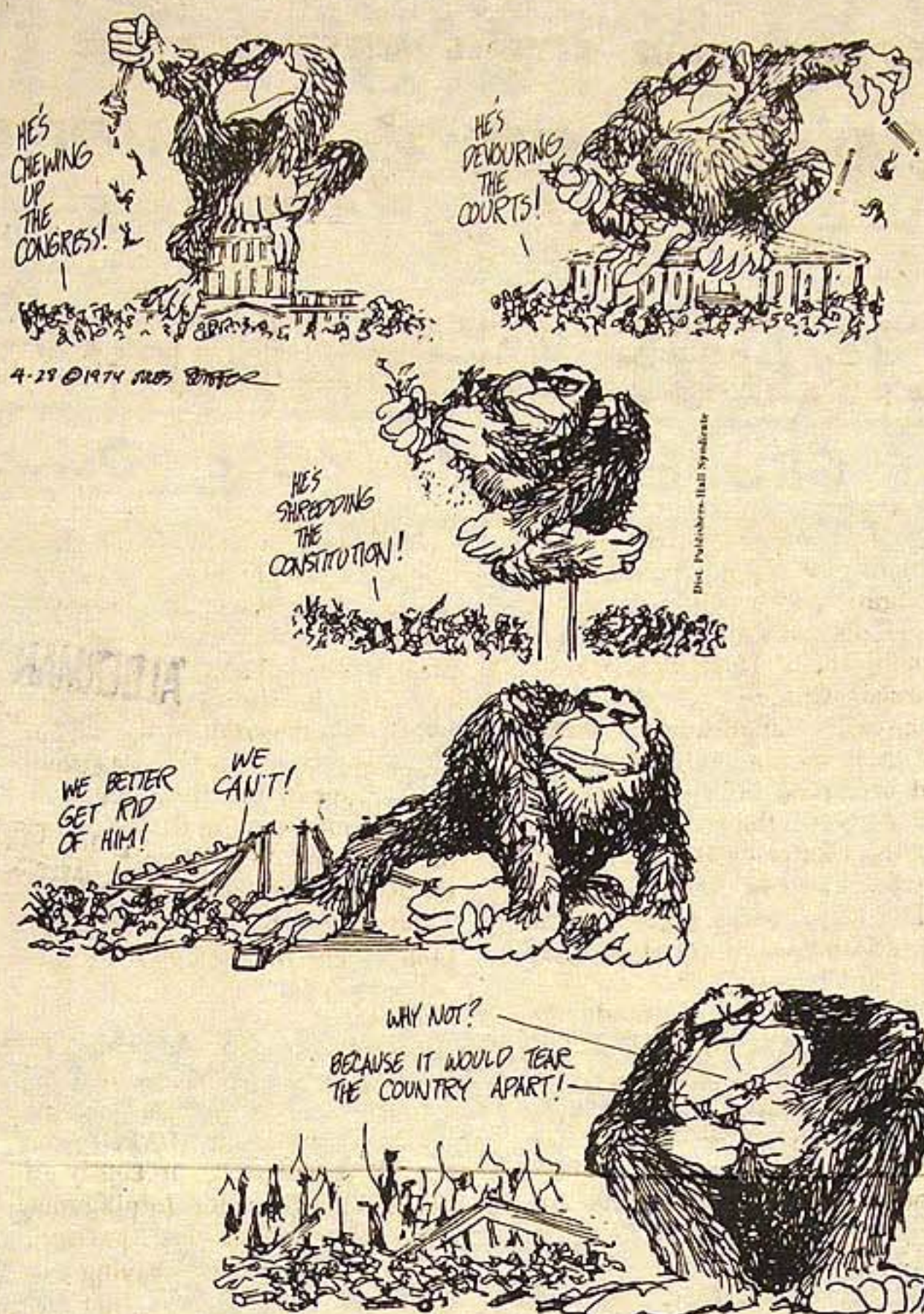
Of course, the possibility that DeFreeze has been and probably continues to think of himself as carrying out the wishes of elements within government who originally placed him on the road to counterrevolution, has vast implications; as vast as that gigantic part of the hidden functions of the Nixon administration iceberg of which Watergate is only the tip.

One reality that Watergate has revealed to the country is that elements at the highest level of government deliberately and widely used illegal, criminal and immoral methods in pursuit of their objectives. Of this there can be no debate.

But, what occurred in Washington, D.C., at the top of the governmental pyramid, has occurred in varying degrees throughout that pyramid, at regional, state and local levels. It is these parts of the iceberg that remain to be uncovered. That is what the call for an independent Congressional investigation, made at the San Francisco press conference, is all about.

If indeed, as the evidence strongly suggests, individuals or forces inside a duly constituted law enforcement agency of California are responsible for contributing to the creation of the present leader of the S.L.A. and of loosing him onto the streets, they must be uncovered and made to answer for their criminal deeds.

The former Superintendent of Schools in Oakland, Dr. Marcus Foster, is dead. How many more must die on the demented orders of this victim of American racism, Nixon treachery and police desperation? □



## Letters to the Editor

Editor,

I'm presently incarcerated at the U.S.D.B., along with many of my brothers which are striving to better the conditions in the prison. We are striving to expose the prison system, in order to show the injustices, brutality and harassments that are perpetrated upon us. We the inmates have drawn up grievances that we would like changed or improved.

1. Inmates on non-pay status must be paid for labor; due to the fact that they work in shop areas, and are still subject to the U.C.H.J. Therefore we feel that they should receive the wages of an E-1, or should be paid on the minimum wage scale according to the statutes of law.

2. We are of the opinion that the immaturity and the lack of proper training of the guards are the main reasons that guards treat inmates as less than human, by demonstrating unwarranted brutality in the Base, and undue harassment in other custody grades.

3. Because of the procedures of the D & A Boards, that we feel are wholly unfair and totally unjust, we demand that when called upon to appear before this board, we must have a competent lawyer, military or civilian, to represent us at this board to insure all possible fairness. As this board represents to us a military court-martial, we feel that prior to being brought before this board, we should have a hearing in order to establish whether we should be subjected to this D & A Board. (Vol. II, Prisoners Rights.)

Any publication or advice to expose this institution will be greatly appreciated by the inmates and myself.

Sincerely,

MOSI CHIWANDA IMAROGBE  
s/n GREGORY B. JACKSON  
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas

□□□□

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## COMMENT

### THOUSANDS MARCH FOR IMPEACHMENT

(Washington, D.C.) - Many thousands of Americans demanded Nixon's removal from office during mass demonstrations in several cities across the U.S. on April 27, the movement newspaper, *Guardian*, has reported.

But unlike some other events, news of the rallies reached very few Americans. The mass media preferred to report on the "not guilty" verdict in the Mitchell-Stans trial and Nixon's edited versions of the Watergate tapes rather than bring the American people news of the history-making demonstrations.

In Washington, D.C., the demonstration included a march by more than 10,000 people from the Washington Monument to the park area near the Capitol building, site of a day-long rally. Other rallies occurred in Los Angeles, Chicago and Eugene, Oregon.

The Washington demonstration, the first major impeachment demonstration thus far, was organized by the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon. The march, according to the report, was spirited yet orderly.

Banners demanding "Jail to the Chief" and "Throw the Bum Out" were carried by many demonstrators. Slogans called for the ouster of both Vice-President Ford and Nixon and some called for new elections.

Among the speakers at the rally were: Ted Glick, coordinator of the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon; Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farmworkers Union; David Dellinger, long-time anti-war activist; Rep. Parren Mitchell, a Black Democrat from Maryland; Herbert Blyden of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense Committee; and Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Musical and dramatic entertainment was interspersed throughout the speeches. Phil Ochs and Frank Wills, well-known folk singers, and a theater group from the Attica Brigade were among the entertainers.

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## THE BLACK PANTHER

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## WASHINGTON, D.C.,

## VOTES FOR

## HOME RULE

(Washington, D.C.) - In the first ever election in the District of Columbia, residents of this 85 per cent Black capital city voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Home Rule Charter in the May 7 referendum. THE BLACK PANTHER congratulates the newly created voting citizens of Washington, D.C., for this demonstration of their determination to move toward community control of their lives.

However, we hasten to warn Washingtonians that real control of their city, power to the people, is yet to be won.

The U.S. Congress can still change or repeal any laws the new elected City Council passes. The Congress can enact any law for the District without any consultation with the elected City Council. The City Council cannot touch for two-and-a-half years the DC Omnibus Crime Bill, drafted by Nixon's former attorney general, the indicted Watergater, John Mitchell.

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## 29TH AVE. RAID

## CHARGES DISMISSED AGAINST B.P.P.

## MEMBER

(Berkeley, Calif.) - Assault charges against Black Panther Party member Leonard Colar that were the excuse for the Berkeley/Oakland police raid on the Party's centralized campaign headquarters on 29th Avenue in Oakland last month, were dismissed last week in Municipal Court here.

Michael Foster, the original complaining witness, apparently reacting to widespread community criticism, refused to testify at Colar's preliminary hearing. The Berkeley District Attorney claimed that he was not able to proceed with prosecution without the voluntary testimony of the witness.

Oakland and Berkeley police had claimed that the April 16, predawn raid on the Black Panther Party campaign headquarters was made necessary by their search for Colar, who Foster had maintained assaulted him.

In the raid, police arrested 14 Party members and invented a

## CITIZENS GROUP REVEALS MORE POLICE LINKS

PROBE OF S.L.A.'S  
CINQUE DEMANDED

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A demand for an independent investigation with subpoena power into mountains of evidence that Donald David DeFreeze, "Field Marshal Cinque" of the Symbionese Liberation Army (S.L.A.), was a "highly valued and protected informer" for the Los Angeles Police Department and the California Department of Corrections was made last week at a crowded press conference in the offices here of noted attorney Charles Garry.

The demand was made by Donald Freed and Lake Headley, investigative researchers for the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC) of Los Angeles, California. Donald Freed co-authored *Executive Action*, the book based on the assassination of John F. Kennedy, that convincingly argues a conspiracy was responsible for Kennedy's murder.

Displaying a 250-page collection of documents, including police records, court records, affidavits and personal letters, Mr. Freed revealed that among evidence in the hands of the police is a diagram of the layout of the apartment of Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, found among the leftovers in the Concord, California, headquarters of the Symbionese Liberation Army, prior to the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

In a prepared statement that led off the often heated, nearly two hour press conference, Mr. Freed said that DeFreeze's supervising officer in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) was Sgt. R.G. Farwell, presently of the Public Disorder Intelligence Unit. He quotes Sgt. Farwell, who is Black, as saying in response to a query that he "finally cut DeFreeze loose" in 1969, because he was "so crazy."



DONALD FREED, investigative researcher for the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee, revealed police-S.L.A. links.

Paul Avery, writing in the *San Francisco Chronicle* following the press conference, reports that Farwell declined to discuss the matter, saying he had been ordered not to talk by his superiors. The order that nothing about DeFreeze could be discussed was issued following the CRIC press conference, Avery reveals.

Mr. Freed said he and CRIC are prepared to prove that then Los Angeles District Attorney Evelle Younger and the LAPD Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) "intervened on nine separate occasions to keep DeFreeze out of prison. They also prevented his extradition to New Jersey and Ohio to face charges which included kidnapping."

Mr. Freed asserts that DeFreeze's entire background became known to authorities in January of 1974, after the assassination of Oakland Superintendent of Schools Dr. Marcus Foster, but before the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. "CRIC believes," Mr. Freed said, "that if DeFreeze's real background as an informant had been made public at that time, it would have made the S.L.A. incapable of further action and would have denied it the outside logistical support which FBI director Kelly maintains they are getting."

After DeFreeze was finally imprisoned in 1969, he continued to inform, according to both inmate and police sources, Mr. Freed asserts. DeFreeze was particularly instrumental in the prosecution of the "Charles Manson Family" and, in Vacaville prison, was encouraged to organize an outside support group which, according to authorities, later became the Symbionese Liberation Army.

"CRIC believes," the prepared statement concludes, "that all of these things point to the need for an independent investigation

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A room of the 29th Ave. B.P.P. office after the predawn police raid on April 16.

list of charges against them, including the alleged possession of a cache of weapons, ammunition and drugs. However, all 14 were released the following day "for lack of evidence."

Colar, who does not live at the address raided was, of course, not present at the time of the raid, but, in accordance with a longstanding agreement with Bay Area police, was voluntarily surrendered by Party attorney Charles Garry.

## BOGUS BURGLARY

On May 1, Oakland plainclothes police set up a burglary and assault on the popular Jimmy Ward's Lamp Post night club, in what Elaine Brown, Party spokesperson called "an overt attempt at killing members of the Black Panther Party." Party members were employed at the Lamp Post and frequent the downtown club.

The Black Panther Party is filing several lawsuits against the cities of Oakland and Berkeley in an effort to have returned valuable campaign materials confiscated by police in the campaign headquarters raid and to recover damages resulting from both attempts to discredit the Black Panther Party and endanger the lives of members of the Party. □



## YOUTH INSTITUTE

ART IN  
SERVICE OF  
THE PEOPLE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Art in the American public school system has primarily been taught on the basis of "art for art's sake." Such art has had little or no meaning to Black and other poor, oppressed children. The Intercommunal Youth Institute, Oakland's model school, is seeking to correct this injustice and runs an art program based on the concept of art in service of the people.

Brother Emory Douglas, Institute art instructor for Groups 4-7 (children ages five through 11), and world-renowned People's Artist explained people's art to THE BLACK PANTHER: "People's art is art that reflects the Black community and expresses the reality of our situation as a whole. It deals with all emotions and all things that affect the Black community."

Criticizing "bourgeois art," which he described as art "di-



Intercommunal Youth Institute art instructor EMORY DOUGLAS (center) and assistant GAIL DIXON instructing talented students in the creative use of crayons.

vorced from the reality of our situation," Emory said, "Bourgeois art (such as the 'Mona Lisa' and the works of DaVinci) keeps us exploited. People's art must reflect the historical development of Black people."

## INVESTIGATION IN ART

The Institute students are very enthusiastic about their art classes and want very much to learn how to draw people, especially "little people" like themselves, Emory said. He teaches his classes the importance of investigation and observation in learning how to draw. The youth must first study the human body—how does a person sit, how do his/her feet swing, how do they talk? "If you want to draw your community, you must understand your people," Emory noted. This investigation and observation extends to other subject matters besides the human body.

Emory feels that art helps the students to "express the things they're involved in." They are allowed to develop their own style.

For instance, he said, some of the students are only capable of drawing stick figures while others can draw more detailed figures of the human body. They are encouraged to develop on whatever level they are comfortable with and to develop confidence in their artistic ability. In keeping with the school's belief in "Each One Teach One," students who have reached a higher level help others with their work.

The children draw, paint, make jewelry and have done some work with ceramics. Their work focuses around shapes such as circles, squares and cylinders, and how these shapes make up the human body. The works of famous Black artists are discussed on the merits of the art, not on the personality of the artist.

As Emory says, "In order to have pride in your people, you must have pride in yourself." For Groups 4-7 at the Intercommunal Youth Institute, art becomes relevant, as well as a source of pride—art in service of the people. □

## BLACK HISTORY

## MAY 13, 1862

In a daring and courageous move during the Civil War, Robert Smalls, a Black steamship pilot, sailed an armed Confederate steamer, "The Planter," out of Charleston, S.C., harbor and presented it to the Union Navy on May 13, 1862.

## MAY 11, 1865

Little more than a month following the end of the Civil War, on May 11, 1865, the Black community of Norfolk, Va., held the first of a series of mass meetings which spread throughout the South, demanding equal rights and particularly the right to vote.

## MAY 18, 1896

Establishing the legality of strict racial segregation in America, on May 18, 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the infamous Plessy vs. Ferguson decision involving restrictions against Black people on public trains.

## MAY 17, 1954

Fifty-six years after the notorious Plessy vs. Ferguson case, on May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional in the landmark Brown vs. Topeka (Kansas) case.

## MAY 14, 1961

Ten days following its historic departure from Washington, D.C., the bus carrying the first group of "Freedom Riders" was bombed and burned by White racists outside Anniston, Ala., on May 14, 1961.

## MAY 14, 1970

Two Black youths were shot and killed when state police and national guardsmen fired on a women's dormitory on the campus of Jackson State College in Mississippi on May 14, 1970.

## MAY 15, 1973

At a major press conference held during a Black Community Survival Conference in Oakland, on May 13, 1972, Brother Bobby Seale and Ms. Elaine Brown announced their candidacy for Oakland City Offices. One year later, on May 15, 1973, Brother Bobby garnered over 44,000 votes in a run-off election for Mayor of Oakland.



## "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.

## NBC-TV JOINS ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT B.P.P.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The re-run of the September 14, 1972, *Flip Wilson Show* last Thursday by NBC-TV, with the unfunny newscaster lines: "Today the militant Black Panther Party joined with its brothers, the White Panther Party. They will call their new group the Zebras!" was a deliberate attempt by NBC to add its bit to the new, nationwide attempt to discredit the Black Panther Party.

We disagree with *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen that it was merely "bad timing." With the San Francisco "Zebra" killings making headlines around the country, NBC should either have deleted that line or chosen a different show to re-run at this time.

Rather, NBC chose to use this particular show and retain that line knowing full well the association it would produce in the minds of the millions of viewers that watch that show. Any repercussions arising therefrom are totally the responsibility of NBC, for which it will have to answer.



## MILWAUKEE FOOD CHAIN AGREES TO BLACK DEMANDS

(Milwaukee, Wisconsin) - National Food Stores here has agreed to adopt measures to end discrimination after being picketed for two weeks by a group of Black employees and boycotted by mostly Black customers.

Under the agreement 25 workers who were fired were rehired with no loss of seniority or any disciplinary action. The food chain promised to promote one Black to the position of produce manager within a week and place another in training for the next available managerial position.

The store said it would step up recruitment of minority workers for skilled and managerial jobs beginning with the placement of a Black in a meat cutting apprentice program. A National Food Stores spokesman also said steps were taken to maintain a policy of not charging higher prices in innercity stores than in suburban stores as well as doing away with the policy of charging \$1 to cash a welfare check.

A leaflet which called for a boycott and protest march on National's six stores in the Black community stated:

"National Foods fired some 20 to 30 Black workers for speaking out against National's refusal to promote Blacks to better paying jobs.

### ON THE BRICKS

"We were also speaking out against National's price discrimination against the Black community. We have worked for up to 12 years for National. Now we are on the bricks. National has answered none of our demands and will not give us our jobs back. Until now we have gotten no support from the racist (Retail Clerks Local Number 444) union.

"National's big wheels claim they had no idea price discrimination was going on. But examples show: 1) The store on 22nd and North was charging \$1.25 for cashing any check over \$300 including welfare checks, when they only charge a dime in the suburbs; 2) They jacked up the price on cigarettes to \$.50, yet everywhere else they were only \$.45; 3) They were also raising prices on certain items on days when welfare checks were issued; 4) They ended sale prices before they were supposed to expire; 5) They were selling inferior food."

## CLINIC SURVIVES THROUGH CLOSE TIES WITH COMMUNITY

### MILWAUKEE PEOPLE'S FREE HEALTH CENTER LOSES FUNDING

(Milwaukee, Wis.) - The People's Free Health Center's close ties with Milwaukee's near West Side Black community have helped it survive in the face of severe funding cutoffs.

Since becoming one of the Survival Programs of the Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party in September of 1973, the Clinic has been kept alive through solid community support, including an all-volunteer staff of dedicated health workers.

Michael McGee, director of the People's Free Health Center and a leading member of the Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party, in a recent interview, thoughtfully summed up the community sentiment which has kept the Center thriving. "We found that any community institution that truly meets the needs of the people it serves never has to worry about survival. The community will support and protect its own," he said.

Since 1970, the Clinic has been serving the community with various screening, education, treatment and preventive medical programs. Until last summer the Clinic was operated primarily by White, middle-class people.

Modeled after the Black Panther Party's People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics across the country, the Milwaukee Clinic was eventually supposed to be turned over to the community people themselves. Failure to bring the Clinic under community control prompted the staff of the Clinic to seek the aid of the People's Committee for Survival, which became a Chapter of the Black Panther Party last September.

Since the Clinic has come under the administration of the Party, several White, liberal funding sources have cut off the Clinic's money, for reasons which can only be described as "phony." However, through a determined struggle, the Clinic has recently realized a couple of victories.

In March, the landlord gave the Clinic five days to pay up the rent or leave. But after the Health Center went on TV to publicize the possible eviction, the rent was cut 50 per cent, retroactive to February.

The interdependence of the Clinic and the community was clearly demonstrated when a funding source for the Clinic's dental program reneged on its



B.P.P. Health Centers provide free, preventative treatment.

promise of a contribution. The community's overwhelming favorable response to a proposed demonstration to protest the funding cutoff convinced the source to make the contribution.

The People's Free Health Center has also instituted the "Help One-Healthy One Club," in which community people pledge a monthly donation towards the Clinic's survival.

Explaining the way in which the Clinic handles the disease hypertension, the number one killer of Blacks, Brother McGee said: "We are trying to get people to deal with some of their concrete problems, head-on, in a concrete manner. An example is a woman who is perturbed by her son being in prison. She may not know what to do about it.

"What we do is try to get her involved in prison issues. One of the only ways to combat hypertension is to try to get the community involved in curing some of its own social ills. People can begin alleviating hypertension by starting at the roots of the problem, which nine times out of ten is this corrupt system." □

## MRS. MATTIE SHEPHERD RECEIVES MOTHER OF THE YEAR AWARD

(Oakland, Calif.) - MRS. MATTIE SHEPHERD (above) was presented with the Mother of the Year Award by Sister Elaine Brown during Son of Man Temple services on Mother's Day, Sunday, May 12, 1974. Sister Shepherd, who is the mother of Tyrone Guyton, was commended for her efforts to end police brutality and the



murder of Black people following the brutal murder of her own son, Tyrone, by Emeryville, Calif., policemen last year. The ceremony was part of a special Mother's Day celebration at the Temple that included a dramatization entitled "Black Mother" given by the Youth Speech Choir of the Intercommunal Youth Institute. (See back page.)

## JORDAN BLASTS WHITE PRESS

(Washington, D.C.) - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, has accused the White press of "settling back into the spirit of 'benign neglect' of Black people."

Addressing the Capitol Press Club here recently, a predominantly Black group, Jordan praised the press for its coverage of Watergate but maintained that the press, "after a fling at tokenism and liberalism (a reference to its coverage of the civil rights movements during the 1960s) has Watergated Black people in its treatment of us in the news columns." □



## FAMILY OF SLAIN BLACK MAN SUES CITY OF LOS ANGELES

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - The bereaved family of Brother James Otis Baldwin has filed a \$5 million damage suit against the city of Los Angeles for its part in his murder. The suit charges that the city's failure to take the proper measures to insure that its citizens would not be indiscriminantly slain by city policemen resulted in Brother Baldwin's murder by Officer Paul Koerschgen early this year.

Brother Baldwin's widow, parents, brothers and sisters in filing the suit maintain that Officer Koerschgen, "lacked control of his actions towards members, especially Black members of the public."

## PROBE OF S.L.A.'S CINQUE DEMANDED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

into the role of the authorities in the creation of the S.L.A."

Some questions that the known evidence raises that could be answered by a fully constituted investigation are the following:

"Why did Donald DeFreeze subpoena Evelle Younger as a defense witness in 1969?"

"Why was Donald DeFreeze allowed to violate probation time after time despite the fact that he was constantly being caught with guns and bombs?"

"Why did the state of California repeatedly refuse to extradite Donald DeFreeze despite serious charges lodged against him in the East?"

In a desperate attempt to discredit Donald Freed and the impact of the press conference revelations, Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis responded to the charges by identifying Mr. Freed as "a founding father of the Friends of the (Black) Panthers" in Los Angeles and alleged in true racist fashion that Mr. Freed was responsible for "inciting" the Black Panther Party in activities that led to wide scale arrest and prosecutions in Los Angeles in 1969.

California Attorney General Evelle Younger, questioned about the charges, claimed that he knew nothing about Donald DeFreeze until press reports uncovered the S.L.A. leader's police-connected past. (See Editorial, page 2 and Centerfold.) □

On January 11, Koerschgen and his patrol partner stopped Brother Baldwin's car and demanded that he get out. When Brother Baldwin went back to the car to get his license, Koerschgen drew his gun and shot Baldwin six times, emptying his service revolver. A later investigation revealed that the bullets he used were a special unauthorized deadly "dum-dum" type ammunition. Koerschgen then planted a gun near the murdered man's body to justify the crime. This fact was also revealed through a police investigation. (See THE BLACK PANTHER April 13, 1974.)

The lawsuits reads in part that, "The sad fact is that over a period of years before the death and up to such death, the mode of selection, employment, training, control, discipline and retention of Los Angeles Police Department Officers was such as to cause and lead to unreasonable danger of death of persons in Los Angeles, including James Baldwin himself."

It points out that Koerschgen shot Brother Baldwin, "without any justification or valid excuse of



Brother JAMES O. BALDWIN  
was killed by a White cop.

any kind...five or six times at very close range."

The suit also makes the point that the LAPD's internal rules governing the type and use of weapons and ammunition that its officers carry are not "strong enough or enforced enough." Koerschgen's partner, Officer Joseph Coppi, also was carrying unauthorized ammunition at the time of the murder.

Although a police department investigation found that Brother Baldwin was killed without cause and that Koerschgen attempted to cover the treachery with a "plant," Koerschgen still has not been criminally charged for the slaying. He is also facing charges for stealing the weapon that he planted near his victim. □

## WASHINGTON, D.C., VOTES FOR HOME RULE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The City Council is not permitted to pass "any act or regulation" relating to the "duties or powers of the U.S. Attorney or the U.S. Marshall for the District." This means the person who makes the decision about who to prosecute when arrested for any crime in the District is still appointed by the President.

The Home Rule Charter gives the Mayor and ultimately the President the power to control the Metropolitan Police. The President can take control for 48 hours, and for up to 30 days by presenting reasons to the four ranking Congress-people on the House and Senate District Committees. Either house of Congress can pass a resolution terminating that control, but only if Congress is in session.

The Charter gives the President a private police force to control the newly created "National Capital Service Area" covering roughly the areas bounded by the Kennedy Center, the White House, the Capitol and the Anacostia River and Potomac River.

While the Home Rule Charter continues its colonialistic attitude towards the District of Columbia, it simultaneously comes close to insuring the widest possible control by people of their neighborhoods, according to the May 2 issue of *The Daily Rag*, a progressive weekly.

Home Rule Charter leaves wide open the possibility that any neighborhood that wants to organize itself could finally take on as much power and control of the neighborhood as it wants. □

## JO-NEL'S LIQUOR STORES SUPPORT THE COMMUNITY

### Jo-Nel's #1

AT 7940 E. 14th ST., OAKLAND  
OPEN 6AM - 2AM MONDAYS  
THRU FRIDAYS 8AM - 2AM  
SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS  
EVERYTHING: ALCOHOL,  
LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.  
HOT AND COLD SANDWICHES.

### Jo-Nel's #2

AT 6504 E. 14th ST., OAKLAND  
EVERYTHING: ALCOHOL,  
LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.  
HOT AND COLD SANDWICHES [NO DELIVERIES]



BUY FROM JO-NEL'S

## 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.

## UNSAFE MINES TO STAY OPEN

(Pikeville, Ky.) - Five hundred coal mines in the Appalachian coalfields have been under threat of federal closure for unremedied safety violations. However, the possibility is that none of them will be closed summarily and that only a few will eventually be shut down.

The mines—100 to 125 in Kentucky, 60 to 70 in West Virginia, 30 to 50 in Virginia, 30 in Alabama, and others in Illinois and Pennsylvania—have failed to upgrade their equipment to the safety standards set by the 1969 Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act during a four-year grace period. □



# U. CONN. BLACK STUDENTS PROTEST GENETIC RESEARCH

## 219 TAKE OVER LIBRARY, ARRESTED

(Storrs, Conn.) - State police moved onto the University of Connecticut campus at 6 a.m. on April 23, arresting 219 Black students who had occupied the university library for 18 hours.

The next day, about 50 students, mostly Whites expressing support for the Black students, were arrested at the same building as they occupied it.

Three weeks earlier, the Organization of Afro-American Students (OAAS) had met to discuss what actions they would take to protest on-campus research into genetic influences on intelligence. The studies, being conducted by two bio-behavioral anthropologists at the university, maintain that Blacks, through genetics, are intellectually inferior to Whites.

In addition, OAAS also formulated demands for the employment of more minority personnel on campus and the allocation of better facilities for a cultural activities center. The current center is a "rickety old house" slated to be torn down by the university soon, along with other houses in the area, to make room for a new university building.

On April 11, about 300 Black students marched on the administration building to officially present their demands to the university president Glen Ferguson. The Black students set April 16 as a date for a reply but Ferguson only responded by referring the demands on to other administrators.

April 17, about 300 Black students again marched on the



Black student at University of Connecticut being hauled away by police following Black student takeover of library in protest of university's genetic research.

administration building to demand a more concrete response. This time Ferguson didn't bother to reply at all.

So, on the night of April 23, about 250 Black students took over the huge reading room of the

university library. At 3 a.m., Ferguson issued a warning that he was going to call the police, giving an ultimatum to leave or face trespassing and other charges. Some students left after the ultimatum, but the vast majority remained.

At about 6 a.m., 60 Connecticut state troopers moved into the building and began arresting students. According to a spokesman for the Black student paper *Contac*, "Everyone held hands to make sure no one was picked on individually."

Nevertheless, there were reports of students being shoved on their faces as they were packed into university busses to be taken to the police station. The university infirmary reported that two students were injured badly enough to require treatment.

Those arrested were released the same day and later that night the OAAS and the Federation of Student Service Organizations called a meeting to decide how they would respond to the police action.

According to a spokesman for *Contac* Blacks who had been arrested explained to White students that this was "not a fight against White students, but against the people in power."

The following day about 600 Black and White students demonstrated to protest the arrests and, that night, about 50 White students took over the library as a show of support and were arrested.

The student groups feel that since only a week of school is left not much more will happen this year. OAAS, however, said that it is planning to keep the issue alive over the summer and fight again for the demands in the fall.

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

## NEW PLAN THREATENS PRISONERS' RIGHTS

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Bureau of Prisons has established a new redress system for the grievances of federal prisoners. The policy will bar the inmates of federal prisons from filing suits in courts of law until they have completed a new complaint procedure. The nationwide plan seriously threatens the Constitutional rights of all prison inmates.

A prisoner who feels he has been victimized by some prison rule, custom, guard, condition or practice must first file a complaint with the prison warden. The warden is obligated to reply (on paper) to the grievance within fifteen business days.

If the plaintiff prisoner is not satisfied with the warden's ruling he may appeal to the Bureau of Prisons. The Bureau is obligated to reply within thirty business days (about six weeks).

Then, if there is still no justice done, the case may be taken to court.

The intent and result of all this extra red tape will be that prisoners will become discouraged from pursuing their legal and guaranteed Constitutional rights by official "kangaroo courts" before the matter of controversy gets to the legitimate court.

In a four-month experimental dry run of this new procedure at three test prisons, wardens denied 51% of the complaints

filed. Only one third of these denials were ever appealed to the next decision-making body, the Bureau of Prisons. Therefore, fully one third of the original complaints died at the warden level.

Only one seventh of the appeals were granted by the Bureau of Prisons; other appeals are still pending. Obviously many more will fall by the wayside when decisions finally are made. Some cases are also being compromised short of fulfilling the original Constitutional right.

Another dangerous threat posed by the implementation of

this plan which became effective on April 1, is the fact that no recorded court standards will be set in those cases that some prisoners do win at this new sub-legal level. Other federal inmates may still be abused by the same rule, condition, etc. until they complain themselves. Only individuals or fractions of the whole prisoner population will benefit from a favorable decision.

In fact, the Bureau of Prisons will now have the opportunity to selectively grant a right here and there and prevent a meaningful

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

## THE SEATTLE LEGAL AID PROGRAM Busing Schedule

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WASHINGTON CORRECTIONAL CENTER AT SHELTON

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MONROE REFORMATORY

Leaves each Monday at 5:00 p.m.

## Law and Rights Classes on the Criminal Justice System

Some of the topics discussed are:

Arrest Rights, Court Rules, Landlord/Tenant Relations.

Every Monday at the Sidney Miller Free Health Clinic at 7:30 p.m.

For further information, call (206) 322-1038



# AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT DECLARES S. DAKOTA A WAR ZONE

(St. Paul, Minn.) - The American Indian Movement (AIM) has declared South Dakota "a zone of war" and is urging tourists to boycott the state.

An AIM statement issued here last week warned that tourists' cars were subject to being seized by Native Americans.

The organization's national leaders have called the boycott in retaliation against the recent clubbing and brutalization of AIM members by policemen in a courtroom in Sioux Falls, S.D., where the Native Americans were supporting the defendants in a



Native Americans have a proud heritage of struggle against the White man.

## MOTHER OF BYRON NELSON SUES BERKELEY FOR \$500,000 IN DAMAGES

(Berkeley, California) - A \$500,000 claim for damages has been filed by Mrs. Nelson, the mother of the 12-year-old maliciously shot in the back by an off-duty Berkeley police officer. The officer, Inspector Charles Crane, fired two shots at three young Blacks whom he alleged had been tampering with his girlfriend's car.

Crane was subsequently dismissed from the force for violation of the police department's gun policy which supposedly allows for the "discharge of firearms only when the officer is protecting his own life or another's life, or apprehending a known, armed and dangerous felon." However, no criminal charges have been filed against the trigger-happy officer. □

Wounded Knee-related trial. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, May 11, 1974.)

Several Indians have arrived in South Dakota from other states, and AIM leaders said they would help to set up "tourist advisory" centers on South Dakota highways.

Russell Means, AIM national coordinator, gave the press copies of the organization's call for the boycott during a recess in federal court here, where he and Dennis Banks are on trial for their courageous leadership of the Wounded Knee takeover last year.

The AIM statement said in part:

"All Indian people who contemplate traveling to or through South Dakota are urged to carry gas masks, first aid kits and self-defense equipment.

"All non-Indians who are now planning their vacations to visit Wounded Knee, Mount Rushmore, Black Hills or Richard Wilson (renegade Indian puppet leader) are now advised that all Indian hospitals will not accept White settlers for medical treatment.



AIM leaders **RUSSELL MEANS** (top) and **DENNIS BANKS**.

"The central committee of AIM further warns all tourists that if they travel to South Dakota, Indian people will assume they are either there to kill Indians or to help the Indians." □

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## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### 1,000,000 ILLITERATE TEENAGERS

(Washington, D.C.) - In the United States, the world's most technologically advanced country, one million youths from 12 to 17 years of age are illiterate—unable to read as well as the average fourth grader, says a new government report. Why so much illiteracy in a land of so much knowledge? The answer is because there is racism. Blacks and other Nonwhites receive the worst education.

### SYSTEM CAUSES DELINQUENCY

(Washington, D.C.) - An extensive study of city life and delinquency has placed the blame for delinquency on the American social system. Among the conclusions of the three-year study by three sociologists from Temple University in Philadelphia was that raising the quality of life for the poor through some form of guaranteed income is a possible solution to the overall problem.

### MEDICINE CAUSES SICKNESS

(Chicago, Ill.) - People are getting sick from the medicine they take to make them well, and this in itself is a public health problem, a Florida research team has reported. One hundred per cent of the 6,063 patients in the study suffered adverse reactions, including death, from drugs intended to make them well. Supposedly harmless over-the-counter pain relievers, especially aspirin, were the leading cause of adverse reactions.

### 2ND ATTICA GRAND JURY

(Warsaw, N.Y.) - Selection of a second grand jury to investigate the 1971 Attica uprising has begun. A Long Island newspaper, *Newsday*, reported recently that the original grand jury voted last year to charge a state trooper, but the indictment was never filed. The paper said that the prosecutor feared they didn't have much chance of finding an impartial jury to try the cases in this rural community where the prison is a major industry.



## BLACK W.A.C. ACTIVIST DISCUSSES RACISM

This week *THE BLACK PANTHER* continues the interview with Linda Lucas, a Black woman and former WAC in Germany. Ms. Lucas works on *Fight Back*, a highly successful underground military newspaper widely distributed to many of the nearly 200 U.S. military bases scattered all over West Germany.

In Part 1 last week, Ms. Lucas, in the interview conducted by the Liberation News Service (LNS), discussed the racism Black servicewomen and men face in the military in general and in Germany in particular. In Part 2 below she talks more about women in the military, drugs and the GI project.

LNS: You mentioned sexism along with racism as two of the big things dividing people in the military. Would you describe the sexism?

LUCAS: The main way it comes out is the kinds of jobs women are assigned to—secretarial tasks or just menial jobs in general.

Women can be in much longer and still not be promoted. If a general doesn't like you or maybe your legs aren't pretty, you can be transferred. It has no relation to the job at all—it's just a purely sexist policy.

### RECRUITS

The Army has increased its attempts to recruit women. It's based on two factors: because women can still be controlled somewhat more than men at this point, and because they need women to fill the slack because they're not getting the number of recruits they need.

Now the military says you can be a pilot; you can be one of 50 women on a ship of 300 men; you can even have children and join the Army.

LNS: What does it mean, that you can take your children?

LUCAS: As I understand it, you just have to have somebody take care of your children during basic training. Then after that you can pick up your children and you can be assigned somewhere together. To me this seems like they're directly trying to appeal to Third World women who might have a couple of children; have hassles from welfare; might have all kinds of difficulties that would make the military look like a good opportunity.



Army ads distort opportunities for Black women in the military.

LNS: How do GIs relate to WACs?

LUCAS: A lot of the GIs have the attitude that the women in the military are there to serve them—that in fact they're "government issue." The Navy has a

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## SERVICEMEN DEMAND PROBE OF NON-JUDICIAL PUNISHMENT

(New York, N.Y.) - Members of the U.S. Marine Corps and Navy have asked Senator George McGovern to investigate the constitutionality of Article 15 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice—Non-Judicial Punishment. The servicemen's request for an investigation was contained in the draft of a petition along with a letter of intent sent to Sen. McGovern on February 16, 1974.

Non-Judicial Punishment, also known as "office hours," is administered by commanding officers to impose arbitrary punishments. Under Non-Judicial Punishment, the commanding officer is the judge, jury and prosecutor. Because the enlisted man can offer no defense, and

there is no impartial judge or jury, Article 15 is in direct violation of the Constitution of the U.S.

A petition to abolish Article 15, which originated in San Diego, California, was presented to House Armed Services Committee member and California congressman, Ron Dellums, by active duty servicemen last October 12. In addition to the petition, the San Diego group distributed information about the rights enlisted men have under Non-Judicial Punishment.

The petition to Sen. McGovern, a copy of which was sent to us from New York by Private First Class Rodney Barlow, states in part: "We the undersigned wish to exercise our First Amendment rights afforded us under the Constitution of the United States ...Article 15 has been, is now being, and will continue to be used as a guillotine by racially and politically biased higher ranking personnel within the military, unless something is done. It is arbitrarily used to contain instances of dissent and the assertion of one's manhood in the face of circumstances which question it..."

### LETTER OF INTENT

The letter of intent to Sen. McGovern reads in part:

"...There seems to be a contest going on between the higher ranking enlisted men and officers as to who is quicker with the pen and paper where charge sheets are involved. Lower-ranking enlisted men are being run in for Article 15 punishment with little or no provocation. Many times the punishment meted out does not fit the crime..."

Also sent to us by Brother Barlow was a "Commanding Officer's Statement concerning Administrative Discharge; case of Pfc William S. Garner." Brother Garner's discharge, according to the statement, was based on "numerous office hours, two Company level Non-Judicial Punishments and one Battalion level Non-Judicial Punishment" within a one-month period.

The statement does not refer to any military rules violated by Brother Garner but says Brother Garner "has been heard many times speaking out against the Marine Corps and its policies." Instead of hearing Brother Garner's grievances, the Marine Corps slapped Article 15s on him so it would have an excuse to discharge him. □

## DELLUMS' CORNER

### WATERGATE GROUNDS FOR IMPEACHMENT



(Washington, D.C.) - Stepping up his campaign for the impeachment of President Nixon, U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums has declared that careful reading of the Presidential transcripts indicates Nixon's serious involvement in the Watergate issue and constitutes enough grounds for impeachment.

"I am deeply disturbed by the 'racketeer-type' meetings that were taking place in the Oval Office," Dellums said.

The Bay Area congressman described the President's "full disclosure" of evidence as "indecent exposure on the part of the President." Mr. Nixon is ignorant of the law, indifferent to justice and unconcerned about the country," Dellums said. "If we agree to his vague compromise, we are negating the efforts over the past year of a vigorous free press, a courageous judge and two resolute prosecutors."

In outlining Nixon's demagogic performance over the past year, the California congressman maintained, "President Nixon is a defendant who has refused to supply necessary evidence. He has denied the prosecution the right to cross-examination. He has picked personally the men he wishes to investigate him. When these men ran contrary to his wishes, he fired one and has denied the other necessary information."

Continuing his attack on Nixon, Dellums asserted, "any level-headed judge would have found the defendant Richard Nixon guilty of contempt of court. And no level-headed country would retain him as leader."

Over one year ago, Rep. Dellums introduced a bill to impeach the President, and he explained that it is time to put the Watergate matter in its proper perspective. "The success of this country's Constitutional form of government is due in large measure to the system of checks and balances," he said.

"One of these checks, Congress' ability to impeach the President, assumes that the President must cooperate completely with any impeachment inquiry. Should any precedent contrary to this be established, no matter how small the concession seems to be, this vital check on our form of government will be jeopardized. Congress must not allow this to happen," Dellums emphasized.



**SUNDAY, MAY 19, 1974**

# MALCOLM X DAY CELEBRATION

"...I'M FOR ANYBODY WHOS FOR FREEDOM.  
I'M FOR ANYBODY WHOS FOR JUSTICE.  
I'M FOR ANYBODY WHOS FOR EQUALITY.  
I'M NOT FOR ANYBODY WHO TELLS ME TO  
SIT AROUND AND WAIT FOR MINE..."

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## THOUSANDS MARCH FOR IMPEACHMENT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

During his speech, Rep. Mitchell criticized his Congressional colleagues for their hesitation in impeaching Nixon. They are "dumbfounded by the power of the President," he said, and added, "The Nixon administration represented the beginnings of fascism in the United States. Fascism must have a scapegoat; Black people, the poor people and other minorities are the scapegoats of this fascist plot." □

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## BLACK W.A.C. ACTIVIST DISCUSSES RACISM

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

saying "Join the Navy and Ride the WAVES." The Army has equivalent sayings. Many of the GIs' basic attitude is that the women are either prostitutes in uniform or lesbians—those are the two categories. It makes it very hard for the women.

LNS: How do you try to reach the WACs?

LUCAS: We try to talk to the women about the specific ways they're being used and try to help some of them see that. Some WACs don't recognize the sexism that happens to them on a day to day level—serving on the escort service for example.

They have an escort service where you drive the generals around and the wives and dependents whose husbands don't want to be bothered. Someone

told us about an incident at Ft. Mead in Maryland where one WAC who was on escort service was kicked off because she wasn't pretty enough.

LNS: Is it true that a lot of gay women join the military as one place where they can be gay?

LUCAS: It's true. It's a place where women can meet other women. At the same time some of the women see it as a security thing—they can have a job 20 years—even though the Army has its witchhunts and everything.

As a gay woman I feel the barriers have to be broken down. It's difficult sometimes for me to talk to Black sisters because there's this stereotype about gay women. So it's a problem. I don't want to alienate the Black sisters, but at the same time I want them to recognize that there's a lot of stereotyping going on and try to break some of that down.

LNS: What's the drug situation in Germany?

LUCAS: There's a lot of drugs there and the military brings a lot of them in.

LNS: Military, meaning who?

LUCAS: The people we know have been mainly getting their drugs from officers or NCOs. They're the ones who fly the planes into Indochina and have contacts. □

## NIXON, INFLATION PROBLEMS

(Chicago, Ill.) - The Democratic Party Governors Conference that met here last week revealed that most of the governors felt that Nixon should leave his office, that inflation is America's most rapidly developing problem and that Edward Kennedy is a likely candidate for the 1976 Presidential election. □

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

victory for all in the courts. Severe repression might not ever be questioned before a real judicial body. Any challenge would be approved for the few but tyranny would continue indefinitely for the many.

The danger now exists that this plan may spread from the federal prison network to state and local jails as well. The inevitable result, and probable intent, will be to keep prisoner grievances from public view and scrutiny which is rapidly increasing with the nation-wide growth of community prison support movements. □



Guardianphoto by Arbolite

Some of the more than 10,000 protesters that gathered in Washington, D.C., to demand Nixon's impeachment on April 27.



# IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON

AND HUEY P. NEWTON

*In last week's excerpt from In Search of Common Ground, the participants in the conversation discussed America and its people: the Black slave/immigrant, the Native American Indian and the European immigrant. This week's excerpt examines the development of this society and its "self-made" image.*

*The speakers are Brother Huey P. Newton, Professor Erik H. Erikson, Kai T. Erikson, and Brother Herman Blake. The conversation takes place in Oakland, California, in 1971.*

NEWTON: Now this is dialectical in itself, because as their control becomes more severe and more encompassing, the more

enemies they make. And this is why I say that the whole world has become one community in the hands of the old victim, who is now the new lord, you see. This is reactionary intercommunalism. The downfall of this new self-made man, then, is going to be that people will rebel against him because of his insistence that he has all of the answers. This is why reactionary intercommunalism, while it causes its own destruction, also lays the foundation for its own transformation; because without modern communication and all the rest of it, how would the youth of the world develop a common identity? A sense of themselves as oppressed?

E. ERIKSON: Well, you and I will always have a certain problem with words, probably. When I speak of the self-made man, of course, I am not saying that he was self-made or that he came to America for that purpose: I am talking about the *image* he had of himself and the way that image fed into his ideal identity. So I am talking about myth rather than history, about the way men mythologize the facts of history as they develop newer and wider identities. At any rate, what I meant to emphasize is that for the immigrants and their children the image of the self-made man and the vision of technological proficiency went together—and that even today that American ideal is spreading all over the world in one form or another, contributing to what you call reactionary intercommunalism despite our libertarian history. This ideal serves to maintain and to protect the ruthless kind of business which leaves out those who do not help themselves—and here you can underline either "help themselves" or "help themselves (to it)," "as you choose. I guess all I am saying is that in one lifetime or even one adulthood (FDR was president when I came) the idea of the country liberating others from bondage has become reversed—so that the country is now experienced by some of its own youth as a new empire, a ruthless technocracy, led (or misled) by a thoughtless and greedy power elite. It certainly would never have occurred to me at the time of my immigration as a refugee from European fascism to suspect any fascist potential in the American system. When you

are welcomed as an immigrant, it is hard to look around and ask whom from abroad they are not letting in—and whom at home they are keeping down to a level below that of any newcomer. And perhaps this would be a good time for me to add that people like myself, who kept a close and personal eye on the emergence of Nazism in Germany, will never be able to use the word "fascism" as casually as it is sometimes used in radical circles today.

BLAKE: Well, let me pursue this matter of fascist potential, Erik, from the more subjective perspective you were talking about. Americans felt that they had come here of their own free will and saw themselves as self-made men—I am talking about self-perceptions rather than objective conditions here—and this brought them to the conviction that they were somehow destined to develop a new identity at the expense of Blacks and of Indians. Now that's where the fascist potential is, Erik: our society is based upon the principle that some people are empowered to deny other people their rights as human beings....

K. ERIKSON: Let me try something out here. When people use the term "exploitation," they are usually thinking in economic terms: there is limited supply of money in society, so people exploit one another to get as large a share of that scarce resource as they can. But there are other resources considered to be scarce in society even though the supply is theoretically unlimited—dignity, for example, or prestige. Now the fact is that the self-made man, however he got his wealth, earned his self-esteem, his proud sense of self, by depreciating the dignity of other people. He measured his worth as a human



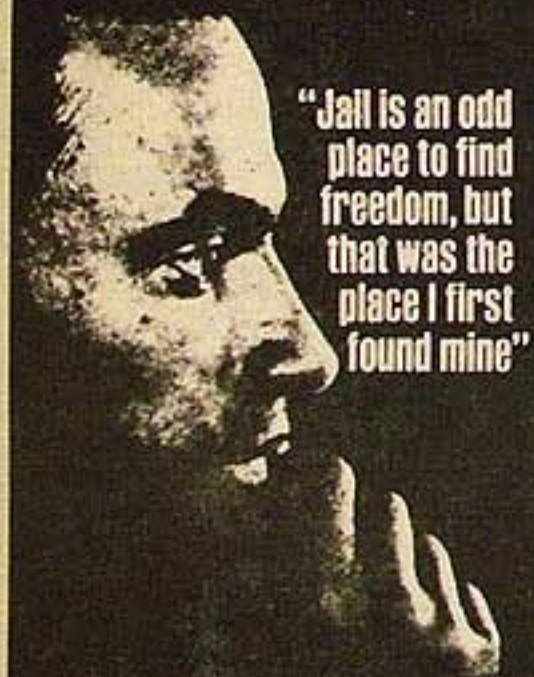
GEORGE WALLACE is some peoples image of the self-made man.

being not just by his holdings but by his social distance from other people whom he needed to see as less worthy—and who did the work he saw as demeaning. All of this obvious, I suppose, in the case of Blacks. But it was also true of women. You can bet that for every self-made, self-reliant spirit who celebrated his manhood by roaring up and down the frontier there was a woman somewhere in a kind of bondage, dependent upon the circumstances in which she found herself to almost exactly the same degree that he was independent of them. They say it takes several other soldiers to support one front-line troop; well, I imagine that it takes several other persons to support one self-made man, too, because he has to draw off the dignity and freedom of so many other people to enhance his own. And the irony is that the support troops usually accept his definition of the situation: they, too, believe that there is not enough dignity to go around, that the only way for somebody to increase his own stature is to diminish somebody else's. Incidentally (or maybe it's not so incidental at that) one of the ways in which the youth movement has broken the American tradition is that the kids seem to think there is enough dignity and love and honor for everyone. It is positively un-American.

E. ERIKSON: One of you asked me yesterday how I would put into my terms the role of a Black Panther at this time in history and in this place. Well, I think I explained that every new pseudo-species, as it stakes out its territory and its methods and its life-style, must project its implicit negative identity on some other kind of man—either an enemy beyond the borders or a slave of some kind within them. And it is

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## 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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SPIRO AGNEW, the son of an immigrant, "made it" in America.



# THE S.L.A. AND CALIFORNIA LAW ENFORCEMENT

## BY THE CITIZENS RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

*THE BLACK PANTHER* reprints here a major portion of a 30-page summary of evidence collected by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC) establishing police informant links between Donald D. DeFreeze and the Los Angeles Police Department and California Department of Corrections. Copies of the summary were available for the media at the San Francisco press conference on May 10, given by Donald Freed and Lake Headley of CRIC.

The man, Cinque, Donald David DeFreeze, is both a victim and an executioner produced by the California Department of Corrections and the counterinsurgency war conducted by law enforcement and intelligence agencies in the 1960s against the Black liberation movement in general and the Black Panther Party in particular.

From being simply a police informant, DeFreeze, after the rise of the Black Panther Party (BPP), became an AGENT PROVOCATEUR for one of the most feared, most powerful political-intelligence police units in the nation: the Los Angeles Police Department's (LAPD) Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS).

Donald David DeFreeze (Don Cinque DeFreeze, Donald John DeFreeze, Donald DeFrez, John De Friele, David De Frieze, Donald De Frieze, Donald DeFrieze, David Kenneth Robinson, Steven Robinson, Donald David Thomas, "Cin," "Cinque," "Cynque") began informing for the police on an occasional basis in 1965, CRIC has learned from police sources. A long list of arrests precede the following:

3/31/65:  
West Covina, California  
836.3 P.C., 211 P.C., 459 P.C., 12020 P.C.  
DeFreeze arrested with bomb, knife and sawed off shotgun.  
Probation: 6/7/65

DeFreeze continued as an occasional informant to the LAPD in the sales of contraband and stolen arms.

6/9/67:  
Los Angeles, California  
211 APC—Robbery, charged 12020 P.C.  
Two counts possession of explosives, one count possession of a concealed weapon. Two bombs and a gun.  
Probation: to expire on Sept. 14, 1970 #X379-741.

DeFreeze, already on probation, now received three more years probation, despite his violation.

On December 2, 1967, DeFreeze was arrested for the fifth time on an arms charge. He robbed and beat a prostitute. He was taken to 77th Street Detectives by arresting Officers Toles and Farwell. En route, DeFreeze escaped and was recaptured but was NOT charged.

On December 6, 1967, DeFreeze set up his partner, Ronald Coleman, by telephoning and then leading police to Coleman's apartment. There a cache of 200 weapons was discovered. These weapons had come from a surplus store, one among several that had been robbed to supply guns to the Black cultural nationalist US organization.

12/2/67:  
Robbery  
A154500  
12/7/67:  
Escape  
4532 P.C.

DeFreeze, though he had now violated two probations was, in an extraordinary decision, given five more years probation. Each of the above arrests would, in the normal practice, have "violated" DeFreeze and remanded him to the penitentiary.

It is then, in December of 1967, that DeFreeze became Detective Farwell's informant in Black liberation politics.



DONALD DAVID DeFREEZE, the S.L.A.'s Field Marshal Cinque.

DeFreeze joined a stable of Black agents, including Louis E. Tackwood, recruited after the Watts uprising, that worked out of the "Black Desk" of LAPD Intelligence. DeFreeze's main activity was to report on Black militant activity in South Central Los Angeles. Only months before DeFreeze was discovered to have a supply of 200 guns including automatic weapons on May 2, 1967, California law enforcement was thrown into an official uproar when a delegation from the Black Panther Party legally demonstrated at the Sacramento State House by carrying UNLOADED guns in order to protest a piece of pending legislation.

DeFreeze, an "ex-con" with 200 guns, was given very low bail and, later, probation. In 1968, DeFreeze was arrested, armed, for the SIXTH time. But—

4/10/68:  
Inglewood, California  
Burglary: 836.3—459 P.C.  
Released no charge.

Farwell was running DeFreeze in the ever-mounting campaign against the fast growing Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party. At the same time, DeFreeze was allowed to ply his arms trade for profit. DeFreeze was arrested again in August of 1968.

8/16/68:  
Los Angeles  
487.3 P.C.: Grand Larceny

Nine days later DeFreeze's wife wrote to the authorities reminding them of her husband's occasional work for them and the protection that they had been promised by the police.

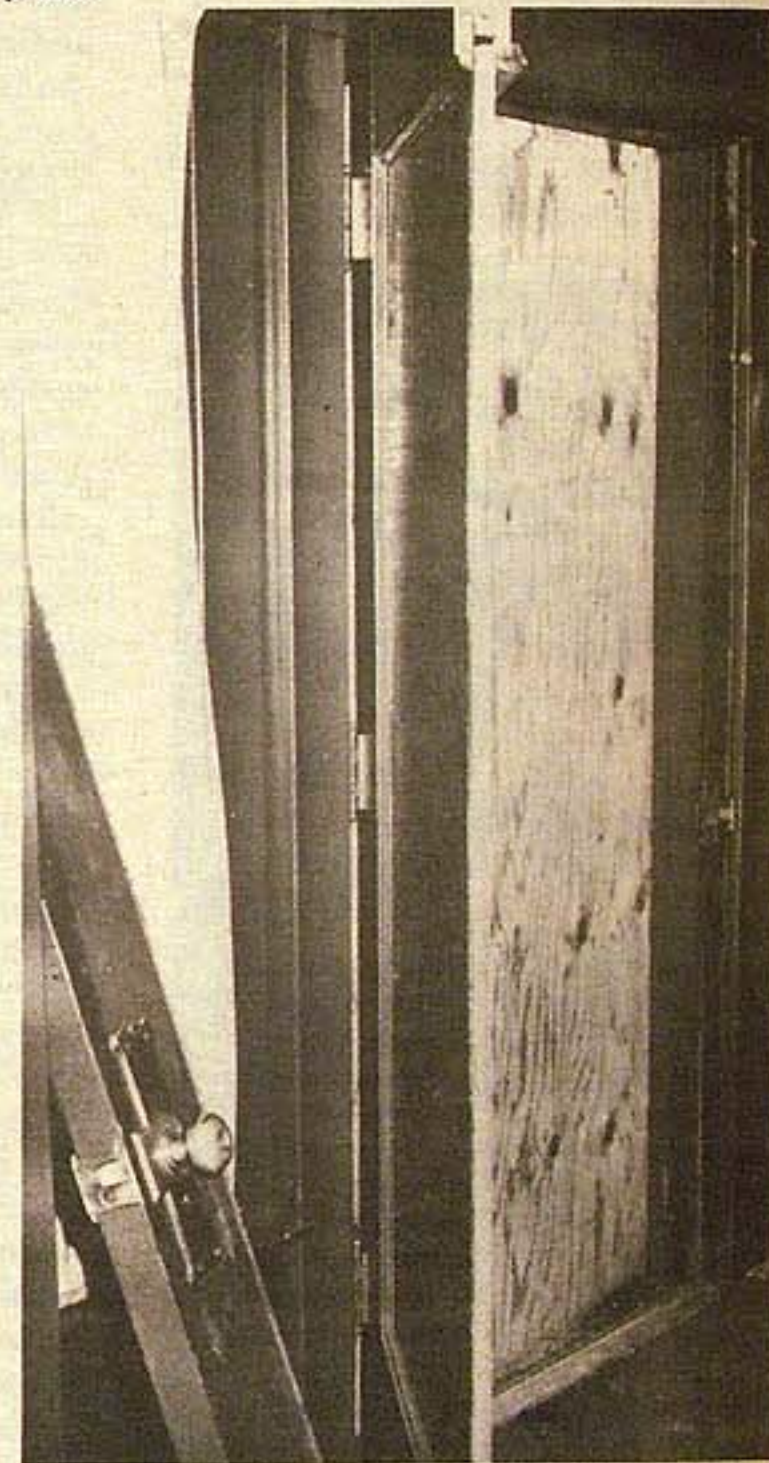
During the early fall of 1968, Farwell and his agents—including DeFreeze, Louis Tackwood and the Black Panther penetration agent Melvin "Cotton" Smith—moved to the new subversive super secret unit, the Criminal Conspiracy Section [CCS]. Of Farwell's agents, at the "Black Desk," Tackwood and DeFreeze, to our knowledge, moved large numbers of guns and grenades to the US organization to use in their attacks on the Black Panther Party.

DeFreeze, who was becoming increasingly uncontrollable to the police, was assigned for psychiatric examination.

11/21/68:  
Los Angeles  
Pursuant to section 730 of the evidence code Re: Defendant's possible danger to person or property.  
Psychiatrist assigned: Frederick J. Hacker, M.D.

Despite every indication of his need for help and his record of violent instability, DeFreeze, on December, 13, 1968, was given five years probation on the 200 gun charge. The staff opinion from DeFreeze's psychiatric report [not Dr. Hacker's] was that his constant involvement with "fire arms and explosives" made him "dangerous."

Disregarding every indication of danger, Criminal Conspiracy Section dragged DeFreeze back to the street and the extremely volatile political situation developing in Los Angeles. In December of 1968, the Black Panther Party leaders John Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter were gunned down on the campus of UCLA by the US organization with guns that may have come from DeFreeze. The two men eventually convicted for the murders were two brothers named Stiner, and they are to be linked with DeFreeze in 1974, unknown to the public.



The 29th Ave. center (above) after being struck by police vandalism.

4/20/69:  
Los Angeles  
12031 APC  
Unlawful possession of a dangerous weapon—"military type semi-automatic M-68 nine MM rifle, which was fully loaded; and attached clip contained 32 bullets. This gun was described as specifically designed for military or police work."

Again, DeFreeze is arrested for the SEVENTH time for an armed offense that carried both state and federal charges. But DeFreeze tells the judge that he had "registered" the gun with the police under his own name (!) and that the gun was actually intended for a police officer friend!

DeFreeze was charged with burglary at this same time in April of 1969. Again, despite consistent and massive violation of his probation, despite the demands from New Jersey to hold him, DeFreeze was taken from



incarceration by Criminal Conspiracy Section. During this period, CRIC has learned, DeFreeze threatened CCS with exposure unless they came to his aid. That DeFreeze remained at large is unprecedented, according to law enforcement experts.

CRIC has learned that with the help of agents of CCS, DeFreeze was given aid to flee California in violation of his probation [a bench warrant was issued for his arrest] to the state of New Jersey.

5/9/69:

Newark, New Jersey

DeFreeze and another man, posing as Black Panthers, were accused of assaulting an employee of a Jewish synagogue with a shotgun, demanding \$5,000, and information and aid in a scheme to kidnap a well-known Newark Jewish rights leader. Upon completion of the kidnapping, DeFreeze's plan was to submit a ransom communique purporting to be from the B.P.P.

In any event, DeFreeze escaped authorities in Newark, crossed state lines in violation, once again, of federal law and in October of 1969 surfaced in Cleveland, Ohio.

10/11/69:

Cleveland, Ohio.

DeFreeze appeared on the roof of the Cleveland Trust Company Branch Bank with a .38 revolver, .25 caliber pistol, an eight inch dagger, a tool kit, and, in violation of federal law, a hand grenade.

Cleveland police had, in this period, been on extreme alert because of the Ahmed Evans affair (Black militants involved in ambush and shootout with police). Yet, DeFreeze was released on very low bail (\$5,000) and charges were later dropped. DeFreeze was wanted, at this time, on a capital charge in New Jersey as well as probation violation in California, but despite these facts DeFreeze was not held in Cleveland though Sgt. John McMahon of the Cleveland subversive squad was monitoring the DeFreeze case.

DeFreeze now fled back to California and only days later while "high" on pills (his own admission) he robbed a woman at gunpoint of a \$1,000 check and, using false identification, tried to cash the check at a Bank of America.

11/25/69:

Los Angeles

A252519: DeFreeze exchanged gun shots with a bank guard and was wounded. The gun used in the shoot-out was a .32 caliber Beretta automatic pistol. This gun [A63944] was still another gun left over from the earlier '67 200 gun robbery. DeFreeze had obviously been allowed to keep a number of guns from this cache.

While DeFreeze was incarcerated for trial he was visited by an attorney from New York, Milton Friedman. CRIC has learned, from police sources, that DeFreeze at this same period was cooperating with LAPD—Hollywood detectives on the Charles Manson case, concerning an arms burglary then being planned.

On December 3, 1969, DeFreeze was ordered imprisoned at the Vacaville, California, medical facility. Over a period of eighteen months DeFreeze wrote long letters to the sentencing judge in his case detailing his problems and his fanatical Christian religious convictions.

In 1970, DeFreeze was recruited by CIA operative Colston Westbrook to lead the behavior modification experimental unit entitled Black Cultural Association. At this time, on orders from Westbrook, DeFreeze publically espoused a militant anti-White cultural nationalist ideology [his private letters, during this same period, were saturated with Christian theology].

The Black Cultural Association attracted outside prison reform support during this period and, CRIC has learned, DeFreeze began operating as a double agent: 1) for Westbrook and the CIA, and, 2) for the California Department of Corrections and the Bureau of Criminal Intelligence and Investigation [CII] responsible to the Attorney General of California.

Informants of Vacaville report that DeFreeze seemingly broke with Westbrook and the Black Cultural Association over matters of policy. DeFreeze then went to Department of Corrections authorities to complain against the BCA. The other inmates of the Black Cultural Association charged that DeFreeze was unacceptable to them because of his extremely provocative and ultra-militant positions. The authorities at Vacaville, however, did not find him unacceptable and proceeded to set him up with his own outside project. This project, named "UNISIGHT" was supposedly concerned with problems of the families of Black prisoners.

In reality, "UNISIGHT" was meant all along to be an organizing magnet for White radicals in the prison movement.

CRIC has learned that DeFreeze acted as an informer for the Department of Corrections, the Audit Authority and CII while heading up the prison-sponsored "UNISIGHT" group (soon to be known to its outside White members as "The Symbionese Liberation Army").

CRIC has learned that in December, 1972, DeFreeze was transferred to the maximum security prison of Soledad in order to inform and entrap Black militants incarcerated in that facility. Another Black inmate of Soledad has stated:

"While Donald DeFreeze was here, I had a few conversations with him. I have always questioned his departure as being a simple walk-away. I didn't come in contact with him personally until his last couple of weeks here. There weren't many who would associate with him. He tried to give the impression of being super-cool, and he came across as cold. When I met him, he was working in the maintenance shop. I asked him if he was happy on his job, because if not, I might be able to find him something else. He replied that within a few days, he was going to be assigned to work in the boiler room at the South Facility.

"I questioned that, because he didn't have enough time here to be given that trust. I know cons that have been turned down for that position. He wouldn't comment; he only gave me a big smile. I should explain that no prisoners were kept at the South Facility at that time, because it had no security. No gun towers were in operation, and there were no guards posted.



The poster was among the wreckage left in 29th Ave. office after the raid at 4:00 a.m. on April 16, 1974.

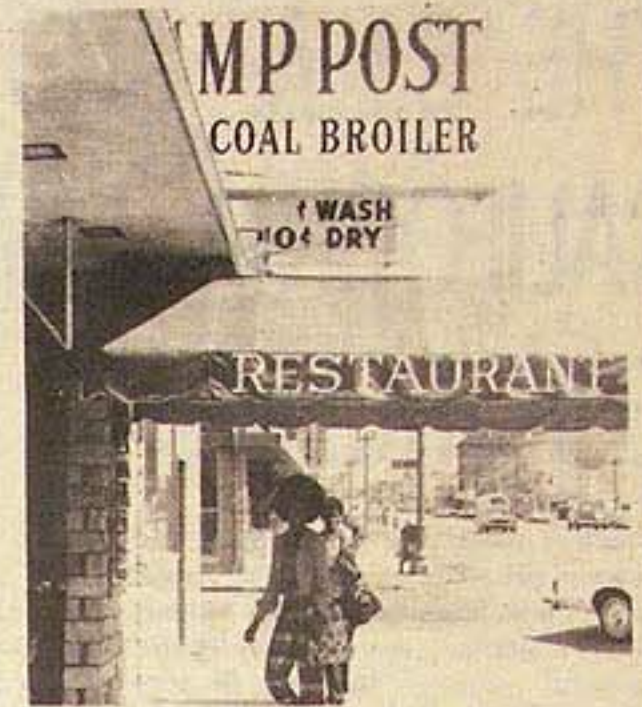
"On his first night, he was dropped off at midnight, and given a few instructions. His job was automatic; it only required an overseer. Then he was left to himself, and when an officer returned an hour later to check on him, he was gone."

"A few prisoners with proven records of trust were taken from Central Facility to the South Facility to perform certain duties; then they would be returned to Central after their shift. A few days later, DeFreeze did get that job: the midnight to eight a.m. shift, in the boiler room at South Facility.

The South Facility of Soledad, only for trusted inmates, is a holding section for informers.

DeFreeze "escaped" from Soledad on March 5, 1973. After being rejected by several Black people in the Bay Area, DeFreeze moved, underground, in White circles among people whose names the authorities were familiar with from the visitation records at both Vacaville and Soledad. NONE of these potential suspects were followed up by authorities. New Left and prison support groups rejected DeFreeze's offers of violent "help" as provocative and intelligence inspired.

On November 6, 1973, DeFreeze was involved in the assassination of Oakland School Superintendent Dr. Marcus Foster. This killing came just AFTER DR. FOSTER HAD ACCEDDED TO REFORM DEMANDS MADE BY THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.



The LAMP POST Restaurant was attacked May 1, 1974, in an attempt to provoke and harm B.P.P. members employed there.

CRIC has learned that one of the men being held for the Foster murder, Russell Little, was questioned by police in the Philadelphia area when Dr. Foster was leading an anti-drug campaign in that city before coming to Oakland.

CRIC has also learned that in August of 1973, money and weapons began to be supplied to the SLA on a regular basis; that the supplier attempted to involve Chicano, American Indian, and Black prison reformers with the SLA; that the supplier promised \$1,000,000 to the group [from an Arab nation] if they would blow up domestic oil facilities.

CRIC has learned, further, that DeFreeze and the SLA had as one of their primary goals the destruction of the Black Panther Party and the assassination of Panther leader Huey P. Newton. And, further, that Bay Area police and CII, BEFORE the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, were in possession of a diagram of Huey P. Newton's apartment and other information concerning a conspiracy to murder Mr. Newton. This material is STILL being suppressed as is material proving that the authorities were in possession, in JANUARY of 1974, of a detailed kidnap plan whose target was Patricia Hearst.

EVELLE J. YOUNGER AND CINQUE

After the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy in June of 1968, Los Angeles District Attorney Evelle J. Younger set up an elite police apparatus known as "Special Unit Senator" [SUS]. Later, elements of this group and LAPD intelligence were reorganized into the powerful CCS of the LAPD. This unit, with secret funding, was organized along lines of the CIA and was under the aegis of District Attorney Younger. That Younger knew of DeFreeze while DeFreeze was being run by CCS is almost without question and, indeed, DeFreeze subpoenaed District Younger to testify in his behalf in 1969. DeFreeze claimed during this appeal for Younger that he could "embarrass" the District Attorney's office.

From the time of the Hearst kidnapping, at the very latest, in February of 1974, now Attorney General Younger must have been vividly aware of the exploits of his former CCS agent DeFreeze. It is well known in official circles that Younger maintained his close relationship with CCS after becoming Attorney General and, indeed, there is proof that CCS operated far outside of its Los Angeles jurisdiction and was involved in the Berkeley Councilmanic race of D'Army Bailey; the



BOB RUSH denouncing latest police raid on Chicago Panther office.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



# THE S.L.A. AND CALIFORNIA LAW ENFORCEMENT

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

Jonathan Jackson affair in Marin County; the George Jackson prison movement; the Angela Davis case, to name a few. Thus through the conduit of both CCS and CII, Younger has known for months the identity of "Field Marshall Cinque." [Tackwood lie detector test results.]

On May 18, 1970, one of Younger's assistants had stated [concerning DeFreeze]:

"It is the opinion of the undersigned that this person is a high risk danger to society and that as soon as he is released from prison, he will return to his same violent career. It is my opinion, further, that this defendant will eventually kill someone. The latter opinion is based upon his actions in this case wherein he initiated a gun battle with police officers and a security guard in order to avoid capture. This indicates a total lack of regard for human life. Signed, Daniel Johnson, District Atty."

Case No. A252519 - May 18, 1970.

Despite this long held official opinion and despite repeated requests from New Jersey to hold DeFreeze, Younger's CCS continued to run DeFreeze in 1968 and 1969. DeFreeze would later boast in court:

"THE DEFENDANT [DeFreeze]: 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."

Superior Court of the State of Calif.  
Monday, May 18, 1970  
[Motion of a new trial.]

The shrill denunciations against the FBI by Attorney General Younger for being soft on kidnapping ring hollow when the record is studied.

Equally hypocritical, if not criminal, are the words and actions of the Department of Corrections and CII in demanding a general prison lock-down based primarily on the "militance" of Black revolutionaries, when the ultra-militant rhetoric of Donald DeFreeze earned for him the free run of two prisons and, indeed, so trusted was this "revolutionary" by the authorities that he was put in a position where "escape" was inevitable.

## THE NEED FOR AN INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION

### CONCLUSION:

We demand that a Congressional or independent prosecutor's committee be set up to investigate these matters.

That this independent body have its own independent investigative personnel, with no connection whatsoever with the Attorney General of California.

That this investigative force include Lake Headley, whose work for CRIC has brought some suppressed information at last to the public. It goes without saying that Attorney General Younger and CII are unfit to proceed further in this matter, and in fact, we demand that their conduct be, itself, a primary subject for the investigating committee.

The following questions must be faced in any honest inquiry:

1) What is the relationship between CIA fronts located in California and the Department of Corrections on the one hand, and Attorney General Younger and the CCS and CII on the other? Should no official body ask for CRIC's information on illegal CIA activity in California, then CRIC, together with the Washington, D.C.-based "Fifth



*Evidence of a conspiracy to wipe out the B.P.P. and its leader HUEY P. NEWTON surfaced when a diagram of Brother Newton's apartment was found in a former S.L.A. headquarters.*

Estate" and other local groups, will initiate a suit against the Stanford Research Institute [SRI] under the Freedom of Information Act, naming names of highly placed CIA deep cover operatives at SRI and throughout the California university system.

- 2) The discovery of CIA psychological warfare operatives and fronts in the SLA affair make clear that the issue is not confined to California. Now, CRIC has learned that six members of the SLA have been involved with narcotics intelligence units in the states of Indiana and Pennsylvania as well as California. Thus, an independent investigation must have the power to subpoena official representatives from other states as well as from the Central Intelligence Agency.
- 3) To what end did the CIA have agents in the field investigating, after the Hearst kidnapping? And did the CIA not withhold timely information from the FBI?
- 4) Why did District Attorney and later Attorney General Younger, the LAPD and others, refuse to hold, extradite or incarcerate a desperately ill man after repeated probation violations and numerous warnings and demands from the state of New Jersey and, indeed, from within D.A. Younger's office itself, as well as various official psychiatric agencies? How could the Department of Corrections place so obviously disturbed a man as DeFreeze in Soledad South at midnight, unattended and not know he would escape? Is not the answer the same in both cases: both in Los Angeles and at Soledad the authorities did not shrink or shame from the most cynical manipulation of a dangerously sick and extremely unhappy man [see prison letters in data] in order to wage war against a movement for change with which they violently disagreed? There are scores of witnesses and other victims ready to testify to this ongoing outrage before an independent official body.
- 5) Why did Attorney General Younger and California law enforcement, including the Department of Corrections and the prison guards association, attempt to frustrate and undermine the efforts of the FBI in the Hearst kidnapping?
- 6) Why did Attorney General Younger conduct an unremitting propaganda campaign whose aim it was to force the FBI to a shoot-out with DeFreeze and the SLA?
- 7) Is it not true, the committee should determine, that while the FBI was trying to retrieve Ms. Hearst, Attorney General Younger and California law enforcement were trying to kill their former agent DeFreeze, now uncontrollable, before he could talk about Mr. Younger and CCS in this election year?
- 8) Why did law enforcement agencies suppress the information that a second man calling himself Donald DeFreeze appeared on the East Coast in

March of 1974? This "second" DeFreeze was, according to sources, in possession of a wealth of information concerning the biography of Donald DeFreeze.

- 9) CRIC has learned that vital documents from DeFreeze's dossier have been removed from the public files [affidavit] and that these documents as well as documents relating to the recently escaped Stiner brothers [convicted of the UCLA Panther murders] were, as of April 15, locked in the desk of the watch commander of LAPD Intelligence, according to police sources. This obstruction of justice must be investigated by an independent committee. The watch commander involved is one R. Farwell, DeFreeze's former agent handler at CCS and now a ranking officer in the new Public Disorder Intelligence Unit, an elite sub-unit of CCS monitoring Black political activity in the state of California, regardless of geographic jurisdiction. Hundreds of potential "Cinques" are thus being cultivated even now by police intelligence. This must be exposed and stopped.
- 10) What role has Dr. Frederick J. Hacher played in the Hearst affair? How was he chosen for his role of family counselor? What did he really know about DeFreeze?
- 11) Why was Clifford "Death Row Jeff" Jefferson silenced at various times during this affair?
- 12) Why was the visitors' list at Vacaville and Soledad not checked out AFTER DeFreeze's escape? And why was crucial information discovered in January, 1974, in the burned out SLA house suppressed from the FBI, the public, and potential SLA victims?
- 13) Why were the Stiner brothers in a weekend cottage and able to escape during a period when extreme controls were being exercised against Black militants? Further, what is the connection of former US members like the Stiners with the SLA whose cobra symbol was made synonymous in the 1960s with the US organization? Why has the FBI been questioning former members of the US, whose Black separatist ideology contradicts the SLA rhetoric and its virtually exclusively White membership? In short, what residual wars of the 1960s against the Black Panther Party and the Black liberation movement have come back to haunt California law enforcement and the people of the state of California?
- 14) From where did the money, printing and weapons for the SLA come? [See data for early SLA memorandum.]
- 15) Have authorities, under cover of the SLA hysteria, opened a new attack against the B.P.P., including the use of AGENT PROVOCATEUR?

These and other questions demand investigation by an independent body, free of taint in the SLA affair, armed with subpoena and investigative powers. CRIC and other independent investigators will cooperate only with such an independent unit that is free from the coercion of the Younger machine in all of its far flung ramifications.

□□□



*Investigative researcher DONALD FREED of CRIC, who, along with Lake Headley, demanded probe of DeFreeze police ties.*



# Intercommunal News

## FRELIMO ATTACKS KEY PORTUGUESE TARGETS



FRELIMO guerrillas crossing stream in one of their ever advancing waves of attacks against the Portuguese.

## ETHIOPIAN LABOR LEADER DISCUSSES SUCCESSFUL GENERAL STRIKE

The recent Ethiopian workers strike paralyzed that country's industries and forced some concessions out of the feudal government of Emperor Haile Selassie. The following reprint, from the magazine Africa, is an interview with the chief organizer of that strike, Beyene Solomon, leader of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions [CELU].

AFRICA: Many people outside who know Ethiopia's internal conditions were surprised that you were able to organize a successful general strike. Had you been planning for some time or did you simply seize on the general discontent to stage the strike?

BEYENE: It was definitely pre-planned and completely independent of any other events in the country. After all, we tried to stage general strikes in 1963 and 1970, but we were ill-prepared in those days and the employers crushed the strike in 1963 simply by dismissing many workers.

In 1970, the government made several promises and we agreed to return to work. But later those promises were not kept. So last year it was decided that we would call a general strike and the choice of a date was left to the executive council to decide.

AFRICA: Is CELU now a political force in the country?

BEYENE: We cannot say that the labor movement is devoid of politics. But before now we had been busy organizing our members. I think we have now reached a stage where we can have an influence on the way the country is run. We hope that when the constitutional conference now in session finishes its job and there

is a new constitution, we may be able to form a political party.

AFRICA: Outside Ethiopia it was thought that the unions would have welcomed a military take-over.

BEYENE: The army had its own problems and we too had ours. Maybe in this sense we had something in common. So too the other sectors of the society. But as I said I hope the army will stay out of politics.

AFRICA: Have you adopted any attitude towards republicanism or a constitutional monarchy?

BEYENE: We are really waiting for the constitutional amendments. We don't know what it is going to be.

AFRICA: Do you as an individual support the monarchy as an institution?

BEYENE: Traditionally we have a monarchy. The Crown is a symbol of unity. So we would like to keep the monarchy as a symbol of national unity as in England or Sweden. But power must ultimately

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - The key central zone of Mozambique, Manica e Sofala province, where important Portuguese economic targets are located, has been under heavy attack by FRELIMO, according to a recent FRELIMO war communique issued here.

Manica e Sofala contains a large number of Portuguese factories and plantations, worked by severely exploited Mozambican people. This exploitation has resulted in the workers' enthusiastic support of FRELIMO, thus speeding up the liberation movement's advance through the province.

Portuguese targets hit have included a timber mill and a textile factory. The communique reports that on February 12 of this year, freedom fighters attacked the "Reginald Tully" timber mill in the zone of Fuza, in Vila Fontes. "The timber mill was owned by a Rhodesian settler, well-known in the area for his ruthless exploi-

tation of the workers," the communique explains. In addition, two cars, three tractors and the diesel fuel depot were burned.

Following a February 24 attack on a Portuguese airport near a textile factory, in which a Portuguese plane was destroyed, FRELIMO guerrillas moved in on a camp near the factory, which controlled the cotton plantation. There, two tractors, the storehouse and its entire contents, two cotton-planting machines and other farm equipment were destroyed.

The communique stated: "The plantation guards were given an explanation of the reasons and objectives of our action, and were left free and unharmed."

Details of a FRELIMO attack on a train, were also explained in the communique. The train, going from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) to Beira, was blown up by a land mine in Cuibe, Vanduzi zone on February 1. □

## TANZANIA GETS LOAN FROM CHINA

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - The French magazine *Afrique-Asie* reports that during his recent trip to the People's Republic of China, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere received a \$73 million, interest-free loan for development in his country.

Part of the loan will be used to develop the coal and iron ore resources in south Tanzania and part will go towards the construction of rail lines connecting factories.

*Afrique-Asie* also reports that most of the 35,000 Chinese technicians now working on the Tan-Zam railroad are expected to stay in Tanzania after it is completed some time next year as consultants for other projects.

The 1100 kilometer (800 mile) Tan-Zam railway line will connect Zambian copper mines to the Tanzanian seaport capital of Dar es Salaam, and is expected to be completed nearly one year ahead of schedule.

In addition, People's China will deliver several thousand tons of corn to Tanzania in the near future. Tanzania has been hurt by the drought which has affected so severely the Sahel region of central Africa. □

### THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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# AFRICAN LEADERS SPEAK ON NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The recently adopted Third World-sponsored Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order has created bitter controversy throughout the Western world due to the unprecedented unity of Third World countries in demanding control over their own natural resources. Below are excerpts from the speeches made by four African leaders at the historical conference.

Fily Cissoko, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Guinea, on "Responsibility Lies With the Multinational Corporations":

"These giant companies, far from being a factor for integration and peace, use their economic power not only to disturb the economic equilibrium but to guide events in a direction favorable to themselves. They interfere in the domestic affairs of the host countries, causing disturbances, giving rise to coup d'etats and assassinations of any political leader who attempts to oppose their subversive and counterrevolutionary designs..."

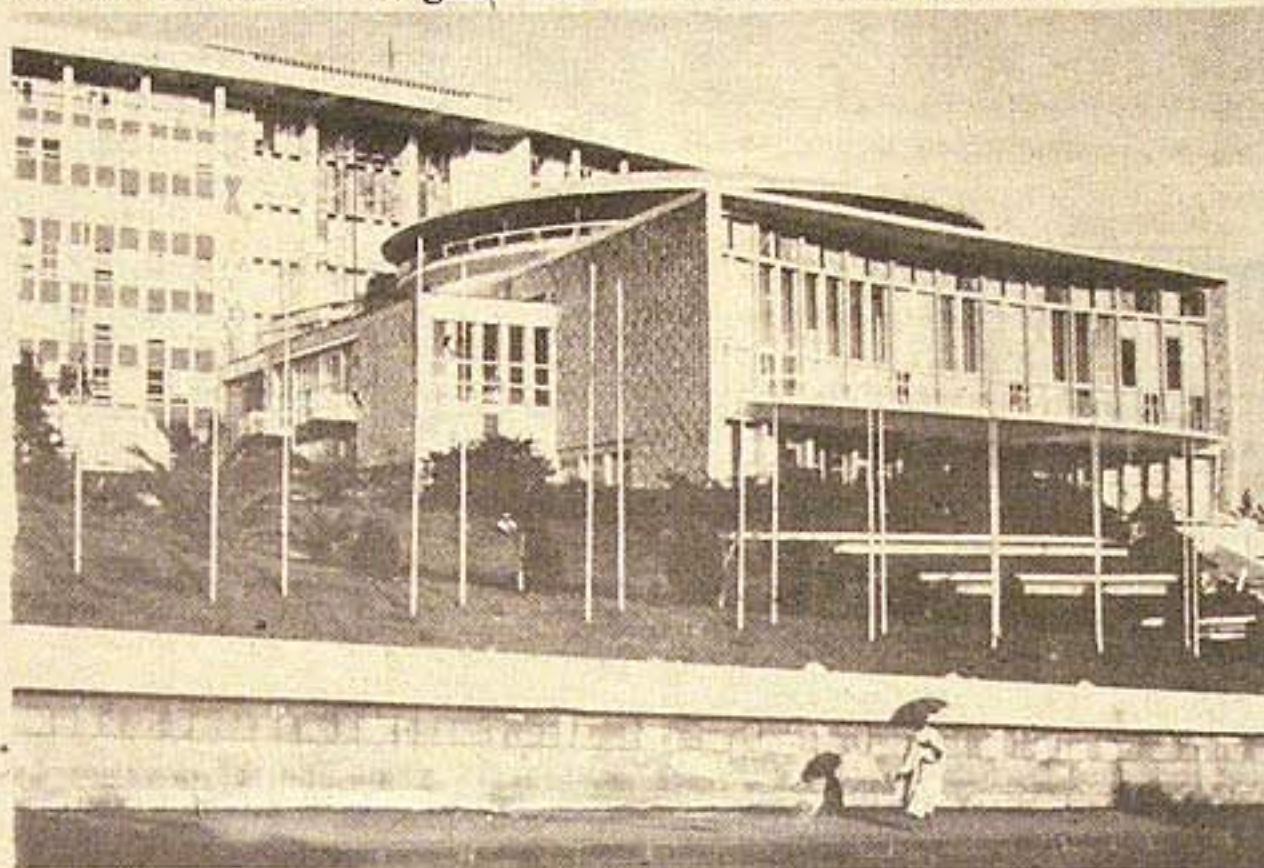
Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, on

"Neo-Colonialism: The Present Condition":

"The pattern created by the industrial revolution has not changed. Most of the developing countries are still compelled to specialize in supplying the cheap raw materials needed by the gigantic industrial machine of the developed countries...The newly independent States have found themselves unable to gain eco-

nomic independence because they are still confronted with institutions and development patterns which have not changed since the colonial era. They have to reckon with the international monopolies and multinational corporations which have unilaterally established a system of price-fixing for their raw materials..."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



The African Hall in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, which houses the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

## ETHIOPIAN LABOR LEADER DISCUSSES SUCCESSFUL GENERAL STRIKE

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mately rest with the people, not with the Crown.

AFRICA: What specific ideas has your union on land reform?

BEYENE: We can't say we have formulated a stand on land reform at this moment. But we believe that most of the people who are now in urban areas and are without jobs are from the countryside. They come to the towns because the land-owning system has deteriorated. The tenants have no security; they can be kicked out at any time, and landlords take the bigger share of their harvests.

### FIXED OWNERSHIP

What we believe is that the number of hectares to be owned by one person should be fixed, so that everybody in the countryside who wants to farm has some land. Although this is a matter for the government we don't expect anyone to have more than 40 hectares nor less than one hectare.

AFRICA: Will the government have to buy the land from holders owning hectares in excess of what you recommend?

BEYENE: Well, this is entirely up to government. Maybe the government will have to buy back some land, or where the landlord has acquired the land illegally, confiscate it.

AFRICA: But basically you believe in private land ownership?

BEYENE: Traditionally private land ownership has existed in Ethiopia. So when we are talking about land ownership we should give some way to tradition. It will be difficult to adopt the Tanzanian system and nationalize all land because this is not the tradition of Ethiopia. It is always wise to take one step at a time. What we are concerned with is the size and the mode of ownership.

AFRICA: When you talk of putting a ceiling on the size of land owned by an individual you are aware that the Prime Minister is reputedly one of the largest landowners in Ethiopia. You are suggesting that he should give up some of his land without compensation. Do you really see much hope of that?

BEYENE: We believe that as the head of government he has a greater responsibility to be an



Ethiopian labor leader BEYENE SOLOMON.

example to others; to sacrifice some of his own property so that others will follow suit.

AFRICA: How long are you prepared to give the present government to carry out all its promises which ended the strike?

BEYENE: Well, it depends. We had seventeen points in the agreement. Some of them will require legislative processes and they will be submitted to parliament. Some will take as long as six months to put into effect. So we shall give the government six months. □

## Africa In Focus

### UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations Committee on Decolonization expressed recently its "profound concern at the extremely dangerous situation created by South Africa's continued violation of its obligations" under the United Nations Charter with regard to Namibia (Southwest Africa) and its "outright defiance of world public opinion." The Committee, in a statement adopted by consensus, also expressed concern at South Africa's "increasing resort to violence, torture and intimidation in its efforts to stifle the opposition of the Namibian people to its inhuman policy of 'bantustanization' and apartheid" and their demand for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

### MOZAMBIQUE

Eyewitness reports from Mozambique say that Portuguese troops have been poisoning wells in a new attempt to stop local support for FRELIMO guerrillas. In one village alone, 150 people died as a result of the poisoning. The villages where the atrocities have taken place are in the administrative region of Mutarara in the area around Vila Pery, near the Rhodesian border.

### CABORA BASSA DAM

Five new towns are to be built along the route followed by power transmission lines between the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique and South Africa. The towns will serve as bases for maintenance personnel and as militarized security areas between FRELIMO guerrillas to the north and the South African border to the south. Power is due to start flowing along the lines when turbine testing at the giant dam starts early next year.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The Protestant Dutch churches recently meeting in Lunteren, Holland, voted 56-25 to continue support of the anti-racism funds offered to liberation movements of southern Africa by the World Council of Churches. The conference was attended by four South African church delegates. Two represented the church of which South African Prime Minister John Vorster is a member.



## PORTUGUESE OFFICERS DESCRIBE ATROCITIES

*The following is the first part of the full translation of a report compiled by Portuguese officers who have fought in Mozambique and support the view of General Antonio Spínola, leader of the recent coup in Portugal, that no military solution is possible in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.*

*The report, smuggled out of Portugal during the rule of former dictator Marcello Caetano, describes the animal tactics used by the Portuguese Army against Mozambicans and spells out the futility of Portugal's attempts to win a military victory over the Mozambique people. The report first appeared in the Manchester Guardian Weekly.*

'1) With reference to the massacres at Wiriyamu and Chavola, about 30 km south of Tete, in December, 1972, we obtained, from a military element who took part in them, the following precise data which we believe to be unpublished:

'a) The 6th Commando Company was sent to the zone, in helicopter operations, by a Lieutenant-Colonel, Military Commander in Tete, with his express order to 'mop up the ground and kill any living soul, as the region was 100 per cent terrorist.'

'b) The 6th Company was made up of three groups, the 1st group commanded by Sub-Lieutenant Antonio Melo (also acting commander of the company), the 2nd group by Sub-Lieutenant Periquito and the 3rd group by an African sub-lieutenant.

'c) The first group stopped at one of the villages, having detected some landmines nearby, and gathered the whole population, mostly old men, women and children, whom they ordered to get into huts which were then destroyed by grenades, the few fugitives being gunned down.

'The second group adopted the same method to mop up another village after having asked the views and obtained agreement from two elements of the DGS (security police) who accompanied the column.

'The third group, commanded by the Black lieutenant, occupied another village and gathered all

# MOZAMBIQUE WHITES DEMONSTRATE TO CONTINUE COLONIALISM FEAR IMMINENT AFRICAN RULE

(Lourenço Marques, Mozambique) - Thousands of White Europeans demonstrated before the Portuguese city hall here last week demanding of the new regime in Lisbon continuation of the African policies of the overthrown dictator Marcello Caetano. The demonstration was organized by a group calling itself FICO, the Front for Independence and Western Continuity.

Many of the estimated 200,000 Portuguese settlers in Mozambique have expressed fear that the new regime in Portugal will grant independence to the colony and thus "abandon" them to African rule. Mozambique has an estimated eight million Africans.

The military junta in Lisbon, Portugal, led by General de Spínola, has promised to end more than a decade of war in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. However, he has stopped short of promising independence and has proposed rather some kind of federation in which he claims the African

territories would have equal status with Portugal.

Henry Kamm, writing from here for *The New York Times*, says of FICO that it is the only political grouping that appears to have found an enthusiastic clientele among the White settlers. "It unites those of the White population, mainly artisans and holders of modest jobs, who have found here a living that Portugal does not afford," Kamm writes.

Meanwhile, in Luanda, capital of Angola, 5,000 people, mostly Whites, met last week and called for Portugal to break traditional ties with South Africa and the illegal regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia. The enthusiastic crowd also called for the opening of dialogue with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO).

A representative of FRELIMO spoke at the meeting and was cheered when he quoted parts of a speech made by the Angolan people's movement leader, A-



GEN. ANTONIO DeSPINOLA (left) with aides during one of his tours through bush country of Guinea-Bissau.

gostinho Neto, at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in February, stating that his objective was not a war between Blacks and Whites but equal rights for both groups.

Leaders of the Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and FRELIMO have all expressed their determination to continue the struggle to full and complete independence.

While in Lisbon, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, a leading member of the junta and chief of the joint defense staff, promised that the guerrilla forces would be able to participate in free political activity leading to a referendum on the territories' future at an unspecified date.

Speaking at a news conference shortly after returning from Angola, he indicated he had appealed to the liberation forces "to lay down their arms" and adhere to a ceasefire.

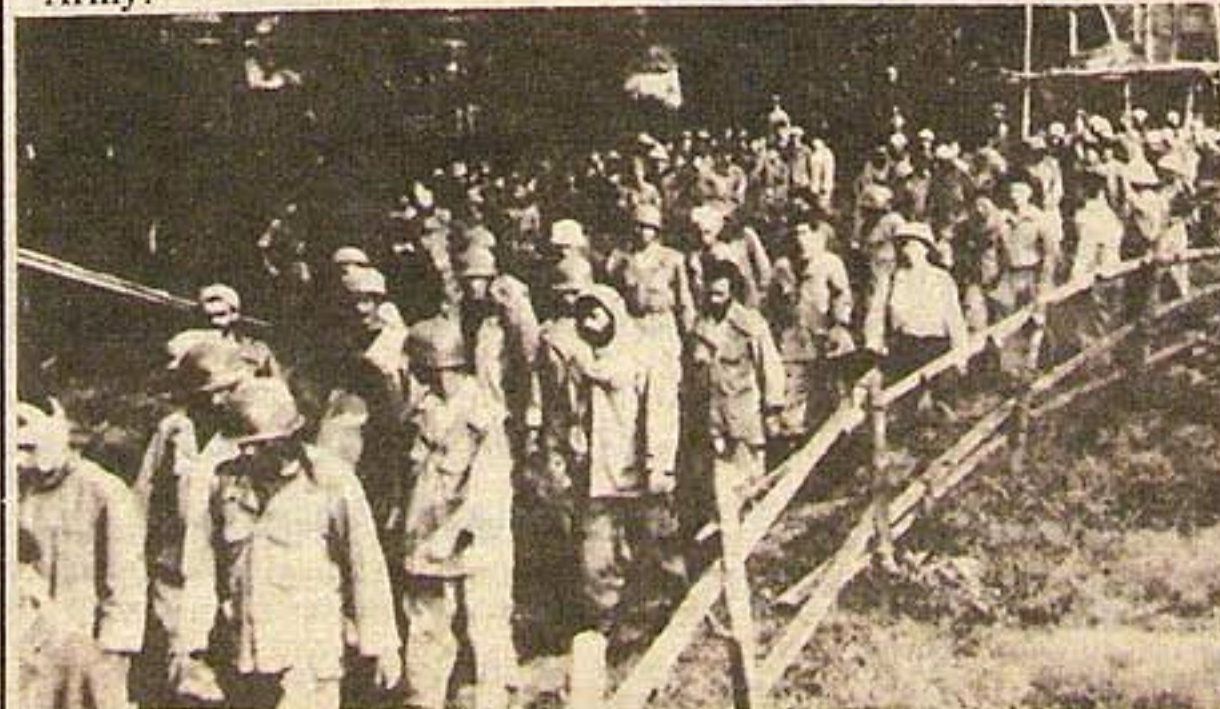
In addition to a proposal for integration of the liberation movements into political life, General Gomes also offered an amnesty for imprisoned members of the liberation movements. The much flaunted release of political prisoners in both Mozambique and Angola over the past weeks did not include members of the liberation movements engaged in armed struggle with Portuguese troops in Africa. No figures are available of the number presently imprisoned. Many thousands have been killed while in captivity.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## DIEN BIEN PHU CELEBRATED

(Hanoi, North Vietnam) - Recalling in a public speech the "55 days and nights of heroic fighting" which ended in monumental victory, finalizing the fall of French colonialism in Southeast Asia, General Vo Nguyen Giap last week led the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in a joyful 20th anniversary celebration of the battle of Dien Bien Phu.

It was on May 7, 1954, that the Vietminh, organized by the late leader of the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh, and directed by Gen. Giap, convincingly smashed the last remaining French stronghold in their land at Dien Bien Phu, located in a valley in the western hills of North Vietnam, and broke the back of the French Army.



Defeated French troops after Dien Bien Phu.

## PRISONERS ESCAPE

(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) - Forty Prisoners of the Dias Moreira Penitentiary escaped and battled 1,400 policemen in efforts to maintain their liberty. At last reports 19 had been recaptured.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



## PORTUGUESE OFFICERS DESCRIBE ATROCITIES

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

the population to be taken prisoner to Tete. The sub-lieutenant then sent a group of ten men, under the command of Corporal Rato—the son of a driver of the Governor General of Mozambique—to a nearby village to arrest and bring in the people found there.

"Corporal Rato, however, decided it was simpler to liquidate those people with grenades and machine gun fire. On his return he was violently reprimanded by the lieutenant who had given him no such orders. He replied that he had followed the guidelines given in Tete by the lieutenant-colonel commanding the 6th Company. The African sub-lieutenant threatened to leave the 'commandos' and refused to carry out such 'criminal work,' having applied in writing for transfer to another military unit.

### 400 MASSACRED

"In these three massacres, it is estimated that between 300 and 400 people were killed.

"(d) Because of the reaction of international public opinion, the government some months ago initiated a secret military inquiry into the events, which still drags on. The lieutenant-colonel responsible was transferred to Portugal and Sub-Lieutenant Antonio Melo, commander of the 6th Company involved, was summoned to Nampula to be interviewed personally by General Costa Gomes, then Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, during his visit to Mozambique last February.

"So far as we can ascertain no one has been punished for those actions, there being only the precedent of officers of the commando groups responsible for massacres in the area of Mucumbura having been 'punished' with a one year extension of their commission of duty in Mozambique.

"(2) There was, at least in the district of Tete, aerial spraying of herbicides over vast cultivated areas, in the region near Chicoca village, the last confirmed operation having taken place in February, 1973, carried out by a Dakota assisted by two Fiat fighters. As in the case of Angola there were serious cases of poisoning among peasants. We know that one of the defoliants used is the 10-Bromacil-formula 5-Bromo 3-Sebutil-5, metiluracil, sold under the trade name of 'Ilyvar-XC,' by the South African company

Kop Marketing Ltd (PO Box 55, Siverton, R.S.A.).

"Besides this product another one was used, which has not been identified, but is believed to be supplied in drums by an American company.

"(3) In the same zone, in September, 1973, the results presented in a report addressed officially to the Commanding Officer about an operation by a commando company were as follows: 191 'terrorists' killed and one 'Kalashnikov' gun captured. They were obviously unarmed civilians but no inquiry was ordered into what happened.

"(4) In November, 1973, in a helicopter attack on a Frelimo hospital in Zambezia, some kilometers south-south-west of Mueda, in Cabo Delgado, the hospital was destroyed and all the people found in it, including the wounded and the auxiliary staff, were killed.

"(5) In the district of Cabo Delgado, contrary to what is apparently the case in the district of Tete, and owing to the fact that there are no missionaries or any other possible witnesses there, the companies received orders from their commander at Montepuez after the Frelimo attacks on the big coastal villages of Porto Amelia and Palma to 'avoid

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Portuguese troops have dotted Africa with death.

# Africa

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## WORLD SCOPE

### MEXICO

(Mexico City, Mexico) - The government of Mexico has barred the U.S. State Department and Pentagon from conducting or financing any research work in Mexico because of the government's belief that past U.S. research has had political instead of scientific aims.

### IRAQ

(Beirut, Lebanon) - Iraq has nationalized a one million dollar repair facility of the American Caterpillar Tractor Company and will pay compensation "at book value," the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce reported in its weekly bulletin.

American Caterpillar was the second U.S. firm to be nationalized by the Baath Party government.

### WEST GERMANY

(Bonn, West Germany) - Ex-Chancellor Willy Brandt has denied that he resigned his post last week because he had been exposed to blackmail concerning his personal life.

However, he did indirectly confirm that there were areas of his private life capable of involving him in scandal. Also, for the first time he admitted that his own carelessness caused an East German spy to gain access to secret documents.

### COSTA RICA

(San Jose, Costa Rica) - The new president of Costa Rica, Daniel Oduber, issued a tough warning to foreign investors and other outsiders at his inauguration here last week.

Oduber said his government would introduce a foreign investment law to restrict outside capital to minority ownership of companies.

### INDIA

(New Delhi, India) - India's largest cities were plagued by panic buying last week as striking railway workers, enraged by the arrest of their leader and 6,000 other unionists, demonstrated their ability to cripple the country's already sagging economy.

Critical shortages of milk powder, baby foods, soap and medicines were reported in Bombay.



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VENDORS  
DEMONSTRATE

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - About 25 Black street vendors demonstrated against nine stores and two banks in the center city here in an attempt to convince Black shoppers to shop elsewhere.

The Philadelphia Black Vendors Association says that the Girard Estate, a city-operated trust that supervises the businesses on Girard Square, plans to take legal steps to stop vending on sidewalks in the square. □

"GOOD TIMES" STAR CONSCIOUS OF  
POLITICAL REALITIES

(Beverly Hills, Calif.) - "I think it is a requirement for White America to know how I tick."

So speaks Ms. Esther Rolle, discussing her weekly performance as Florida Evans in the top-flight CBS Friday night comedy series, *Good Times*.

Ms. Rolle, who describes herself to an interviewer from the Sunday *New York Times* as an "American militant who's gonna keep right on your tail until you adhere to the letter of the Constitution," is obviously conscious of political realities, both those *Good Times* projects via TV and those in the U.S. as a whole.

As she says, referring this time to herself, "It has been a necessity for me to know how you tick—for survival."

"Ninety-eight to 99 per cent of it (*Good Times*) is reality," Ms.

Rolle comments. "I couldn't participate if I didn't believe in every line."

One of the original cast members of the famed Negro Ensemble Company in New York, Ms. Rolle at first adamantly refused the part of Florida in the TV series *Maude*, where the role originated. "I wouldn't leave New York to go out there and be a Hollywood maid," Ms. Rolle comments.

She only accepted the part on her conditions: "...In the past, the Hollywood maid was so in love with Miss Ann, so involved with her problems, that she forgot her own family. That is just not true!"

It certainly isn't true of Florida in *Good Times*, as she combats the problems of family life in a dreary housing project—jokingly



ESTHER ROLLE, as a Black housewife, gives a whiff of her soulful cooking to JOHN AMOS, her spouse on the CBS comedy series *Good Times*.

called "Cockroach Towers"—in Chicago.

"You can't have any more problems than my television family does," Ms. Rolle says, speaking of her TV husband James and their three children, J.J., Thelma, and Michael, "and yet we find laughter."

"I think that what the haves in this world don't realize is that all is not lost because you don't have any money. There are other values—love, sharing, caring—and if you concentrate on them, somehow you'll ride out the storm."

Continuing to discuss the Black family situation, Esther Rolle has very definite views about what she calls the popular "myth" that the Black woman is the real strength of the Black family.

"It is a myth that came out of reality. It all started back in the slave days. The White man has always been interested in Black women...He told his wife we were savages and that she was a china doll and then he sneaked out to our cabins."

"Today, the White man still knows that if you castrate the Black man, you can handle the race. The Black man has a hard time finding a job, and his wife is told, 'You can't get welfare with a husband in the home.' So he has to get out of the home for the family to get on welfare...The myth is that she is the strong force in the family, when the truth is she has had to be the breadwinner."

So speaks Ms. Esther Rolle, "Florida" if you prefer; but either way a Black woman conscious of herself, her family, and her position in America today. □  
M.F.

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## MOZAMBIQUE WHITES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

In addition to the appeal from General Gomes to FRELIMO to lay down its arms, a new political grouping of Black elite and White business in Mozambique has also called on FRELIMO to abandon the armed struggle and limit itself to the political arena.

The Group for the Unity of Mozambique is headed by a Black high school teacher of French who lived eight years in Paris, Mrs. Joana Simiao, and a wealthy White businessman, past president of the Mozambique Chamber of Commerce, Jorde de Abreau. Mrs. Simiao has been quoted as saying that three or four years will be needed to awaken the consciousness of Mozambicans before they vote freely on their future status. □

## IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

obvious in America that the Blacks are the largest and, in the historical sense, the most "opposite" group in this self-made business, not only because they didn't come over here of their own free will but also because their color marked them as a most recognizable "other" species. Now the Black man in this country, of course, also absorbed some of the values of the self-made man, and his "suffering" of an inferior position—both in the sense of suffering acutely and of an unconscious acceptance of it, a kind of overadaptation—was intensified by the discrepancy between the American values he was aware of and the limited opportunities given to him in sharing them. So for every group to be liberated, it is essential to

realize sooner or later that they themselves absorbed the dominant values that enslaved them and, in fact, based their identities on them. This is where the psychology of the unconscious enters, although it is obvious that the to-be-liberated should take a close look at psychological methods to make sure that they are not accepting what was invented to fortify the status quo. But now, the second item that I was after is the dialectic of the self-appraisal of the dominant pseudospecies when it overreaches itself and loses its own identity exactly out of overdoing that original identity. If that original identity was an overcoming of old unfreedoms by an emphasis on the self-made man's individualism, it does not prevent him, before he knows it, from becoming the most stereotyped type of person in the world. You see what I mean?

### INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

In other words, you can go on talking about the rights of the individual in all public announcements and yet be ready to be told what types and what styles to choose as a "consumer" of values—thereby denying to your children the capacity to be an individual. So we now have schools all over the nation that preach individualism and encourage the individualist stance, but cannot permit any true freedom of learning. You can see this on

many levels. So what is happening at the moment is that the American way of life, wherever the American empire goes, fosters the same efficient personality types who are "nobody's fools"—that is, the sort of people one finds in the police, in the army, or among the ranks of technocrats and bureaucrats who have the mandate of protecting the system against messy "outsiders," here and abroad. The typical "insider" neither knows how much stereotype he accepts in himself to bolster his own sense of playing a "free" role shared with others, nor how much inhuman method he fosters in those middlemen whom he has put in uniforms and uniformed roles and charged with protecting his "privacy" against any first-hand knowledge of those his system enslaves. This is what makes it possible that, for example, American airmen who consider themselves nice guys, individualists, and technically proficient all at once, can do what they do to an "other" people down in those "jungles" in Vietnam today. And yet, a change must come from within this country and it makes sense that some of it must come from you Blacks. Obviously, something is crumbling in the whole American system, a change in America's sense of itself; they call it "consciousness" at Yale. But it needs militant minorities, and by sheer impact you are probably the most effective on the domestic scene for shaking up the old self-images—and that is why I pointed to the "Black with a gun" imagery.

TO BE CONTINUED

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## SPORTS

# "SPORTS AND THE AMERICAN EMPIRE"

## THE REVOLT OF THE BLACK ATHLETE

### PART 4

The revolt of the modern Black athlete has, of course, like all social phenomena, its weaknesses as well as its strengths. In this week's excerpt from Brother Mark Naison's critical analysis, "Sports and the American Empire," the writer, an instructor at the Afro-American Institute at Fordham University in New York, discusses both the positive and negative qualities of this revolt: fostering images of male supremacy while, equally, enhancing the growth of militant players associations.

### CHINA FOR 1976 OLYMPICS

(Landersheim, France) - The approval of the People's Republic of China by the International Weightlifting Federation's executive committee has opened the way for China's entry into the 1976 Olympics.

A nation must be a member of five federations of Olympic sports and have a national Olympic committee before it can request admission to the games. China still has no Olympic panel.

The International Weightlifting Federation was expected to ratify China's admission September 20 at a meeting in Manila. The withdrawal of Taiwan from the group also was expected.

In fact, the withdrawal of Taiwan is a prerequisite for the entrance of China. The Peking people's government has traditionally maintained a firm policy that there is only one China and that the Taiwan regime is purely a puppet of the United States. As a result, it has consistently refused to participate in any international organization which continues to recognize Taiwan.

The other federations of Olympic sports to which China has been admitted are rowing, archery, ice hockey and speed skating. It also belongs to several federations of non-Olympic sports such as table tennis.

The political pacification of Muhammad Ali dramatizes some of the most painful dilemmas facing the Black movement in America. Although Black people have experienced a form of oppression which is similar to that of their brethren in the Third World, they find it impossible to liberate themselves through a movement of national independence.

The dispersion of the Black population through the country and its employment in the center of the American industrial infrastructure (heavy industry, government employment, the armed forces) means that the Black movement can escape the domination of Capital and its attendant social relationships only if Capital itself is destroyed.

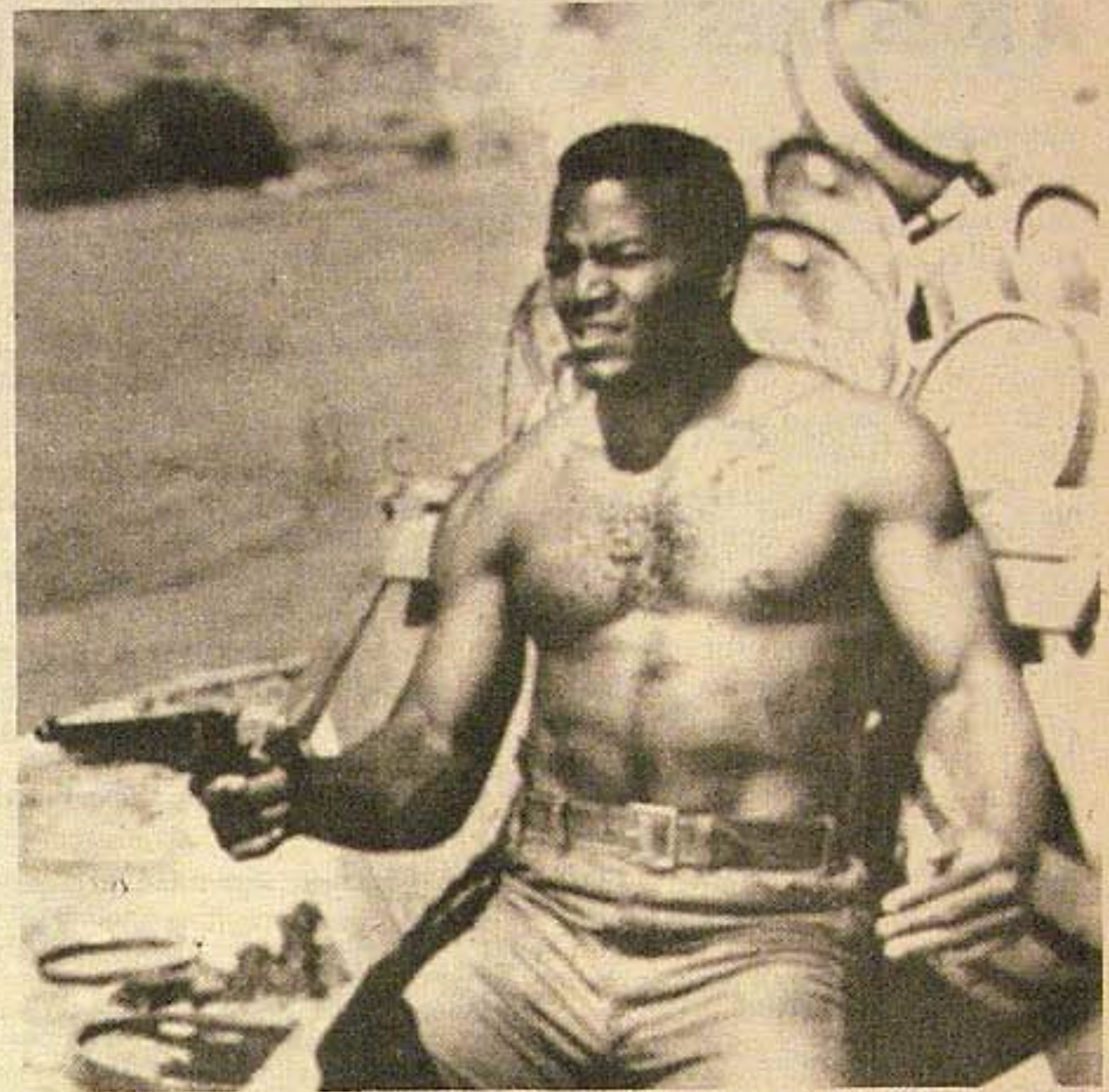
The Black revolt in sports, like the Black movement as a whole, inevitably becomes a "reform" movement when it does not connect its nationalist aims to a large struggle to transform American society.

#### "IMAGE" OF SUPREMACY

There is perhaps no better example of the political limitations of the Black revolt in sports (and much of the Black movement generally) than the image of male supremacy it projects. While the new forms of "social personality" forged by Black athletes represent a transcendence of historic patterns of racial control in America, they present no challenge to the domination of men over women on which the very fabric of American capitalism is woven.

The Nation of Islam, the organization from which Ali drew strength, inspiration, and political support for his rebellion, has explicitly defined the subordination of Black women as a precondition for the liberation of Black men. The image of "Black manhood" embodied by Jim Brown in his football career, his acting, and his personal life seems to be an Afro-American amalgam of Errol Flynn and James Bond—an image in which women are alternately seen as status symbols, sexual partners, and targets for aggression.

The racial transformation of commercial sports in America, while often disquieting to both the sports establishment and the American public, has thus far



"The image of 'Black manhood' embodied by JIM BROWN in his football career, his acting, and his personal life seems to be an Afro-American amalgam of Errol Flynn and James Bond."

been contained within the framework of capitalist and male-supremacist relations. While Black people have been able to use athletics as an arena for self-development, self-expression, and the creative affirmation of Black "nationality," they have been unable to transcend the attendant value system which makes domination, competition, and personal profit the highest social ideals.

Within professional sports itself, the most important sign of resistance has been the growing strength and militancy of the players' associations, culminating in this spring's (1972), baseball strike.

This movement can be seen as a direct response to the proletarianization of athletes in major sports. Although salaries have been increasing rapidly in the post-war period, players have been experiencing the introduction of "speed up" and scientific management into their lives.

In all major sports, the athlete's work life has become more difficult and dangerous because of the lengthening of the season and imposition of new performance norms. Baseball, basketball, and football players all have a longer "regular season" than they did 15 years ago, and a longer exhibition schedule.

In addition, training procedures have been scientifically refined to produce the maximum

response from their bodies. Professional athletes are now given IQ and personality tests (the Dallas Cowboys won't let anybody play quarterback with less than 120 IQ), trained with machines, given special diets, and shorn up with drugs. This introduction of corporate discipline into what are fondly called "games" has increased the number of injuries, but it has also brought collective organization into a historically individualistic milieu.

Players' organizations, uniting "stars" and journeyman players, have assumed a larger and larger bargaining role in major sports, threatening and most recently using the strike as a weapon to force the owners' hand.

Their most basic demand has been the development of pension plans which provide security for the injured and retired athlete—a demand which has great force in a field where the average playing span is 4 to 6 years, and where the player is often left physically and mentally unequipped for the job market.

The proletarianization of athletics has also generated more individual forms of resistance. A number of star athletes in major sports have begun to challenge the "reserve clause"—the rule which enables a team to purchase exclusive rights to a player and prevent him from playing for another club unless he is sold or traded.

TO BE CONTINUED



## PORTUGUESE ATROCITIES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

taking prisoners and wounded' in their operations. We believe—although there is no confirmation of such rumors—that such orders have been followed to the letter lately in the Cabo Delgado district, in addition to the two cases already mentioned.

'Besides the special commando troops, those who also have a 'license to kill' are the GEP (Special Paratroop Groups) and the GE (Special Groups) (besides the DGS, apparently during interrogation of prisoners). On the other hand ordinary troops do not in principle enjoy the same latitude, having to take the prisoners and achieve the psycho-social 'recovery' of the disaffected populations.

### STARVATION

"One of the means they use is the starving of populations to force them into submission. Thus, besides the sporadic use of defoliants, napalm is frequently used by the air force to destroy crops (and more often than not the huts and their occupants). All land troops also always have the duty to burn the plantations and 'recover' all cattle and other means of subsistence found wherever they pass, besides arresting people to be concentrated in the 'aldeamentos' (strategic hamlets).

"(6) The possibility is admitted that the recent and savage attack to the Nhacambo 'aldeamento,' which resulted in 17 dead and some 20 wounded among the population might have been staged by Portuguese authorities to be used in propaganda against Frelimo.

"(7) One month ago (February 1974) a group of 'Fleches' (Arrows), or military forces controlled by the DGS, massacred dozens of peasants in a village near Manica, in a reprisal attack against the guerrillas.

"(8) At the end of February a document signed by the Bishop of Nampula, Dom Manuel Vieira Pinto, and about 100 priests, friars, and nuns of the Catholic congregation of the Cambonians was circulated accusing the Church in Mozambique of complicity with the Portuguese Government. Using quotations from statements and encyclicals by the Pope as well as the gospels, it upheld the right of the people of Mozambique to their cultural identity, self-determination and political freedom.

TO BE CONTINUED

## Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Greetings Friends,

In making this request for a check on my correct address I wish to take this opportunity to extend my profoundest 'Thanks' for the on-going free subscription you are affording me.

It is possible my address is correct in your files. A mass "Mail Rape" has been in process on any publication that mentions the struggle in progress here as a result of the July 31st slave revolt. I have received none of your publications that may have carried articles on our plight and struggle. If you have carried articles, could you please send me those back publications. If not, please pick up our struggle because it is only with mass support that we stand a chance of winning out over this invidious 'Frame-Up'.

You may expect to receive periodic news releases on the struggle as it evolves. I hope we get through to you. (The mail net)

In unity & struggle,  
Odell Bennett  
Leavenworth, Kansas

(Editor's note: Will the prison grapevine get word to Brother Bennett that THE BLACK PANTHER has printed weekly stories on the valiant struggle of the Leavenworth Brothers and the Brothers' Brothers. The authorities are preventing the papers from reaching him and others at Leavenworth.)

□□□□

Comrades, Sisters and Brothers,

To: The Prisoners at U.S.D.B., Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Personally I can't think of any suggestions in terms of how y'all can go about fighting for pay but a strike. I've never experienced a concentration—slave camp situation yet, so, what may be applicable in a minimum security situation (factories, mills, plants, etc.) may not be applicable in there.

What I'll do from this end is distribute a copy of this letter along with your contact address. Sister Angela Y. Davis and many other people have more expertise in this area and I'm sure the B.P.P. will be of assistance because they've proven through their practices and theory their endless commitment to struggle of oppressed and exploited people.

Our immediate concern is one of "waging ideological struggle" over here at Iwakunim Japan. Consequently it's a heavy concept of Black consciousness and awareness (pee-dapp and pee-check) which will have to be developed (implemented) to the level of concept of "complete change," "class consciousness and struggle," and "protracted political struggle." We see our struggle being yours, (political prisoners) also. TAKE CARE!!!

POLITICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE,  
Malik  
USMC Iwakuni, Japan

□□□□

Editor,

I am a Black Brother who has been incarcerated five years by the California Department of Corrections with an indeterminate sentence for robbery (six months to life).

Since my commitment by Contra Costa County, I have desperately tried to secure employable skills so I would never have to resort to crime of any type for my survival.

As a result of perseverance I was able to complete a body and fender trade course, numerous accounting courses, as well as be the recipient of a High School education. Also I participated in various groups such as music, group counseling and creative dynamics. I did this not necessarily to meet the agenda to secure possible parole, but for the betterment of myself.

I would like to point out that I did this entire five years without financial assistance from family or friends, which is very difficult. One likes to have necessities like toiletries and stationery. In my case there wasn't anything, whatsoever.

I must confess, I've often been bitter, with myself as well as with the system which oppresses me because I deserve more out of life than what I've had—which has been totally nothing up to this point. I've only been allowed that which is designated for Black men as a whole in Amerikkka...nothing.

One of two amazing realizations since I've been down is, the absence of a woman, especially for long periods of time. No wealth or fame, even when given a choice, can compensate or equal the intimate presence of a woman. I think that within itself is enough to try and struggle to stay on the street. Most prisoners will attest to this fact. Woman is the other half of man, she is life to man. They are life to each other and should never be separated.

And two: I've come into a political awareness, insight and understanding of this system which oppresses me and countless people of color. This incarceration has elevated me through political and Black awareness far beyond the person I was when I first entered...

Black unity,  
T.A. Earnest  
PO Box B 24038-A  
Soledad, Calif. 93960

P.S. Would like to correspond with some "Black Sisters".

□□□□

## AFRICAN LEADERS ON NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

Mohammad Adan, Minister of Culture of Somalia, on "The Cause of the Problem Was Colonialism":

"The genesis of the crises is to be found in the distribution of economic and political power during the last few centuries... Western capitalism in an organized manner started successfully to exploit the resources of those continents (Asia, Africa and South America) for its own capitalist development with no pretense at transforming the economies of the wretchedly colonized. These tragic processes of exploitation entailed genocide, slavery, the plundering of mineral and agricultural resources and the cultural subjugation of the colonies..."

Dawda K. Jawara, President of Gambia, on "The Effects of Neo-Colonialism In the Third World":

"The stark realities of economic conditions in the developing world are too grim to be ignored if disaster is to be averted in the long run. Malnutrition and high infant mortality still continue to harass the majority of our people... Unemployment and underemployment are endemic and growing..."

In the year 2000, per capita income in the United States is expected to be approximately \$10,000, while in many developing countries it will still be under \$200."

(We thank Terry Cannon of Tri-Continental News Service for the above material.)□

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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.



## People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

## 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



SON OF MAN TEMPLE , MOTHER'S DAY CELEBRATION,  
MAY 12, 1974



FROM HUEY P. NEWTON-  
MESSAGE TO  
THE MOTHERS

SOMETIMES LIFE IS KIND OF ROUGH.  
ALWAYS SOME KIND OF CRISIS OR ANOTHER  
ALWAYS SOME KIND OF SHORTAGE OR ANOTHER  
ALWAYS SOME KIND OF STRUGGLE OR ANOTHER  
FOR ANOTHER KIND OF LIBERATION OR ANOTHER  
BUT THERE IS ALWAYS MOTHER.

