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THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE



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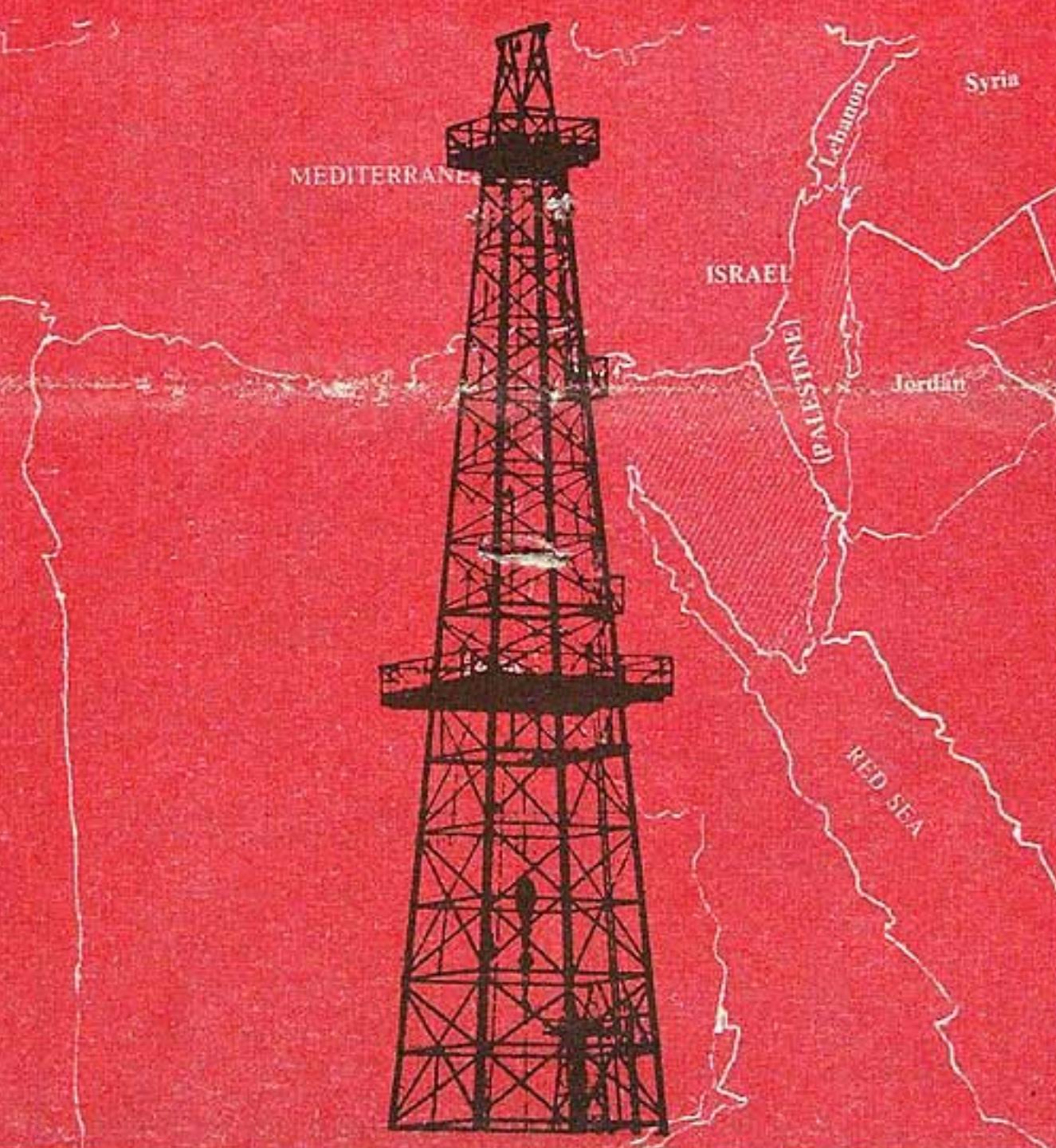
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B.P.P. ON MIDDLE EAST

THE ISSUE ISN'T TERRITORY, BUT HUMAN RIGHTS



Libya



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EDITORIAL

FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

It is to contribute to ending the suffering and dying in the Middle East that the Black Panther Party has drawn up and distributed its Position Paper on the Middle East Conflict. The Black Panther Party's overriding concern is in securing the human rights of all the people in the Middle East, Jew and Arab alike; and first, the right to life.

As long as the Palestinian people are ignored by Israeli Zionism, misrepresented by Arab reaction and used by great power imperialism in the alleged search for peace in the Middle East, there will be no peace and acts of Palestinian desperation and Israeli retaliation will continue; more Arabs and Jews will die.

The Palestinian guerrilla action last week at the town of Maalot in Israel that resulted in the death of 28 persons, including the three guerrillas, and the retaliation raids by Israel against Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon that resulted in at least 50 dead, with many scores wounded in both tragedies, is a pattern that can be ended; but only with understanding and compassion for the suffering of each of these two peoples, each of and for the other.

Arab compassion must arise out of a recognition of the horror inflicted upon the Jewish people by a history of European oppression culminating in the ovens of Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Belzen, and the flight and search for safety that followed.

Jewish compassion must arise out of a recognition of the horror inflicted upon the Arab masses generally, by a history of brutal oppression and deprivation by dynasties of reactionary ruling sheiks and regimes, and upon Palestinians in particular, uprooted from their homes of centuries and made beggars in neighboring lands.

The Issue Is Not Territory but Human Rights, declares the title of the Black Panther Party Position Paper on the Middle East Conflict. It is the task of the people of the Middle East to take the issue into their own hands, out of the bloody hands of false leaders and meddling intruders. The people will find the ways to live together in peace and harmony, as they did for so many centuries before. □



"Listen, are you going to be loyal to me or that [expletive deleted] Constitution?"



"Here's the scenario. You go in there, blow yourself up and split the whole place down the middle."



"There it is, just the way it came off the founding fathers' typewriter."



Cartoons by Herblock, Washington Post

Letters to the Editor

Comrades, and the Community:

On April 5, 1974, I was informed that unless I replied to the question of whether or not I wanted to continue the subscription of the Panther paper, my subscription would have to be terminated.

My reply to the Central Distribution office was immediate and positive. On May 2, 1974, I receive a memo from the Warden of Lewisburg Prison, M.R. Hogan, stating that the Party's paper had been returned due to articles that tend to create "unnatural tensions" within the inmate population and therefore has been prohibited within this institution.

Apparently, the Party's paper, along with the *Guardian*, *Worker's World*, *Struggle*, etc., have been terminated by the administration here. There is a fear here among the administration officials. Since the phenomenon of the SLA and the "Zebra" killings there has been made a connection by the press and news media that some people involved in the SLA, and those accused of "Z" killings were in prison at one time or another.

In fact, it has been suggested by various California officials and those individuals who say they knew Cinque of the SLA, that its beginnings were in a California prison. The conjecture by the news media that prisons are bases and breeding grounds for so-called terrorist teachings has sent waves of consternation throughout the community and throughout the prisons, both state and federal.

The penal system is taking the media's idea seriously and attempting to enact counter measures such as the stopping of various, so-called unofficial papers, magazines, etc. It is a form of repression which I am sure you understand.

In conclusion, I am making preparations for a legal fight, and am in the process of seeking a lawyer. do believe this is a first amendment right violation. A response will be much welcomed.

Bro. Phillip E. Duckett
Lewisburg, Penna.

(Editor's note: We are planning legal action also. So, Right on!)

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 22

COMMENT

"PORTUGUESE COUP PLEASES U.S."

The following comment on U.S. silence and the recent coup in Portugal is reprinted from the Italian daily, *Lotta Continua*. The silence, the article maintains, means approval. The U.S. is pleased because Portugal intends to continue to look after U.S. economic interests in Africa while it ends overt fascist rule, condemned by most of the world.

World reactions to the fall of fascism in Portugal were, with rare exceptions, all favorable to the military coup of General Spinoia. In contrast, the U.S. government greeted the coup with silence, but a silence which implied approval of the new political course inaugurated by Spinoia.

The U.S. sees in this situation the possibility of reinforcing the strategic political and economic interests of its new foreign policy which, after the failure in Southeast Asia, considers fascist-based colonial domination counterproductive.

The agreements between the U.S. and Portugal center around the use of the base of Lajes, in the Azores, which the Pentagon received from Portugal in 1971 in exchange for an interest-free loan of 400 million dollars.

Kissinger visited Lisbon on December 18, 1973, to renew this agreement because the Pentagon had realized the importance of this base during the October War in the Middle East. In the course of that conflict more than 1,500 giant aircrafts passed through Lajes, transporting daily for 10 days 800 tons of war material to Israel.

All of a sudden Portugal became the most important ally to NATO, and Caetano, Portuguese prime minister at that time, found himself in the position to make greater demands from the U.S. Therefore, it is probable that Kissinger understood that the U.S. would have to pay more in military and economic aid to the fascist government in Portugal.

This arrangement was by now becoming less and less compatible, both economically and politically, with certain aspects of the U.S. foreign policy.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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POLICE ASSAULT ON S.L.A.: A RECKLESS ATTACK ON BLACK COMMUNITY

DEFREEZE, 5 OTHERS MURDERED TO HIDE POLICE AGENT LINK

(Oakland, Calif.) - The vicious, murderous assault by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the FBI on the neighborhood and house containing Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) suspects in Los Angeles last Friday clearly demonstrated their frightened determination to utterly destroy the SLA's "Field Marshal Cinque," Donald David DeFreeze.

The LAPD and the FBI were committed to seeing that DeFreeze could never reveal his long time informant and agent-provocateur role for California Attorney General Evelle Younger's infamous "Black desk," the conspiratorial unit directed to undermining and destroying vanguard Black liberation movements in California and beyond.

Their utter and complete disregard for the lives of others unknown to them who could have been in the house, including the kidnapped victim Patricia Hearst; their total disregard for the lives and safety of the residents of the predominantly Black community; their demonstrated brutality against the unarmed unresisting Black woman hostage who fled the house; and, finally, their planned and brilliantly executed total destruction of the house and all the evidence it contained; all these things convince us of the truth of our earlier assertion of the true role of Donald D. DeFreeze.

Our sympathies go out to the families and loved ones of those who died in the assault. Their deaths in this horrible way were unnecessary. Responsibility rests solely with those dedicated to preventing People's Power from coming to America.

For nearly two hours the frightful drama unfolded on television screens throughout California. Black viewers were particularly horrified to see a Black mother and several children dash out of the house next to the blazing inferno that had been the SLA hideout. This was nearly one-half hour after the intensive shooting had begun.

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B.P.P. ON MIDDLE EAST

THE ISSUE IS NOT TERRITORY, BUT HUMAN RIGHTS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party is forwarding to major Jewish, Arab and international organizations a Position Paper on the Middle East conflict which represents its present assessment and proposals on a situation which represents a major danger to peace in the world today. (See Centerfold for full text.)

"HUMAN RIGHTS"

Under the title, *The Issue Is Not Territory, but Human Rights*, the Black Panther Party asserts that the real issue is one of principle, and declares:

"...Though we insist that the ultimate survival of Jews and Palestinians, as of all peoples, depends on the revolutionary overthrow of world imperialism

and capitalism, we call upon Jews and Arabs in the Middle East to recognize the national rights of their opponents; upon the Government of Israel to recognize the claims of the Palestinian people for independent national institutions as originally provided by the United Nations, and of the Arab states and the Palestinian liberation movement to recognize the existence of the State of Israel as the national sovereignty of the Jewish people."

Arguing that this is the moral basis from which a political solution to the immediate crisis in the Middle East can be found, the Black Panther Party calls "further upon the State of Israel, as part of a solution, to relinquish its plans of colonization of occupied



Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician, HUEY P. NEWTON.

territories, and to withdraw its forces from territories beyond its 1967 borders."

Maintaining that the real issues are internal to each territory, the Party asserts that the fact of the existence of the State of Israel will prove no real hardship to the Arab peoples, "if the Jews and their 400,000 Arab comrades living in Israel will throw off their mutual yoke of oppression, and build a people's government serving the human interests of all."

HOLY WAR

"In like fashion," the Black Panther Party Position Paper on the Middle East Conflict continues, "the peoples of the Arab nations need only turn their attention and energies away from the so-called Holy War over what is now called Israel, to their own oil-rich countries, and throw off the yoke of their oppressive regimes, claiming for themselves the wealth beneath their own national soils."

The Position Paper asserts: "Many American Jews today do not realize that non-Jewish citizens of Israel suffer forms of discrimination that would be regarded as indefensible and outrageous by them if they took place in the United States."

Noting that equality before the law is a basic right which the Jewish people have historically championed, "not only in their own behalf, but courageously and generously alongside Black and other minority peoples," the Position Paper continues, "It is a tragic irony of their desperation in the struggle for survival, that their own state should deny this basic right to non-Jewish minorities."

"Only so unprecedented and horrifying a catastrophe as the holocaust in which six million European Jews perished could explain this injury to the sense of social justice, on the part of a people so identified in their

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X

BORN:

MAY 19, 1925



"If you knew him you would know why we must honor him: Malcolm was our manhood, our living Black manhood.

This was his meaning to his people.

And, in honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves..."

--OSSIE DAVIS, in his eulogy of MALCOLM X

SON OF MAN TEMPLE CELEBRATION

MALCOLM X ... "OUR BLACK SHINING PRINCE"

(Oakland, Calif.) - A packed auditorium of enthusiastic Black people paid a fitting tribute to Malcolm X, the "Black shining prince" of Black liberation, at the Malcolm X Day Celebration last Sunday at the Son of Man Temple.

The special celebration featured speakers Bobby Seale, Elaine Brown and Professor Bill Moore. The Son of Man Temple Singers, the phenomenal Intercommunal Youth Band, Ed Kelley and the Oakland Sound Company and Brother Ralph McCall provided a swinging variety of musical entertainment for the exciting celebration.

The services began with the proud, stirring voice of Malcolm X erupting throughout the auditorium as a taped excerpt from one of his moving speeches was played.

CELEBRATION

Next, the Son of Man Temple Singers opened the celebration by declaring in song, "There Must Be A Reason Why," harmoniously blending their voices into a rousing musical message. The Temple Singers were followed by the Intercommunal Youth Band blowing away at "Sunny," a rhythmic tune during which the talented youngsters really show off their outstanding musical skills.

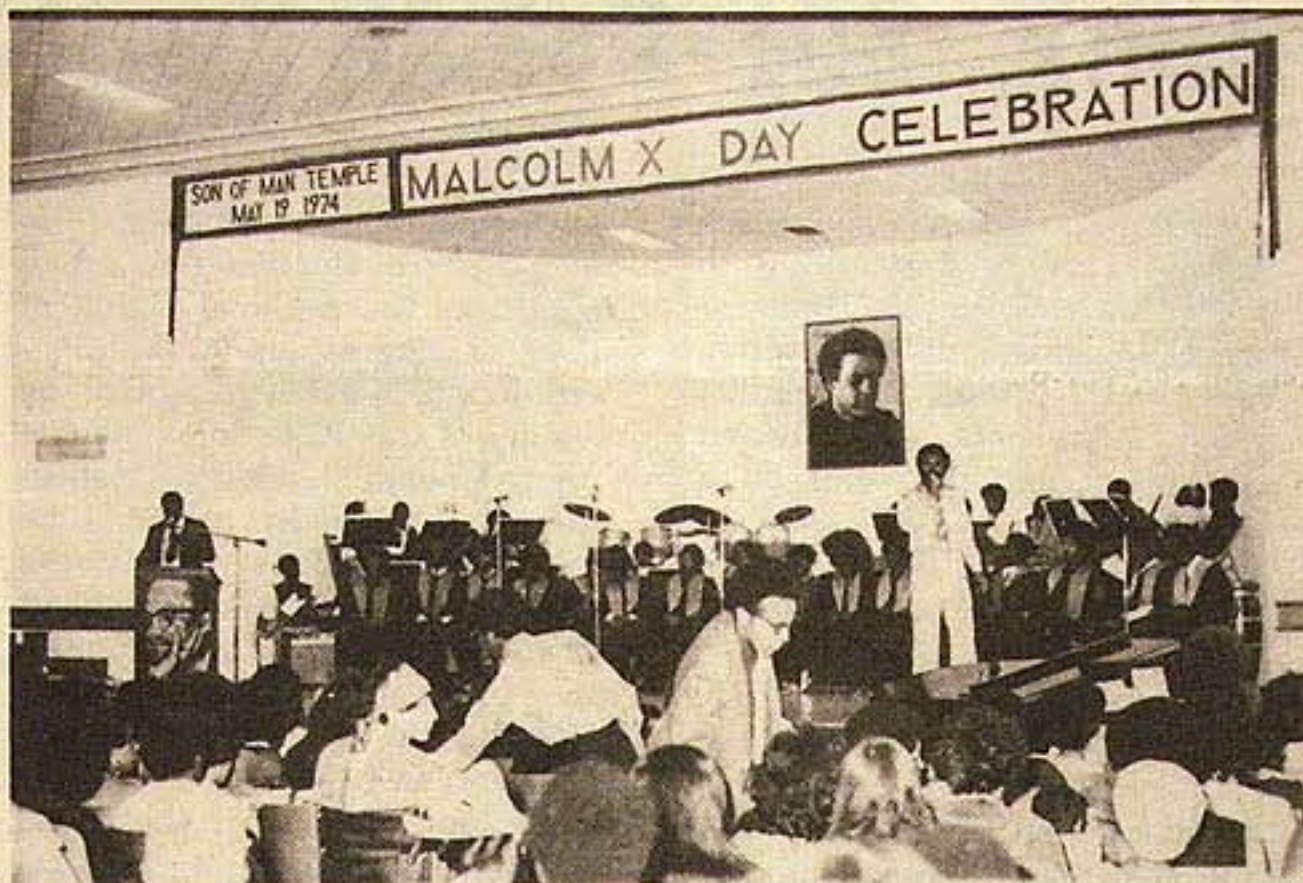
Ericka Huggins read a portion of Ossie Davis' moving eulogy of "our own Black shining prince, who didn't hesitate to die, because he loved us so."

Elaine Brown delivered a special introductory note about Malcolm, his strong leadership, revolutionary guidance and image of Black manhood.

"We have a lot of work to do," she said. "We're not going to let our Black manhood be cut down again. Because of Malcolm and the terrible example of his death, those of us—like myself—who were blind in the beginning can see again. We're going to see and we're going to win," Elaine declared solemnly.

The Intercommunal Youth Band then displayed its versatility by getting down with "N.Y. City Blues," a deep, inner-city blues song with a very heavy beat.

Elaine Brown treated the Temple congregation to a stirring and moving rendition of her own "We Shall Meet Again," accompanied by the ringing voices of the Son of Man Temple Singers.



Talented, Bay Area singer RALPH McCALL stirred the Son of Man Temple crowd at the Malcolm X Day Celebration with his intensely emotional renditions.

The guest speaker for the celebration, Professor Bill Moore, was introduced by his long-time friend, Bobby Seale, and was warmly welcomed. Brother Bobby explained that Brother Moore was an instructor in the "History of Consciousness" at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and an authority on the life of Malcolm X.

Brother Moore delivered a brilliant message about Brother Malcolm's great leap in consciousness following his trip to Africa and Mecca, during which time he advanced his political and cultural theory. He compared the Malcolm X prior to his visit to the even more advanced El Hajj Malik Shabazz, the name he assumed while in Mecca.

Brother Moore explained that Malcolm was a man ahead of his time, "and if he had only lived at a later period, we would have recognized his greatness...If we are to truly commemorate him, we must follow his example."

The Temple was honored with the tremendous voice of Brother Ralph McCall, a talented and extremely versatile singer who stirred the entire congregation with enthralling renditions of "You're The Best Thing That Ever Happened to Me," "Jesus Is Waiting" and "Georgia."

Ed Kelley and the Oakland Sound Company filled the packed auditorium with deep, imaginative jazz which created a very mellow mood. The group began with a selection called, "In Remembrance of Malcolm," in which Brother Ed Kelley displayed his musical prowess on piano.

Brother Bobby Seale delivered a closing message. He spoke of the necessity of understanding the basic human quality in all human beings, regardless of race or culture, just as Malcolm did.

The Intercommunal Youth Band again favored the celebration with a thrilling medley of tunes, climaxing with an exciting rendition of "Theme From Shaft," evoking tremendous applause from the audience.

The Son of Man Temple Singers closed out the celebration by reminding everyone that "We Are Soldiers," with a rollicking deliverance of the Son of Man Temple theme song, a fitting conclusion for a special tribute to "our Black shining prince," Malcolm X, whose example we must diligently follow. □



BOBBY SEALE (right) introducing BILL MOORE, University of California professor and authority on the life of Malcolm X.

BLACK HISTORY

MAY 24, 1854

David Burns, a famous "fugitive" slave, was arrested by U.S. deputy marshals in Boston on May 24, 1854. Over 2,000 U.S. troops had to escort him through angry crowds of protesters for return to his master.

MAY 22, 1863

The U.S. War Department, on May 22, 1863, established the Bureau of Colored Troops launching an aggressive campaign to recruit Black soldiers.

MAY 23, 1921

Shuffle Along, the first of a series of popular musicals featuring Black talent and signaling the coming of the famous "Harlem Renaissance," opened on May 23, 1921, at the 63rd Street Music Hall in New York.

MAY 25, 1943

White racists, angered by the upgrading of 12 Black workers, rioted at the Mobile, Alabama, shipyards on May 25, 1943. Federal troops were required to put down the disturbance.

MAY 20, 21, 22, 1961

In a series of related incidents, the first of which occurred on May 20, 1961, a mob of White racists attacked a group of Black and White "Freedom Riders" in Montgomery, Alabama. Later that same day, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy dispatched some 400 U.S. marshals to Montgomery to keep order. On May 21, the governor of Alabama declared martial law in Montgomery and called out the National Guard. On May 22, as the disorders continued, Kennedy ordered 200 more marshals to Montgomery.

MAY 22, 1969

Eight Black Panther Party members, including Ms. Ericka Huggins, were falsely arrested in New Haven, Connecticut, on May 22, 1969, and charged in a phoney police set-up for the murder of another Party member, Alex Rackley.



Brother FRED BELL, Dallas B.P.P. coordinator, faces possible return to prison.

FRED BELL THREATENED WITH RETURN TO PRISON

(Dallas, Texas) - A blatant effort is underway by the Dallas power structure to railroad back to prison Brother Fred Bell the head of the Black Panther Party Chapter here.

The most visible figure in the plot is Judge Robert R. Cole, a Dallas justice of the peace and a reputed member of the John Birch Society. With only four more months of federal parole left, Brother Bell has been made the victim of an attempt to have his parole revoked so he would have to return to prison.

On April 8, 1974, Brother Bell appeared in Judge Cole's court as a result of an eviction suit filed by the owner of the premises which the Dallas Chapter rented and used as Party headquarters. The powers-that-be in Dallas encouraged the landlord, Mrs. Burlene Durley, to seek possession of the eight room, two-story facility located at 3614 Hamilton St., in South-East Dallas.

Mrs. Durley has refused to accept rent money, stating she wanted possession of the property. Because the headquarters was already in the process of being moved to another location, the Party did not oppose the landlord.

In court, Mrs. Durley said she wanted her property because "they have a whole Black Panther operation there, and I don't like it." She claimed that Brother Bell was "indignant" in speaking to her about the rent.

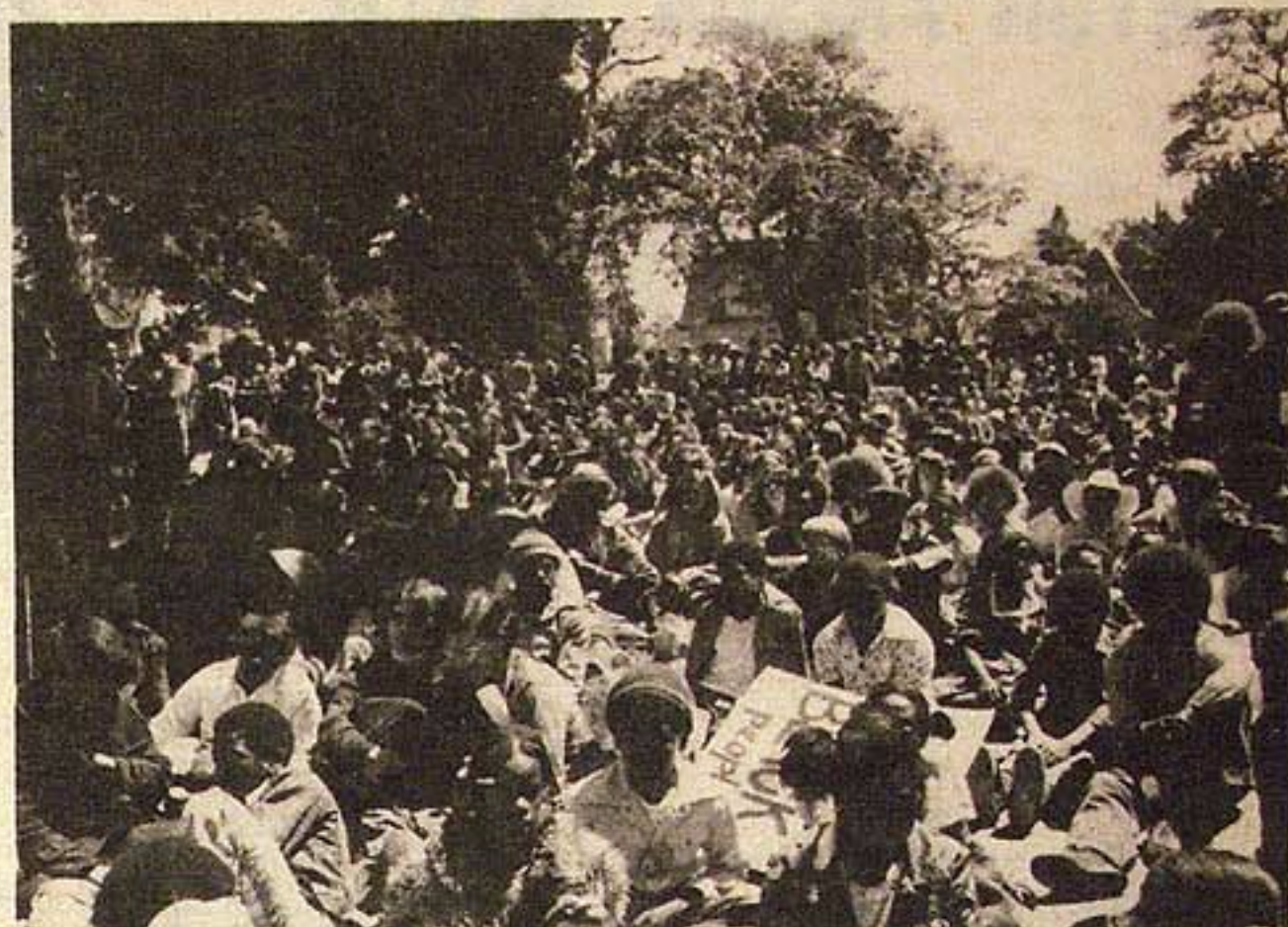
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PROSECUTION OF MURDERERS DEMANDED

3,000 RALLY FOR JUSTICE FOR TYRONE GUYTON

(Oakland, Calif.) - Close to 3,000 people, the vast majority of whom were West Oakland residents, turned out at Bobby Hutton Memorial Park on Saturday afternoon, May 18, to demand a re-opening of the murder case of 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton and also to demand the prosecution of his murderers.

Prior to the rally—whose featured speakers included Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, the mother of young Tyrone, Brother Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party, Obe T-Shaka of the Pan African People's Organization, Otis Hyde, a well-known trade unionist, Ms. Vera Silverman of the Coalition to Save Our Schools and Dan Siegel, the family's criminal attorney—a march was held, starting at 33rd and West Streets, the site of Tyrone's murder last November 1. Over 750 people, carrying colorful banners and



Three thousand concerned people turned out at Bobby Hutton Memorial Park for Tyrone Guyton rally.

chanting protest songs and slogans, participated in the march.

The Community March and Rally was sponsored by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone

Guyton, a community-based group which has been working for the past six months to secure the prosecution of the three Emeryville policemen who admittedly shot Tyrone in the back following an alleged stolen car chase.

Reflecting the broad support the Tyrone Guyton cause has received, the march and rally was endorsed by over 25 community organizations from throughout the Bay Area.

Although unable to attend as previously announced, the Pointer Sisters and Angela Davis sent messages of support.

The Pointer Sisters' telegram, addressed to Mrs. Shepherd, was read by co-master of ceremonies Bob Jones, the popular KDIA DJ who contributed his time and talents. It said, in part: "We want to express our regrets that we are not able to attend the rally for your son Tyrone...Our hearts are united with yours in the cause to see justice overcome oppression."

Ms. Fania Jordan, Angela's sister, delivered Angela's message of solidarity.

Another telegram of support which drew enthusiastic applause from the predominantly Black crowd came from Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther Party. Brother Huey's message read as follows: "Tyrone Guyton was not only your son but my son; a son of our people, our community. Your loss therefore is mine, and all of ours. More than that, our son was a human being. He had a right to live! We refuse to forget our son. We refuse to accept the decisions of racism, of fascism. Those who murdered Tyrone must be brought to
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MILWAUKEE POLICE CONTROL CAMPAIGN BEGINS

(Milwaukee, Wis.) - The Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party has announced the launching of a City-wide Campaign for Community Control of the Milwaukee Police Department.

"Community Control of Police means that the police will serve the community in which they live," said Ronald Starks, Milwaukee Chapter coordinator, at a recent press conference. Under the plan, Brother Starks explained, "Each district will have a District Board that would be elected in a popular election held in that district and one member from each district would sit on the city-wide Fire and Police Commission."

CITY-WIDE COALITION

Included in the Milwaukee Chapter's campaign for Community Control of Police is the formation of a city-wide coalition of groups and people interested in working for community control and a voter registration drive. Thirty thousand signatures on petitions are required to place the Community Control of Police plan on the ballot in the form of a referendum in the 1976 elections.

Community education classes are planned to familiarize the people with the history, structure and operation of the police department.

"Community Control of Police would have the interest of the community at heart and not monopoly capitalism. It would be the means to end the police brutality and violent police practices against Blacks and other oppressed people and put an end to antagonisms between the policemen and the people," Brother Starks said.

He cited the spring, 1972, Milwaukee police murder of 19-year-old Jacqueline Ford, which heightened the demand by numerous groups for community control, as a clear example of "the antagonisms and racist practices of police departments all across the United States."

"Community Control of Police would also mean a better system of promotion and give the individual policeman more say in his work. It would also allow for equal representation on the police force of different nationalities from different communities. It would mean, for example, that
CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

INDICTMENTS REFUSED IN TRENTON PRISON DEATH

(Trenton, New Jersey) - The Mercer County Grand Jury has refused to indict the guards responsible for the December, 1973, scalding death of prison inmate Daniel Hogan at New Jersey (Trenton) State Prison. The jurors absolved the two guards of "criminal neglect," charging them only with "failure to use good judgement" and noted their dismissal. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, January 19, 1974.)

Twenty-one-year old Daniel Hogan was to have been a key witness against guards in a suit brought by the family of 34-year-old inmate R. Merrill Speller. Prison officials maintain that Speller strangled himself with a pair of socks on March 17, 1972, at the Vroom Building, a detention center.

Speller and Hogan roomed together for a time at Vroom Building. Hogan was slated to testify in support of the Speller family's claim that Speller was murdered because he was inquiring into the death of a third prison inmate, Wilfred Hardman, who the authorities claimed died from a tumor.

Hogan died in "the hole" as a result of the failure of guards to heed his more than two hours of calls for help when water, overflowed from a stopped up drain, was heated to boiling temperature by a hot radiator, climbed more than a foot in depth in his sealed cell, and scalded him to death.

THE WHITE WASH

THE BLACK PANTHER has received a copy of the 88-page grand jury presentment resulting from the grand jury investigation. It was sent to our office by the Acting Prosecutor of Mercer County, Wilbur H. Mathesius, with the following cover letter:

"Editor, THE BLACK PANTHER, etc.

"Dear Sir: I have had forwarded to me a copy of your Saturday, Jan. 19, 1974, edition of 'The Black Panther.' On page two thereof there is an article 'Guards Boil Prisoner to Death.' In that article I am reported to have said, 'This is one case where the chips are going to fall where they may.'

The Mercer County Grand Jury has completed its examination of the death and its relationship, if any, to the other deaths referred to in the article. I have taken the liberty of forwarding to

you a copy of the 88-page Presentment which was the result of the grand jury hearing of forty witnesses, examining hundreds of documents and pieces of physical evidence and reviewing testimony of over two thousand pages.

"While I am aware of the sentiments generally expressed by your newspaper, I, nevertheless, request you to consider the contents of the Presentment and further represent to you that the conclusions, observations and recommendations of the Mercer County Grand Jury are fully supported by all the relevant evidence examined. This Presentment has been disseminated to the various responsible parties in New Jersey government for their examination and I am hopeful that the Presentment will bear fruit in leading to improvement in prison conditions for both inmates and guards. Very truly yours, (signed) Wilbur H. Mathesius, Acting Prosecutor of Mercer County."

The following summary of conclusions was made by the grand jury: "1) Daniel Hogan flooded his cell and died from



Wing of Trenton State Prison where Daniel Hogan was boiled to death.

burns suffered from contact with hot water generated by a steam radiator in his cell. 2) Wilford Hardman died of cancer. 3) Richard M. Speller garroted himself. 4) There was no causal connection or underlying relationship whatsoever between the deaths of Hardman, Speller and Hogan. 5) William R. Jaichner and Robert E. Maddux [guards on duty] failed to use good judgement in their decision not to remove Hogan from his cell during the early morning hours of December 28, 1973. 6) The rules and procedures for operation of the Trenton State Prison are not properly organized, disseminated or enforced."

Daniel Hogan was White! □

" PORTUGUESE COUP

PLEASES U.S."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

There is also the problem of American oil in Portuguese colonies which are being threatened by the people's wars in those countries. In a visit to Washington in November, 1973, Minister of the Exterior, Rui Patricio, assured the oil industries of the "security" offered by the exploitation of deposits in the "African provinces" of Portugal. This security did not prove to be long-lasting.

It is therefore highly probable that Washington approved the new political course of Portugal in hopes of manipulating it to meet the needs of the U.S. business interests. This is little more than a hope, because statements made by African liberation movements all agree that their struggle will continue until they attain total independence.

Spinoza and the U.S. must therefore understand that the African people in struggle against imperialism have learned the lesson of Amilcar Cabral: "The present and past experiences of many people show us that compromises with imperialism don't work, and that the way towards national liberation from imperialist repression is armed struggle." □

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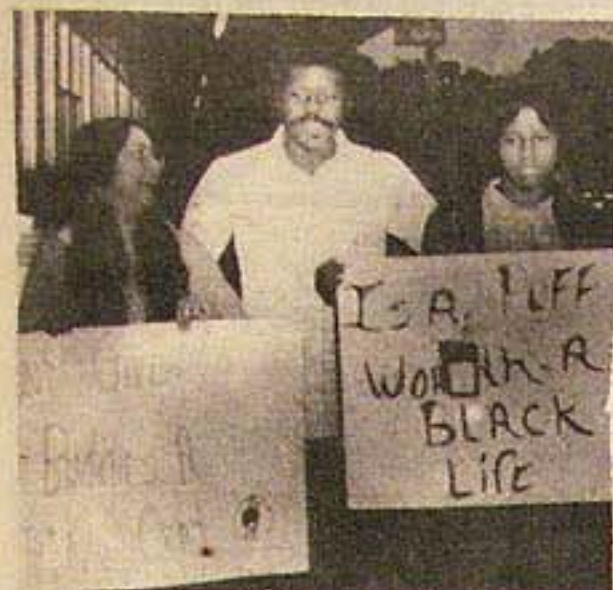
Young brothers and sisters in the Bay Area can earn money after school and on weekends by selling THE BLACK PANTHER. Any young brother or sister at least nine years of age living in the Oakland-San Francisco-Berkeley area who would like to sell THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper should call Sherman Brewster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

CALIFORNIA CLOSE TO 1984

(Washington, D.C.) - California is "closer to 1984 than the rest of the nation," according to a report on the growth of computer data banks issued early this year by the American Civil Liberties Union. The report said the privacy of Californians is threatened by the pervasive use of electronic data banks at almost every level of state government.

The director of the Civil Liberties Union Project on Privacy and Data Collection said that California "seems to have a passion for computerized records." He added that "The state bureaucrats want to know everything about everybody and in a large part they have succeeded."

California, the report said, will soon begin building in Sacramento the nation's first central record center. The Teale Consolidated Data Center will house computer records for 34 state agencies under one roof. And although Teale will be the largest, California has plans for four other centers. □



Dallas picketers protest murder of Black youth by White store owner.

RACIST STORE MANAGER KILLS BLACK YOUTH

(Dallas, Texas) - Last month Brother George Washington, Jr., a 17-year-old Black youth was senselessly shot to death here by a White racist businessman. Don Mayo, the manager of Buddies supermarket, drove his pick-up truck through the Black community, arbitrarily picked a victim and killed the youth on the spot.

On April 15, Mayo was told that two Black youths had been seen stealing a carton of cigarettes from his store. He grabbed his shotgun, got into his truck and cruised down Ledbetter Drive, on which his store is located. After driving a few blocks through the predominantly Black, Oak Cliff community, he approached two youths.

"I told you Black niggers I was going to get you for stealing out of my store," he reportedly said. He then pointed the lethal weapon at them. The two scared brothers followed his command to get into the back of his truck. However, this illegal kidnap procedure still did not satisfy the bigoted Mayo and he callously shot one of the unarmed youths as they sat in his truck.

Mayo then pursued and fired at two more community residents but missed in each case. He did succeed in beating one sister to the ground when she pleaded with him to stop shooting at her neighbors.

Mayo was not arrested nor have any charges been filed against him by the city, despite the testimony of several witnesses verifying the illegal nature of his actions on that day.

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WINSTON-SALEM B.P.P. CANDIDATE CHARGES ELECTION IRREGULARITIES

(Winston-Salem, N.C.) - Larry Little, local coordinator of the Black Panther Party Chapter here, has filed a formal appeal to the North Carolina Board of Elections protesting irregularities in the May 7 Democratic primary for Alderman in the city's North Ward.

Brother Little was edged out by incumbent alderman Richard Davis by only 80 votes. The Forsyth County Board of Elections denied Little's formal protest and request for a new election after a prejudiced hearing in which witnesses for Little were treated in a callous, degrading manner.

Little had filed a formal protest the day following the election. The incumbent, Davis, was credited with 646 votes and Little with 566 votes. Brother Larry contends that the difference was caused by the manipulation of illiterate voters and records by elections officials.

Little received an overwhelming vote of confidence from the Black community in polling all but 30 of his votes in the Black precincts, while incumbent alderman Davis received almost half of his votes from the conservative White precincts.

Brother Little and the local Chapter of the Black Panther



LARRY LITTLE, Black Panther Party member who ran for Alderman in Winston-Salem's Democratic primary.

Party led a vigorous grassroots campaign in gathering the support of the predominantly Black North Ward of Winston-Salem. The large voter turnout on May 7 has been credited to the door-to-door campaigning of Little's diligent campaign workers and the widespread information disseminated on his concrete campaign proposals for the city.

Little charges that a confessed Black police informer and Repub-

lican endorser, Wilbert Allen, the registrar in the Martin Luther King Recreation Center precinct, had illegally pulled voting levers for several people. He also charged that several persons listed as having voted had not actually voted, and that Mrs. Mazie Woodruff, a Forsyth County Democratic Vice Chairman, was allowed to loiter and politic for Davis beyond the lawful boundaries at two precinct voting stations.

These are only a few specific irregularities of numerous violations of the state election laws that occurred throughout the day, Little related to the Election Board hearing.

Little plans to push his appeal through the State Board of Elections, and has retained the expert legal services of noted Wilmington attorney Jerry Paul. Little is himself well qualified in presenting his own legal case as he did in the hearing before the local elections board. He plans to challenge the disqualification of many Black voters who had been registered dearly during his campaign by several voter registrars in the Black community.

If successful in getting a new primary election, Little is confident of victory in both the primary and the June election against the Republican nominee, who will stand little chance in the predominantly Democratic ward. Regardless of the election results, however, Larry Little and the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem have definitely made a viable and successful entry into electoral politics here. □

BLACK TRADE UNIONS COALITION PLANS POLITICAL ACTION

(Detroit, Mich.) - The recent third annual convention here of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists signals the beginning of a potentially powerful new force in national politics and the labor movement.

The Coalition, founded almost two years ago in angry protest of AFL-CIO President George Meany's neutrality in the 1972 election, represents the first national expression of Blacks as a separate force within the labor movement. Meany's neutrality was the final example, for those who joined the group, of what they considered organized labor's general insensitivity to the interests and feelings of its Black members.

Among the grievances of the Coalition is the fact that Blacks are not fairly represented in labor's higher echelons and are

still the last hired and the first fired." The unions prove to be as much of an enemy as the company in many cases.

The Coalition resolved to bring to bear the power of the nation's three million Black workers, both in national politics and in union affairs. Some 40 different unions are members of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, including the largest ones both inside and outside the AFL-CIO, steel and auto workers, Teamsters, meat cutters, government employees and many others.

The organization's major efforts are currently directed at the 1974 Congressional elections. According to William Lucy, 40, the coalition's newly elected president, progress will be measured by how effectively Black labor can exert its power within the system.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

WOODCUTTERS UNION FACES IMPORTANT LEGAL BATTLE

(Hattiesburg, Miss.) The Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association (GPA), which is a predominantly Black labor union of southern woodcutters, is engaged in an important legal battle with the giant U.S. paper corporations. Although federal courts have recognized the woodcutter's legitimate union rights, racist local Mississippi state courts have not.

The court arguments arise out of a charge by the world's two largest paper-making companies that the woodcutters have no right to organize a union and that such a union would be an illegal monopoly. According to this view, the woodcutters would be "price fixing" if they were allowed to demand decent wages.

Oppressed woodcutters throughout the south, from Florida to Texas, are not insured against on-the-job injuries, which are common in their profession. They do not receive workingmen's compensation either. Because they are sharecroppers for giant monopoly cartels, they are technically "self-employed" and not employee-type workers. This leaves them with the same union rights that farmworkers had before the advent of the United Farm Workers (UFW); that is, no union rights at all.

WE ARE WORKERS

The GPA justly asserts that it is not and can not be engaging in "monopolistic practices" because it is an association of workers, not companies. The U.S. District Court and the U.S. Court of Appeals have arrived at the same conclusion.

In September, 1973, U.S. District Court Judge Pittman ruled that the woodcutters were in fact "employees" of the paper com-

panies involved in the dispute. He denied a triple damage suit filed by Scott and International corporations against the GPA and its members.

The corporations were surprised by the court decision. They hadn't expected the hard-pressed union to be represented by competent attorneys. Neither had they expected any sudden sympathy from the federal government for the \$3,000-a-year workers and their families.

However, the giant corporations were not discouraged. A Mississippi state court order was granted to the companies through the same invalid technicality within less than five hours after Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association pickets resumed their places outside the paper mills. The woodcutters immediately challenged the picketing injunction.

The state court's interference with the September ruling effectively broke the strike by October. Without the picket line, the GPA's 2,500 members were unable to organize the approximately 147,500 nonunionized woodcutters.

In March, 1974, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit



Black woodcutters are seeking right to form a union.

held that Judge Pittman's decision in favor of the GPA was not an abuse of the District Court judges "discretion" as the paper corporations had claimed. The appeals court then returned the case to his jurisdiction.

In the fall of 1971, the GPA was launched with a strike against Masonite woodyards in Mississippi. The strikers, who were 65% to 70% Black, won in three months. Since then, they have developed as a significant influence among the paper industry's raw materials workers, particularly in Alabama and Mississippi.

If the federal courts continue to support the woodcutter's right-to-strike, they will surely win many victories. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

SAMMY IS SORRY

(St. Louis, Mo.) - Sammy Davis, Jr., said recently that he made a mistake in his all-out support of Nixon during the 1972 election. "I'm terribly disappointed—disappointed nothing more has been done for the disenfranchised people, the Third World people," Davis said. He added that the Nixon administration had promised something would be done for poor Whites and needy Blacks, but nothing was done.

MEANS, BANKS SHARE DEFENSE

(St. Paul, Minn.) - A federal judge said last week that American Indian Movement leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means could share in their own defense in the Wounded Knee trial as an alternative to firing their attorneys. Means and Banks agreed with the judge's proposal to take part in the cross-examination of witnesses, after they had insisted on firing their lawyers and representing themselves for the remainder of their trial.

ATTICA DEFENDANTS BEATEN

(Buffalo, N.Y.) - Six defendants in the upcoming Attica prison trials were beaten and several others maced while waiting to be taken to a pretrial hearing on April 29, here. The six prisoners were attacked when they refused to be taken through a dark tunnel from the jail to the court building with their hands chained behind their backs. On previous occasions prisoners had been injured by tripping over potholes because they could not balance themselves. Guards would also take the opportunity to jab and punch the prisoners.

INDIAN RIGHTS SUIT

(Maine) - Members of four Indian tribes in Maine have filed suit in federal court to re-establish their right to cross the Canadian border without being subject to import duties, immigration laws or statutes governing aliens. The U.S. government claims these rights were abolished by the War of 1812, but the Indians charge their rights predate any U.S. treaties.

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Southern woodcutters are fighting major legal battle with paper companies.

LLOYD GITE FIRED - "TOO MILITANT"

PINKSTON H.S. STUDENTS DEMAND TEACHER'S RETURN

(Dallas, Texas) - Students staged a mass walkout at predominantly Black Pinkston High School in Dallas recently in protest against the firing of a Black studies student-teacher.

Two days after student teacher Lloyd Gite was fired for allegedly being a "militant," 600 Pinkston students stayed out of school and 200 more students managed to walk out of the school before the principal illegally locked all the doors except one.

After the principal, Herbie Johnson, locked the doors, students began to crawl out of the windows and jump over barbed wire fences to escape, and show support for Brother Gite. Once outside, some students joined the picket line and others joined in the singing of freedom songs.

A suit has been filed charging the school with the suppression of Black ideas and learning materials. Brother Gite's students and their parents have demanded his reinstatement.

"TOO MUCH" HISTORY

The controversy arose when Brother Gite, a North Texas State University senior, was visited in his classroom by his supervising professor. The professor first claimed that the class stayed on slavery too long and then contended that Brother Gite was teaching one-sidedly, exclusively from a Black perspective.

Brother Gite's students started asking questions of their other history teachers, who are White, about Black history, which has been so terribly distorted in schools throughout America. The White teachers, angered by the students' efforts to understand their true history, complained to the principal about the "troublemaker," Lloyd Gite. The principal vowed to take immediate action.

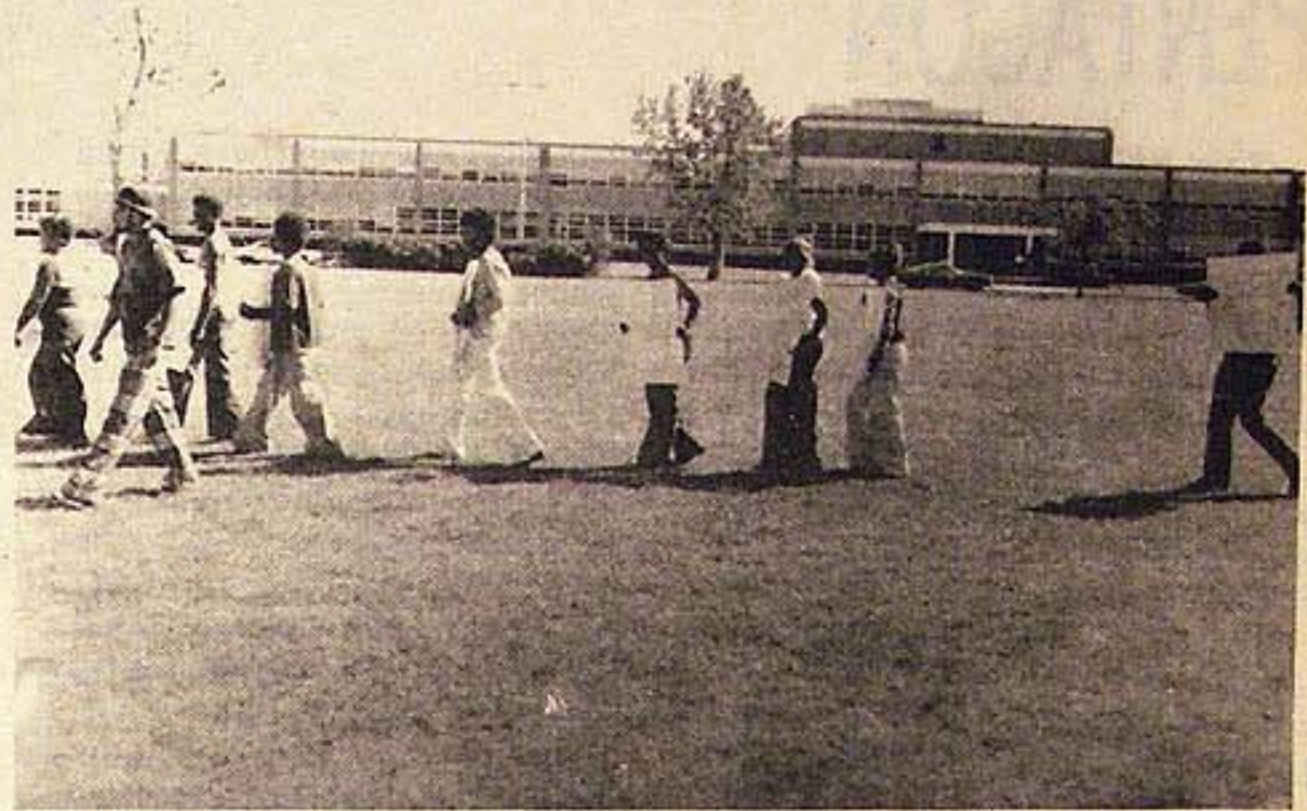
Before he could, however, the students presented a list of demands to the faculty and administration. The demands included that Black and Chicano studies be required courses, that a supervisory board be established to reduce the great number of Black student expulsions and that the school newspaper be made more relevant to the needs of the Black community, as well as the Blacks in the school.

Upon receiving the list of demands, the principal burst into Brother Gite's class and accused him of being responsible for the

demands and called him a "militant." The principal refused to listen to Brother Gite when Gite said he knew nothing of the demands. The principal said no explanation was needed and that Brother Gite would be "dealt with." A week later Brother Gite was fired by the principal and Dallas' Superintendent of Schools, Nolan Estes.

When the students walked out in protest and the principal locked the doors, a city fire ordinance carrying heavy penalties was violated. The school superintendent said, however, that he would prefer to pay the \$200 fine than unlock the doors because Pinkston's Black students are "troublemakers."

Although 1,450 of Pinkston's 1,700 students are Black, most of the teachers are White. The incident at Pinkston is but one of several that have occurred



Students picketing L.G. Pinkston High School in Dallas, Texas, in protest against the firing of Black studies student-teacher Lloyd Gite. Over 600 students didn't attend classes in protest.

handful of Black teachers are mostly in the vocational fields. The school also has 200 Chicano and 50 White students.

in Dallas schools recently. Three weeks ago flare-ups caused by racism occurred at two other Dallas high schools. □



ROBERT McAFEE BROWN



BOBBY SEALE

THE WHITE CHURCH AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

(Berkeley, Calif.) - "The Role of the White Church in the Black Community" was the subject of a dialogue between noted Protestant theologian ROBERT McAFEE BROWN and Black Panther Party co-founder BOBBY SEALE at St. John's Presbyterian Center here May 11. More than 100 people attended the event, a benefit for the Intercommunal Youth Institute, Oakland's model school for Black and poor youth.

S.F. COUNTY JAIL A "CAMPUS"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A group of Stanford law students spend their weekends as inmates at San Francisco County Jail.

"It's to see what life is like on the inside," said Dr. David Rosenhan, Stanford professor of psychology and law. "We'll be learning a lot more, and a lot faster, than by reading about jails in books."

Dr. Rosenhan had arranged with Sheriff Richard Hongisto and the sheriff's attorney, Carol Ruth Silver, to utilize the jail as a "campus." □

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SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE CHIEF VISITS PENTAGON

(New York, N.Y.) - Admiral H. H. Bierman, Chief of the General Staff of the South African Defense Force, arrived in the United States on May 5 on what has been described as a "private" visit. However private the visit, one of the Admiral's first ports of call was the Pentagon, where he spent some time with Acting U.S. Secretary of the Navy Mittendorf.

Admiral Bierman is one of the chief architects of racist South Africa's current military strategy. He has constantly emphasized the significant role that South Africa plays in the economic life of the Western world and has stressed its potential military role.

As he points out, South Africa occupies a strategic location astride approaches to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, with one of the best equipped naval bases in the Southern Hemisphere. Six hundred million tons of oil destined for Europe and the U.S. go past the Cape of Good Hope each year—and the recent enlargement of a U.S. base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, despite international protest, indicates rapidly increasing U.S. interest in the whole region.

Given that background it is difficult to believe that Mittendorf and Bierman did not discuss the Indian Ocean, the dramatic military success of the liberation movements throughout southern Africa in the last few months and the coup in Portugal—which is a direct result of defeats inflicted on the Portuguese by the people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

South Africa is urgently in need of allies. As the most powerful and wealthy state in southern Africa it forms the core of what has been termed the "unholy alliance" of racist, White minority apartheid and colonial states in southern Africa. The South African government has already sent several thousand men to help Ian Smith's embattled Rhodesian regime; there are South African troops in Mozambique. South African equipment and knowhow are being widely used and there are regular monthly strategy meetings between the upper echelon military commanders of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies.

South Africa has a small White population—some 4 million who seek to control 18 million Black people. Thus, as the conflict

grows throughout southern Africa she is going to find it increasingly difficult to find enough men to fight on all fronts.

Her military expenditure has already grown dramatically. It is ten times greater than it was in 1961, and has jumped from some \$500 million in 1972-73 to almost \$700 million in 1973-74.

South Africa must acquire the latest and most sophisticated equipment in order to make up for the shortage of men.

UNCERTAINTIES

The events of the last two weeks in which a military coup in Portugal brought to power General de Spínola on the platform of "ending the wars and seeking a political solution" in the colonies must create new uncertainties for South Africa.

The U.S. is still an official adherent of the United Nations arms embargo on South Africa, a measure imposed by the international body in an attempt to hasten the end of racial oppression, apartheid and exploitation. There have been several signs lately, however, that at least there is a growing desire to establish friendly military rela-

tionships with South Africa.

Now, for the first time in at least ten years, there is a visit being paid to the U.S. at the highest level by the head of the South African Defense Forces. Close on his heels was the South African Foreign Minister, who entered the country within weeks of Admiral Bierman's visit.

Inch by inch the ground is being prepared for full military cooperation between the Pentagon and the "unholy alliance" led by South Africa. Whether this is done through NATO or in other ways is unimportant. What is important is that it is being done, in conflict with stated American policy, contrary to the United Nations commitments and in sharp violation of the consensus of American public opinion, which no longer believes that it is right and proper for the U.S. to enter into alliances which must inevitably drag it into military support of such reactionary, racist regimes. □

(Thanks to the American Committee on Africa for the information contained in the above article.)



RONALD STARKS at press conference on community control of police.

MILWAUKEE POLICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

the minimum height qualification that discriminates against Mexican-Americans would be abolished.

Commenting further on the District boards, Brother Starks said seven-member boards will be elected in each of the city's seven police districts. These district citizen boards will have control over hiring and firing, promotions, citizen complaints, grievances and internal investigations of the police department.

The Milwaukee Chapter plan represents the first viable attempt at restructuring of the present Milwaukee police department system and is designed to institutionalize actual control by the community. Police officers will have to compete more for jobs and will be assigned to the areas in which they live and better understand the conditions of the people.

There will be no lifetime police chief in the new plan. The police chief will be selected by the board members from every district and will serve a clearly defined term as director of the police department. With the board members receiving full-time wages, they will be more accountable to the communities they represent. □

KENT STATE REMEMBERED

(Kent, Ohio) - Ten thousand people participated in a three hour commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the Kent State massacre here this month. The multitude rallied to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the fascism that murdered four students on May 4, 1970, and that still exists today. □



750 marchers demanding justice in Tyrone Guyton case.

3,000 RALLY FOR TYRONE GUYTON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

justice—a kindness they refused Tyrone. If we do not continue to struggle for justice, Tyrone will have died in vain and more sons, more Tyrones, will die. If we fight, Tyrone will live among us forever, as his spirit is alive in us today."

ENTHUSIASM

However much the crowd was disappointed by the absence of the Pointer Sisters, they responded with equal enthusiasm at the performance of the Intercommunal Youth Band, an ama-

zing group of youngsters aged from six to fourteen, directed by noted jazz drummer Charles Moffett. The Intercommunal Youth Band played a total of seven numbers, each of which the crowd gave a long and loud ovation.

Noteworthy among the speeches was Brother Obe T-Shaka's pledge to bring the case of Tyrone Guyton before the Sixth Pan-African Congress, meeting in Tanzania in East Africa in early July.

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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*, Brother Huey P. Newton, chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party and Professor Erik H. Erikson, psychoanalyst and Harvard professor, discussed the American "self-made" identity with Kai T. Erikson and J. Herman Blake. In this week's portion, the American identity and the emerging counter-identity of the new man, an "intercommunal" man, are examined.

E. ERIKSON: Once the American experience was underway, it created quantitative extremes which meant that gradu-

ally the quality was lost. That quantitative overreach can be physical expansion to the size of an empire, or it can be the overproduction of goods, or it can be a readiness for overkill, or it can be a personal sense of unlimited possibilities. One can make a long list.

A new model is needed, and that means a new and wider and more inclusive identity. Your idea of community or communalism, then—again by the logic of dialectics—should include all of those who have been excluded from that overreaching vision and who therefore have preserved certain qualities which success alone has not been able to preserve.

That is what I meant the other day when I said that you are really talking about the great unbroken quality of Black life—by which I do not mean "stick to your music."

BLAKE: The point I have been trying to make is that the changes we are talking about require a new character definition, new definitions of self—but that is only going to come about as a result of hard, hard struggle. And those youth who are seeking a new identity must divest themselves of the old identity based on quantity and more quantity. I just don't see that as a very likely prospect.

E. ERIKSON: I know. But to me, identity has to do with terrific power struggles as well as with terrific delusions. It is a matter of life and death, and not just a conscious choice of what kind of nice identity one would like to have. To me, identity means what the best in you lives by, the loss of which would make you less human.

Let me just add one thing. All the way from Germany to Japan, the youth of the world—the more thoughtful and militant young people, at any rate—have felt in the center of what you call the inner contradictions in the whole expansion. The youth of many countries suddenly saw that this expansion did not give them a basis for identity, and in that sense the identity based on technological expansion had already within it the seed of what you always call the "opposite." Exactly those parents who became the most successful and

most technocratically dominant people suddenly began to look like robots to their children. And this happened in family after family.

Now the whole theory of identity itself may be too closely related to a past era, an era of wanting to be somebody or to be *somebody*. But when you teach at Harvard today and you see the children of all those successful people, it is striking how little it means to them—or so they pretend—what their parents are. Now this is not just a fad, a passing mood: the fact is, I think, that they do not get from their parents' way of life the necessary identity strengths.

So something is happening across the nation—the world, for that matter—and maybe the Panthers have been in a key spot here in developing a strong and clear fraternal image.

K. ERIKSON: I sense a pause. Could I steer you back to the question of how and where one's ideas originate?

E. ERIKSON: Oh, that. Well, I gave a paper the other day for a meeting of scientists in Europe, each of whom were being asked why *they*, of all people, were the first to think of a particular word or concept or theory which afterward seemed so self-evident to everybody. And I was asked: Why were you the first to write about "identity crisis" in a systematic way?

Now when I first used the notion, I had no idea what impact

it would have, and I tried to describe in that paper—I'll send you a copy—how within a few years it had spread to other countries. Now I related a number of details about my background in that paper, and I probably shouldn't repeat them here, but I might mention a couple of things. I never knew my own father, for one thing, and I belonged to a mixed racial and religious background.

But most of all, I came to this country at the time when it entered into something of an identity crisis, just because it had tried to make out of the descendants of so many different pseudospecies one new one. So the American identity was in some ways a manufactured one, a self-invented one, and...

NEWTON: And I would say that it is a necessarily oppressive one.

E. ERIKSON: Well, all right, but so is every other identity that comes from the same source. Let me try to say it in one sentence, and then I will be through. As long as the core of any collective identity is a pseudospecies idea, it is going to be oppressive. As long as the Britishers felt chosen by God to colonize all those African and Asian countries, they were bound to be oppressive—although they did create a new conscience at the same time. America, too, for a long time could ignore the fact that it was bound to be oppressive in order to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

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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BLACK PANTHER PARTY POSITION PAPER ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

THE ISSUE IS NOT TERRITORY

Most of us have been led to believe that the so-called Middle-East conflict is a Holy War that rocks long-established foundations and rouses emotions that date back thousands of years. In a country like the United States, with its foundations firmly entrenched in the Judaeo-Christian ethic, we have become emotionally involved in the outcome of this conflict.

Because the so-called Arab-Israeli conflict may begin the world war to really end all wars, the Black Panther Party believes it is our duty to provide an analysis of the situation, to promote human understanding, and to advance the revolutionary struggle.

We can no longer accept an unprincipled posture, in the interest of misguided subjective notions. We can no longer allow our posture to be characterized as simply "pro-Arab," for we support the right of all human beings to freedom and human dignity.

We believe that Arabs and Jews throughout the Middle East, the masses of Semitic people must themselves resolve the conflict, and stop the senseless warfare, waged in their names but not in their interests. We believe that the real issues are internal to each territory: the fact of the existence of the State of Israel will prove no real hardship to the Arab peoples, if the Jews and their 400,000 Arab comrades living in Israel will throw off their mutual yoke of oppression, and build a people's government serving the human interests of all. In like fashion, the peoples of the Arab nations need only turn their attention and energies away from the so-called Holy War over what is now called Israel to their own oil-rich countries, and throw off the yoke of their oppressive regimes, claiming for themselves, the wealth beneath their own national soils.

NATIONHOOD: STRUGGLE & ILLUSION

The question of nationhood is a complex one. The struggle for self-determination can be a stage in a people's struggle for liberation, but it can also distort that struggle and divert it into destructive paths. The line between national self-defense and national chauvinism is a thin one. National sovereignty tends towards national superiority. As Americans have their own history to tell them, nothing is more tragic than the arrogance of a "chosen people" which sets out to achieve its own liberation and ends up as an oppressor of others. We believe that the very existence of nations is reactionary in this stage of human development, and a major cause of modern wars. Moreover, in the present day world, in which the United States through its unparalleled military and economic power controls the instruments of national destiny in all nations, the very idea of national sovereignty can be a dangerous illusion.

Where is the substance of national sovereignty when the very existence of Israel depends on the will of the American Congress and the American President, and when the Arab countries cannot achieve their military purpose, the defeat of Israel, without the

military support and political acquiescence of America and Russia?

And what of the Palestinians? How can they achieve self-determination against the wishes of the Israelis, Arabs, Russians and Americans? If they do achieve "self-determination," it will only be through the acquiescence of these other powers, in short, because such a solution accords with the needs and interests of more powerful states.

Finally, what does sovereignty mean for the Arab peoples, if the vast wealth beneath their soils is shipped overseas to fuel the industrial well-being of distant nations, while their own economies remain agriculturally primitive and poor; if the money which is paid for the oil is invested by their ruling classes in the industry of foreign lands, in luxurious living and military power to strengthen their own repressive and dictatorial states? What is sovereignty worth if the governments and ruling classes of the Arab states are rich and the people are starving?

These are the principal facts of national sovereignty in the Middle East. For the vast majority of the people, in Saudi Arabia, in Libya, in Iran, in Kuwait and the Gulf oil sheikdoms, the struggle for self-determination is first of all a revolutionary struggle against their own oppressive states and ruling classes, partners in plunder with the oil imperialists of the West.

Nonetheless there are struggles for self-determination in the Middle East today that do involve statehood as a transitional stage of development. And we must recognize that justice demands support for the creation of a Palestinian state, however limited the real sovereignty of that state will be, just as justice requires the recognition of the existing state of Israel whatever the criticisms of Israel's policies we may have. The Jews who partly as a result of the terrible genocidal crimes of the European nations, and partly (but to a far lesser extent) through the machinations of European imperialism came to settle in the land called Palestine, have a right to the protective powers of a state, if any people do. The Palestinians who have suffered as a stateless minority both in Israel and in the



The Jewish people, victims of the Nazi horrors, must be free from human exploitation, as must the Arabs and all humanity.

Arab countries of Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon for more than a quarter century have also a clear and present need for sovereign status.

It has been said that the Tragedy of the Middle East is one of right versus right, a conflict between two peoples both claiming the right of self-determination in the same territory, which each regards as its historic homeland. For each of these peoples, the claim is absolute, a demand for survival. The issue of territory is secondary. There is enough land in the original mandate and in the territories occupied by Israel's armies for the states of both peoples.

The real issue is one of principle. And though we insist that the ultimate survival of Jews and Palestinians, as of all peoples depends on the revolutionary overthrow of world imperialism and capitalism, we call upon Jews and Arabs in the Middle East to recognize the national rights of their opponents: upon the Government of Israel to recognize the claims of the Palestinian people for independent national institutions, as originally provided by the UN, and of the Arab states and the Palestinian liberation movement to recognize the existence of the State of Israel, as the national sovereignty of the Jewish people. This is the moral basis from which a political solution to the immediate crisis in the Middle East can be found.

We call further upon the State of Israel, as part of a solution, to relinquish its plan of colonization of occupied territories, and to withdraw its forces from territories beyond its 1967 borders. The argument that territory means security has been shown to be empty by the October 1973 War: the only security for Israel lies in friendly relations with its neighbors, and the immediate and indispensable path to those relations is the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians, the withdrawal of Israeli military forces and the granting to Israel's own Arab minority, equal rights before the law. This last requires a change in the Zionist conception of the Israeli state.

Equality before the law is a basic right which the Jewish people have historically championed, not only in their own behalf, but courageously and generously alongside Black



Palestinian guerrillas have fought for territory continuously along with many of the peoples of the Middle East, including Israel, since they gained independence.

, BUT HUMAN RIGHTS

and other minority peoples. It is a tragic irony of their desperation in the struggle for survival, that their own state should deny this basic right to non-Jewish minorities. Only so unprecedented and horrifying a catastrophe as the Holocaust in which six million European Jews perished, could explain this injury to the sense of social justice, on the part of a people so identified in their history with the struggle for human rights. And it is true that it was only in 1942, as the facts of the Nazi nightmare were becoming known, that the Zionist movement officially adopted as its policy the idea of a specifically Jewish state, rather than a binational or multinational state which would guarantee the full rights of the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish inhabitants of Mandate Palestine.

Many American Jews today do not realize that non-Jewish citizens of Israel suffer forms of discrimination that would be regarded as indefensible and outrageous by them if they took place in the United States. A non-Jewish citizen of Israel is not permitted to lease or work on state lands or lands owned "in the name of the Jewish people." He is not able to reside in specially designated all-Jewish cities such as Karmiel, built on lands confiscated from Israeli Arabs. According to figures supplied by the Israeli League for Civil and Human Justice, there are tens of thousands of stateless Israeli Arabs unable to satisfy the requirements of the Israeli Nationality Law, a number which is increasing since statelessness was inherited. Arabs do not acquire Israeli citizenship by virtue of the fact that they are born in Israel, in villages where their families may have lived for generations.

INTOLERABLE SITUATION

This is a situation which is intolerable, however understandable its origins. In its present expanded condition, Israel rules over more than a million Arabs without rights. There are powerful forces within Israel that want to absorb these territories permanently, an act of aggressive colonialism that would alter the very fabric of Israeli society, creating a truly vast internal population of dispossessed Arabs, without basic citizenship rights. Indeed in the last seven years, this process has already been taking place and the Arabs have come to furnish Israel with a cheap labor force, on which its well being daily more depends.

This system of oppression and injustice serves neither the short-term security of Israel, nor the long-term survival of the Jewish people in the Middle East. We call on the progressive elements of the American Jewish community, which have to this point provided uncritical support to the Israeli government in power, to apply the same principles of equity and justice to Israel that they apply to other states and people. It is not by a narrow and exclusivist nationalism that Jews or Blacks or any minority people will survive, but by strengthening those human rights and principles that will assure the survival of all.

To the Arab peoples, struggling for liberation and to their supporters in the international left, both Jewish and non-Jewish,

we address the following points. The real struggle for the future in the Middle East lies not between Israel and the Arab states, but within the territorial divisions that exist.

Israel has been portrayed by the Arab governments as the main bastion of Western imperialism in the Middle East, and the principal obstacle to the well-being of the Arab peoples. But the main bastions of Western and US imperialism in the Middle East are the governments of Iran and Saudi Arabia, wholesalers of the fabulous oil riches that their peoples never see, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, a country which was created by British imperialism in precisely the manner that many leftists mistakenly believe gave birth to Israel. It was King Hussein's Bedouin troops who delivered a crushing blow to the Palestinian guerrillas in the Fall of 1970, killing thousands of their bravest freedom fighters.

It was the Arab sheiks who attacked the newly established State of Israel in 1948, provoking the war which ended with Israel and the Arabs dividing up the land mandated to the Palestinians under the UN partition. And it is the Arab governments who have left their Palestinian brethren to languish in refugee camps ever since, while usurping their national cause for reactionary ends.

The rulers of the Arab states are not interested in the self-determination of the Palestinians or in peace in the Middle East. For as long as the Holy War of nationalisms rages on, their positions of privilege and power remain firm, and the threat of internal revolution is blunted. It was the war with Israel that made a relatively progressive Arab leader, Nasser, embrace the reactionary King



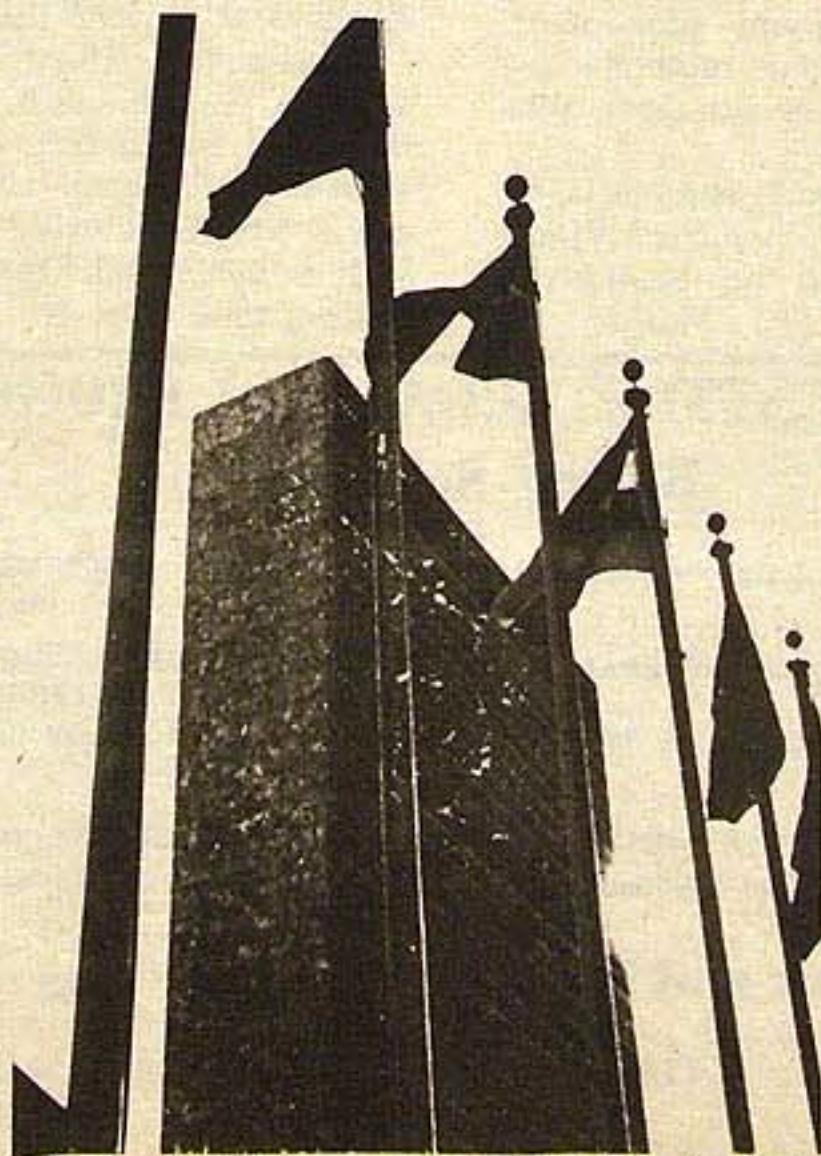
DR. GEORGE HABASH, leader of the militant Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine guerrilla organization.

Hussein, in 1967. And it is the conflict with Israel that takes the minds of the impoverished Arab masses off the rape of their own countries by their own leaders, and the delivering of their national wealth and resources to the West and the privileged few.

There are 100 million Arabs in the Middle East and only three million Jews. The pitiful weakness of the Arabs is the direct result of the unbelievable poverty and oppression which they suffer under governments created and corrupted by the imperialist powers and the oil companies who siphon off their wealth. The oppression of Arabs in the Arab states is far worse than it is in Israel. There is still slavery in some Arab countries, there is oppression of women worse than in any other region of the world and there are primitive and barbarous punishments of poor people, which reflect a low esteem for human dignity and rights. In "progressive" Libya, Colonel Khadafi maintains a racist oppression of Blacks, and has reinstituted such archaic and brutal customs as the chopping off of the hands of convicted thieves.

The war against Israel is diversionary. The struggle for human dignity and liberation of the Arab peoples must take place within the Arab countries. There are hundreds of billions of dollars being accumulated in Arab treasuries, capital which could be used to develop the countries of the Middle East and the rest of Africa, if it were in the hands of the people, and not their exploiters.

The whole of the question, however, does not rest upon territorial control, but, upon the need of everyone to be free from human exploitation. □



The U.N. has increasingly voted for unity and equality. The United States has increasingly disagreed with the U.N. majority opinion condemning Israel's expansionism.

ATTACK ON BLACK COMMUNITY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

It demonstrated the careless disregard for the lives of Black people with which the Los Angeles Police Department had set up its assault. Every person watching, wondered why the police had failed to evacuate that house prior to the beginning of the assault. Black people knew the answer. The police did not care because the occupants were Black.

Brutal treatment was accorded the handcuffed Ms. Christine Johnson, including a vicious kick administered to her by a racist policeman when she fell after having fled the SLA house in terror, screaming "They held me! They held me! They held me!" Television announcers reported that she was thrown into the back of a car, still handcuffed and wounded.

Police must have known she was in the house, and that she was not associated with the SLA, but rather the woman who had rented her cottage to strangers for \$100 for the night. It was her mother, who visited her daughter's cottage the morning of the assault, that apparently tipped the police to the location of the SLA members.

Despite this, no effort was made to secure her release from the SLA members. Rather, the intensive barrage of automatic rifle fire layed down, followed by tear gas and fragmentation grenades, showed no consideration for the presence of an innocent hostage being held by the SLA.

Further, police reports after the fact claim that there was a virtual barrage of steady fire, including automatic fire, coming from the SLA house. But, the live telecast announcers reporting as the assault took place, repeatedly questioned whether there was, in fact, gun fire coming from the house.

And finally, are we expected to believe that the inferno that swept the two-story house was caused accidentally by tear gas canisters? We do not! We believe rather that the alleged fragmentation grenades lobbed into the house were, in fact, incendiary bombs, deliberately meant to set ablaze the house and everything in it.

What is the explanation for police preventing the firemen from beginning their work immediately upon their arrival? Police claimed there was still gun fire coming from that blazing



While policeman aims weapon at suspected S.L.A. hideout in Los Angeles, a mother flees from a nearby house with her children.

inferno. Other reports, however, more realistically said it was exploding ammunition in the burning house.

The events in Los Angeles that occupied the attention of the nation last Friday should be a

lesson for all those who have considered placing themselves at the service of the enemies of Black and other oppressed people's liberation. When your usefulness is at an end, those who used you will destroy you. □

NEW YORK J.H.S. STUDENTS PROTEST CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

(New York, N.Y.) - Students and teachers at predominantly Black Jordan L. Mott Junior High School 22 have charged two of the Bronx school's deans with using a thick wooden paddle, leather straps and their fists to enforce discipline.

The two football-player-size deans, John Mathis and Oscar Smith, were specifically chosen to handle "discipline problems." Their disciplinary methods are sanctioned by the principal, William E. Green.

A seventh-grade student interviewed by *The New York Times* said that he had once been given "five licks" by Mathis for

forgetting to bring a book to class. "If you move or jerk while he's hitting you, you get five more."

The "licks" were often given with a paddle known as "the smoker." "After you get hit with it," one student explained, "your behind smokes." The paddle is more than two and one half feet long, four inches wide and three quarters of an inch thick.

"I almost dropped dead," a science teacher said, as she described her horror when she walked into the dean's office and saw a boy, bent over, being hit with a belt, while others were waiting their turn. □

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BLACK TRADE UNION COALITION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Lucy, who is secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said: "We are not a separatist organization. We are not negativists. We are still trade unionists. We're not interested in civil rights. Other people are taking care of that. We're not interested in changing people's attitudes. This has nothing to do with right and wrong, with sin and evil. Power is what creates equals and demands respect."

One of the ways by which the Coalition hopes to exercise power is to help elect next fall a "veto-proof" Congress which might reverse the anti-Black, antipoor policies that the Coalition attributes to the Nixon administration. The convention set up a political action workshop and its members were considered as a cadre for political activities in local communities.

The entire convention adopted a resolution authorizing the Coalition's officers to negotiate with individual unions that have little or no Black representation in their leadership. If no agreement can be reached in such cases, the Coalition was authorized to "expose" these unions. □

BLACK YOUTH KILLED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

The Oak Cliff Black community was shocked by this threat to the lives and safety of its young people. Demands have mounted for legal actions to be taken and an effective boycott of Buddies supermarket is underway.

Mrs. Bessie Kelly, the dead youth's mother, spoke for the entire Black community when she said, "I feel it was murder... I feel that when somebody gets murdered, the district attorney is supposed to prosecute the person that did the murdering... I feel it is an injustice."

Mrs. Kelly is working to see that no other Dallas mother will experience the pain and grief that she has borne. Like Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, the Oakland, Calif., mother of Tyrone Guyton, who was murdered by racist policemen in Oakland last year, Mrs. Kelly is working to bring community control to the law enforcement justice system in Dallas. □

Intercommunal News

M.P.L.A. TO CONTINUE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL

(Lusaka, Zambia) - Despite the recent coup d'etat in Portugal, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has declared in a communique received by THE BLACK PANTHER that it "will continue the armed struggle (against Portugal) until complete independence."

The communique went on to say: "Our units will continue the struggle in the controlled and disputed areas, and our committees in the towns and rural areas will maintain their clandestinity and redouble their activity."

"The Executive Committee of the MPLA and all the militants urge the Portuguese Movement of the Armed Forces and its Junta of National Salvation to declare our people's right to self-determination and independence and to start talks with a view to its immediate realization."

MPLA leaders, the communique explained, were not surprised at the rapidity of the coup nor the Portuguese people's enthusiastic support of it.

"Although the change of power is an internal affair of the Portuguese people, and the position of the 'Junta' ... on the colonial wars, so far as is known up to now, is contrary to the most just aspirations of the Angolan people, who will accept only immediate and complete independence, MPLA sees this change as a political factor which could lead to a more just position," the communique said.

The communique described as



MPLA is now using modern weapons in attacking Portuguese targets in Angola.

"encouraging attitudes" the disbanding of the DGS, "the accursed political police guilty of so many crimes perpetrated against both the Portuguese people and the Angolan and other peoples in the Portuguese colonies, the arrest of many of its agents, the release of political prisoners..."

Commenting on Portuguese junta head General Antonio de Spínola's proposed federation with Angola, MPLA President Dr. Agostinho Neto, said in an accompanying statement: "It is too early to judge how far-reaching the recent events will be, but the MPLA emphasizes here and now that it does not agree to a federation as proposed by General de Spínola, that is a federation in which Portugal would have the last word." □

INDIA EXPLODES NUCLEAR BOMB

(New Delhi, India) - Last Saturday, India became the world's sixth nation to explode the atomic bomb.

In making the surprise announcement, government officials said that India's Atomic Energy Commission had carried out "a peaceful nuclear explosion experiment." The underground blast took place at a depth of about 330 feet, the statement, said.

India's explosion of the bomb, amidst recent widespread labor strikes, a nationwide railway strike and mass poverty and hunger, astounded many Third World watchers.



Portuguese forces in Africa have committed scores of atrocities against the African population, but now know they can never defeat them militarily.

PORTUGUESE OFFICERS DESCRIBE MOZAMBIQUE ATROCITIES

The following report, by Portuguese Army officers who support General Antonio de Spínola's recent coup, reveals the bestial behavior of the Portuguese Army in Mozambique and maintains that there can be no military victory over the indigenous people of this embattled colony.

First appearing in the Manchester Guardian Weekly, the report was smuggled out of Portugal during the rule of former dictator Marcello Caetano. THE BLACK PANTHER reprinted Part One of the report last week. The conclusion follows.

"As a consequence six priests and one nun were expelled and the Bishop and a priest were beaten by White civilians and DGS agents. This brought the visit to Mozambique by the Papal Nuncio in Lisbon and a meeting of the Episcopate Conference but this confined itself to a protest against such 'reactions' without describing them and maintained an extremely ambiguous stand.

"(9) Contrary to official denials, there exists a close collaboration in the military field between the Portuguese army and Rhodesian troops, who include mercenaries from South Africa and other countries. This has been verified for the past four years all along the border with Rhodesia, in the districts of Tete and Vila Pery, but since the beginning of last

year the collaboration has been intensified with the permission given to the airborne groups from Rhodesia to operate in a very large area, north and south of the Zambezi, up to and in certain cases beyond the meridian that passes through the village of Carinde, in the Zambezi, 100 km inside Mozambique territory.

"These operations, coordinated with the Portuguese military operations, consist of speedy paratroop actions in specified areas and the liquidation of any human lives (there being no military or civilian prisoners) and a return to their bases in Rhodesia.

"(10) In the last six months an intensification and extension of fighting to the south has been

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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B.P.P. POSITION PAPER ON MID- EAST CONFLICT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

history with the struggle for human rights."

Pointing out that such a system of oppression and injustice serves neither the short-term security of Israel nor the long-term survival of the Jewish people in the Middle East, the Black Panther Party calls "on progressive elements of the American Jewish community, which have to this point provided uncritical support to the Israeli Government in power, to apply the same principles of equity and justice to Israel that they apply to other states and people."

IMPERIALISTS

To the Arab peoples the Black Panther Party appeals: "Israel has been portrayed by the Arab governments as the main bastion of Western imperialism in the Middle East, and the principal obstacle to the well-being of the Arab peoples. But the main bastions of Western and U.S. imperialism in the Middle East are the governments of Iran and Saudi Arabia, wholesalers of the fabulous oil riches that their peoples never see, and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, a country which was created by British imperialism, in precisely the manner that many leftists mistakenly believe gave birth to Israel."

The rulers of the Arab states are not interested in the self-determination of the Palestinians, argues the Position Paper, or in peace in the Middle East. "For, as long as the Holy War of nationalisms rages on, their positions of privilege and power remain firm and the threat of internal revolution is blunted."

"The war against Israel is diversionary. The struggle for human dignity and liberation of the Arab peoples must take place within the Arab countries. There are hundreds of billions of dollars being accumulated in Arab treasuries, capital which could be used to develop the countries of the Middle East and the rest of Africa, if it were in the hands of the people, and not their exploiters."

The Black Panther Party Position Paper on the Middle East Conflict concludes: "The whole of the question, however, does not rest upon territorial control, but, upon the need of everyone to be free from human exploitation."

PORTUGUESE OFFICERS DESCRIBE ATROCITIES

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

confirmed in the districts of Cabo Delgado (where there is a vast area under the control of Frelimo), and towards Vila Pery and Beira.

"In the latter district, Frelimo holds an important and inaccessible base in the caverns of the hills of Gorogosa, a fact which led to the closure of six game areas in the National Gorogosa Park which do not offer security to tourists on safari. Over the past three months the guerrillas have intensified ambush and land mine laying operations along the Rhodesia-Beira and Malawi-Beira railway lines. The railway traffic on the latter line was totally suspended for a time owing to the refusal by the railway staff to continue work after four trains had been attacked in one week.

"The rapid extension of insecurity to zones until recently regarded as safe has created an atmosphere of nervousness among the settlers reaching the point of hysteria in the towns of Beira and Vila Pery after an attack (by Frelimo?) on two farms which caused the death of two people. The atmosphere degenerated into civilian strikes, demonstrations and clashes with the military police, and violent accusations against the army of 'incompetence and inefficiency' in the defence of the settlers.

"There have also been accusations against the Government which the settlers regard as unable to define a clear policy of unyielding defence of the established order. The crisis was

smothered when the Government compromised by distributing arms to White farmers and increasing the military protection afforded them. Several of those armed farmers immediately started killing Blacks, and there are already at least 60 confirmed victims.

INCOMPETENCE

"As for the present Commander-in-Chief, General Bastos Machado and his General Staff, their incompetence and lack of intelligence is widely recognized in military circles (which facilitates the work of Frelimo), unlike the previous General Staff of Commander-in-Chief Kaulza de Arriaga, who were shrewder and better strategists.

"11) The most recent political operation by the Portuguese Government has been to try to obtain at all costs, by personal pressure and material corruption, the support of a handful of Black intellectuals. Since the three or four Black Deputies are too docile, the net result of such efforts has been the support of Dr. Miguel Murrupa and Dr. Domingos Arouca (ex-Frelimo) and Miss Joana Simeao, (ex-Coremo), of a scheme for the autonomy of a multiracial Mozambique within a Portuguese 'commonwealth.'

"Such people have been allowed to criticize mildly some of the most retrograde or racist features of the colonial system, in exchange for promises of privileges and important Government positions.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Africa In Focus

UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations Commission that is to inquire into massacres carried out by Portuguese troops in Mozambique in 1972, will leave New York soon for three European cities and then go on to Africa. The massacre reports gained world wide attention last year when a British Catholic priest, Father Adrian Hastings, published an account of the Wiriya massacre in December, 1972. The U.N. General Assembly's Decolonization Committee called for an on-the-spot investigation in July last year, and this request was endorsed by the General Assembly in December.

WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

The World Food Program (WFP) of the United Nations has been authorized to start providing food aid to liberation movements in Africa. The decision was taken in Rome by the governing body of the WFP. The aid will go to peoples of liberated areas in colonial territories and to their national liberation movements.

REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Leaders of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) showed five Portuguese prisoners captured in an action in Cabinda on March 22, at a press conference in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, recently. Mr. Lucio Lara, the MPLA representative in Brazzaville, identified the prisoners as the Portuguese administrator of the town of Miconje, the administrator of the town of Belize and three Portuguese soldiers. The MPLA said it was prepared to exchange prisoners with Portugal for MPLA members held in areas under Portuguese control.

MOZAMBIQUE

Three aircraft were shot down by freedom fighters of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) during April this year. The pilots of the planes were all killed. On April 13, a Harvard plane which was bombing FRELIMO positions at Caperivubwe was brought down. On April 14, a Dornier reconnaissance plane was shot down and on April 15, a Fiat G-9 was brought down in the zone of Fingoe.



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SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT UNDERMINES ITS AFRICAN PUPPET

(Cape Town, South Africa) - A not-so-subtle plot executed by the government of this White, minority racist regime to undermine its favorite Black puppet, "chief minister" of the government-created Zulu "homeland," Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has been uncovered here.

The plot to supplant Chief Buthelezi by financing a rival political party called the Spear of Shaka in Buthelezi's "homeland" has demonstrated the inevitable plight of puppets who begin to take their handout role of "leader" seriously.

Chief Buthelezi has revealed in recent months resistance to blindly following the government policies handed to him concerning questions of what lands are to be designated by the minority government for Black "homelands."

"OUTSPOKEN" PUPPET

Described as the "most forthright and outspoken" of South Africa's government-appointed African leaders, Chief Buthelezi charges that the top secret Bureau for State Security, headed by General Hendrik van den Bergh, a confidant of South African Prime Minister John Vorster, deposited a large sum of money in the account of the opposition Spear of Shaka bank account in Durban to finance its activities.

When Chief Buthelezi made his allegation at a meeting of the "Legislative Assembly" of the "homelands" last week, the leader of the poorly supported Spear of Shaka party, Chief Charles Hlengwa, sat silent, refusing to respond to the charges, and later, with his handful of followers, left the council.

U.N. REPORT UNTRUE

(United Nations, N.Y.) - People's China and Tanzania have criticized a U.N. report alleging that China has a military base in Tanzania. In response, U.N. Secretary General Waldheim has ordered three independent experts who drafted the study to review it and make the "necessary corrections." □



South African puppet, CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI.

Later, in an interview, Chief Hlengwa denied that he had received any money from the Bureau of State Security, while admitting that most of his party's money came from "anonymous Whites." But another member of his party's executive said the Bureau paid about \$8,000 into the Spear's account and that Chief Hlengwa met senior government officials in Pretoria early last December.

White "liberal" politicians and members of Parliament, who have spearheaded the racist government's apartheid policy of "homelands," are demanding an explanation from Prime Minister Vorster and predictions are being made that the whole affair could blow up when the White Parliament meets later this year. □

Z.A.N.L.A. GUERRILLAS ATTACK NEAR RHODESIA'S CAPITAL

GOVT. OFFICIAL KILLED; WHITES FEAR FOR THEIR LIVES

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - One of the most recent military actions taken in Rhodesia by the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) guerrillas has occurred only 50 miles from the capital of Salisbury. A minor government official was killed by guerrillas a short distance from the small town of Bindura, which boasts a large nickel mine.

At about the same time, a light plane of the Rhodesian Air Force was downed with its crew of two and a South African police lieutenant, part of a contingent in Salisbury, was killed.

These actions, more than 300 miles from the Zambian border and within easy reach of Salisbury, have frightened White Rhodesians and exposed the failure of the so-called Rhodesian security forces to confine the guerrillas to only border areas.

The minority, illegal regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia has used everything from jet fighters to paratroop units and been reinforced by what is called a South African police task force against the Zimbabwe guerrillas.



Z.A.N.L.A. guerrillas have brought the war of liberation to the outskirts of Salisbury.

And yet, British settlers compare the situation in Rhodesia with the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya in the late 1950s and early 1960s. They point out that more Whites already have been killed in Rhodesia in the last several years than during the entire Mau Mau campaign.

This situation has discouraged young Whites who face compulsory service with the Rhodesia Army's so-called "security forces." They do not look forward to a future of chasing guerrillas. Some oppose the Smith government politically as being too reactionary. Others complain no solution to the White-Black problem is in sight and the government is making no new approaches.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

MEMORIAL

HO CHI MINH

born.. May 19, 1990



Nguyen That Thanh, born May 19, 1990, was a man who loved his country, the majestic land of Vietnam. Yet, to express the deep feelings that he felt toward his country and his people were crimes under French colonial domination. As a result, over the years, Nguyen That Thanh became a revolutionary, an "outlaw," and a man of various aliases. Sought by police throughout the Far East as Nguyen Ai Quoc ("Nguyen the Patriot") and Nguyen O Phap ("Nguyen Who Hates the French") this small, frail man traveled far and wide, always seeking support, always organizing, for the independence of his native land. To his Chinese Kuomintang captors in 1942-43, Nguyen That Thanh was a simple Vietnamese peasant, "Ho Chi Minh" by name, curiously on his way to see the Chinese authorities in Chungking. Less than four years after his release, Ho Chi Minh appeared again, heading a Vietnamese government delegation in Paris to open preliminary negotiations. And... it was this same man—Nguyen That Thanh by birth, Ho Chi Minh by reputation and reknown—that organized the Vietnamese people's army that defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and until his death in 1969, led his country in a decade of victorious struggle against the armed might of U.S. imperialism.

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RHODESIAN SANCTIONS URGED

(New York, N.Y.) - A call to restore U.S. economic sanctions against the illegal White minority regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) has come from the American Committee on Africa, a 21-year-old New York-based African support group.

The Committee is urging all Americans to pressure their Congressional representatives to vote for House Bill H.R. 1868 (formerly H.R. 8005), a measure proposing restoration of sanctions. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 54 - 37 and seems to have at least 180 votes in the house. Forty more votes are needed for the sanctions to be restored.

The U.S. is presently the only nation in open, flagrant violation of the United Nations sanctions against Zimbabwe, the African name for Rhodesia. The country is ruled by a five per cent White minority which denies the 95 per cent African majority basic civil, political and human rights in a manner almost identical to the apartheid which is practiced by Zimbabwe's ally and neighbor, South Africa.

A 1971 amendment to that year's military procurement bill gave Congress a loophole in which to conveniently get around the U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The Byrd Amendment said that Congress could not allow a ban on the import of materials deemed to be strategic or necessary to the U.S. Last year, this broad definition allowed the U.S. to pump some 36 million dollars into the Rhodesian economy. Largely through the purchase of that country's chrome ore by such huge U.S. companies as Union Carbide.

At a recent stockholders meeting, Union Carbide representatives tried to justify their action by claiming that the economic sanctions are harmful to the interests of the Zimbabwean people. Yet Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the African National Council there, has described the sanctions as "the only weapon we have in our nonviolent struggle for freedom in Rhodesia."

The American Committee on Africa appeals to individuals and organizations to write, wire or phone their representatives urging support of H.R. 1868. For more information, write the Committee at 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10016, or phone (212) 532-3700. □

PORTUGUESE OFFICERS DESCRIBE ATROCITIES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

"The operation has been doomed to failure because it has come too late (the Frelimo struggle has been popular among the mass of Africans for the last 10 years) and because it has been undermined by powerful colonialist forces which are not prepared to accept any change, however fictitious. It is curious, in this context to see the creation and use of African elites steeped in the 'Portuguese spirit' through the granting of several study scholarships by the United States Government to Black students selected by the Portuguese Government.

"12) The internal crisis within the Government came to light with the military and political dissidence headed by General Spínola, former Governor of Guinea and former Deputy Chief of the General Staff, who in a recent book defended a policy of 'self-determination' through referendum in the colonies.

REPERCUSSIONS

"Because of the repercussions of his stand in Portugal (the first edition of the book was sold out in three days) and the meetings of all military commanders in Lisbon. The Prime Minister in a hard-line speech in the National Assembly was compelled to restate his policy on the continuation of the war and the 'unity of Portugal at home and overseas.' He rejected any change, even that suggested by Spínola. There then followed, as it is known, the dismissal of General Costa Gomes and General Spínola himself, and the subsequent abortive coup of March 15.

"13) The DGS proceeds with its indiscriminate repressive action



Portuguese soldiers in Africa.

in spite of the scandal caused a year ago by the suicide in prison of the respected religious leader of the Swiss Mission, Manganhela, and the mass arrests of Africans (more than 2,000 in a week in the area of Lourenço Marques in June, 1972). The methods are the same—brutal beatings to extract signatures from the detainees on forged 'confessions' and the physical liquidation of the most courageous and responsible, namely through thirst (salty bean or rice soup supplied as the only meal twice a week). Those murdered in this way include, among others in the Machava Prison, the following members of Frelimo: Cardoso Mbie, Alberto Matchave, Joel Maduna, Carlos Juma, Armando Massango, Antonio Nojzone, and Julio Munguambe.

"The DGS has in Mozambique the unique legal privilege of the power of indefinite detention of its victims without any judicial process giving it complete arbitrary power." □

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WORLD SCOPE

BAHAMAS

(Nassau, Bahamas) - Eighteen bodies were recovered from a boatload of Haitian refugees who tried to land on Paradise Island last week, police said here. They arrested 30 survivors who made it ashore.

According to police, the survivors found hiding on the island refused to say anything, including how many refugees were crowded on the 45-foot sloop which was discovered adrift about the time bodies started to wash ashore.

TURKEY

(Ankara, Turkey) - A disputed amnesty bill has been passed by the National Assembly here to reduce the life sentences of three Americans and to free a British teenager. All four had been convicted on drug charges.

The bill, however, excluded government-backed provisions to include political prisoners, and Premier Bulent Ecevit said his cabinet might resign over the controversy.

INDIA

(New Delhi, India) - Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India and Sheik Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, have reached agreement on several issues that go back to the time Bangladesh was East Pakistan.

Issuing a joint declaration after five days of talks, the two leaders announced last week a major decision to resolve the issues "that had eluded solution for a whole generation." These included sharing of Ganges River waters and demarcation of their 1,300-mile boundary involving transfer of enclaves of each other's territory.

CHILE

(Santiago, Chile) - An inter-denominational church group concerned with the treatment of political prisoners in Chile has compiled reports of hundreds of cases of torture since the military junta seized power last September.

"The tortures noted here," the group declared, "are only those that leave no margin of doubt. They have been recalled by those who suffered them, or recounted by those who witnessed them."

ENTERTAINMENT

DIAHANN CARROLL, JAMES EARL JONES STAR IN "CLAUDINE"

FINE WEATHER

The wheel of the law turns
without pause.

After the rain, good weather.
In the wink of an eye

The universe throws off
its muddy clothes.

For ten thousand miles
the landscape

spreads out like a beautiful
brocade.
Light breezes. Smiling flowers.

High in the trees, amongst
the sparkling leaves

all the birds sing at once.
People and animals rise-up
reborn.

What could be more natural?
After sorrow, comes happiness.

ADVICE TO ONESELF

Without the cold and desolation
of winter

There could not be the warmth
and splendor of spring.
Calamity has tempered and
hardened me,
And turned my mind into steel.

WORD-PLAY

...People who come out of prison
can build up the country.
Misfortune is a test of
people's fidelity.
Those who protest at injustice
are people of true merit.
When the prison doors are
opened, the real dragon
will fly out.

Ho Chi Minh
Prison Diary

DEPRESSION AHEAD

(Washington, D.C.) - Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, said that food prices in America will continue to rise for at least the rest of this year. The Commerce Department recently reported that economic output has fallen and inflation has risen much faster than had previously been expected by economic observers here. □



CONGRATULATIONS TO CICELY TYSON

THE BLACK PANTHER and the Black Panther Party send their congratulations to Ms. CICELY TYSON, for capturing television's prized Emmy Award for best actress as a result of her stunning and brilliant performance in *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*. In *Jane Pittman*, Ms. Tyson enthralled audiences everywhere with her portrayal of the experiences of a Black woman whose life began in slavery and spanned over 100 years to the beginning of the civil rights movement in the early 1960s.

In the picture above, Ms. Tyson is being congratulated for her triumphant performance in the film *Sounder* by an entourage of Black actors. With Ms. Tyson are [from left to right]: RAYMOND ST. JACQUES; ROBERT HOOKS, whose sons Kevin & Eric co-star in *Sounder*; RON O'NEAL; PAUL WINFIELD, who shared acclaim with Ms. Tyson for his outstanding performance as the proud Black father in *Sounder*; and BROCK PETERS. The occasion for the happy gathering of outstanding Black dramatic talent was the premiere of *Sounder* in Hollywood.

James Earl Jones as a together garbage collector and Diahann Carroll as a welfare mother of six who moonlights as a maid, has to be a right on combination. All reports indicate that it is. *THE BLACK PANTHER* will be reviewing *Claudine*, the 20th Century-Fox movie, in which the usually staid and distinguished Mr. Jones and the always elegantly beautiful Ms. Carroll star.

Ms. Carroll says of her unusual role: "I have been searching desperately for a role in a film that was not a sophisticated, well-dressed, educated lady, which has been my image over the past 17 years. I wanted to try another side of me. I wanted to put myself into other areas. *Claudine* offered me that opportunity."

Ms. Carroll wears almost no makeup in *Claudine*. The wardrobe is strictly from assorted thrift shops and glamour is simply nonexistent. To top it off, *Claudine*, the character Ms. Carroll plays, falls in love with the brassy, affectionate garbage collector, played by James Earl Jones.

Praising James Earl Jones as a man who is very cooperative and who assumes a let's-make-the-whole-thing-work attitude, Ms. Carroll adds: "And he's a man who likes women. I've found that you're up the wrong creek if you're playing opposite a man who doesn't like women."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20



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JAMES EARL JONES plays a
garbage collector in *Claudine*.

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TO
VOTE



DIAHANN CARROLL, portraying a maid on welfare, braiding hair of one of her five children in *Claudine*.

"CLAUDINE"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Ms. Carroll adds of Mr. Jones: "I think James Earl is delicious in *Claudine* because you've never seen him like this before. He's quite relaxed and funny. He has a humor about him that I don't think people have ever seen in him."

We're looking forward to seeing *Claudine* and will share with our readers our impressions of this new film about Black people and our not always unhappy struggle for survival. □

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

The sister-in-law of the government official killed a short distance from the town of Bindura, Margaret Juul, publicly complained that the Rhodesian authorities were deliberately misleading the Whites in Rhodesia by implying in the official announcement of her brother-in-law's death that the incident occurred in the northeast border area, far distant from Salisbury.

Meanwhile, the British government has indicated it intends to keep up the naval and air patrols aimed at stopping oil bound for Rhodesia from reaching the Mozambique port of Beira by sea.

The British Defense Secretary, Mr. Roy Mason, replied "yes" when asked in Parliament whether he was satisfied there were enough ships and aircraft for the Beira patrol. □

FRED BELL THREATENED WITH RETURN TO PRISON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

The judge ruled that the landlord would have possession of the property in six days. Three days later Brother Bell was arrested for "abusive language." Mrs. Durley had filed the charges on April 8, in Judge Cole's court.

The warrant alleges that the incident of which Brother Fred has no knowledge occurred on March 10, but it does not refer to the circumstances in which "abusive language" was used.

The case was to be tried on April 22, however the landlord failed to show up. Rather than dismiss the charge, as is done in such instances, the judge ordered a continuance. The trial will apparently be rescheduled when Judge Cole persuades Mrs. Durley to perjure herself in order to railroad Brother Fred.

Evidence has been revealed that Judge Cole encouraged Mrs. Durley to file the charge against Brother Fred.

A statement by the Dallas Chapter reads: "Lately the Dallas Chapter has had to deal with antagonistic intercommunity forces, trying to pit potential Party enemies against the Dallas Chapter. We are aware of the trend on the national and local level. But we will not be moved.

"We will be here to establish the survival programs that are so needed in Dallas...." □

FREE FILMS

The following films
will be shown at
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7 P.M.

MAY 23: SWEET SWEETBACK

MAY 30: SABA SABA

JUNE 6: BLACK GIRL

JUNE 13: THE MURDER OF
FRED HAMPTON

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INSIDE OUT

ALI HAS "GHETTO WHOPPER" FOR FOREMAN

(New York, N.Y.) - Muhammad Ali says that he has a new punch to unveil in his upcoming fight to win back the heavy weight boxing crown from its current holder, George Foreman. He calls it the "ghetto whopper."

Ali made the announcement at a news conference here last week, scheduled to confirm the projected \$30 million bout in Zaire (formerly the Belgium Congo) on September 25.

Tongue-in-cheek, but deadly serious, Ali explained his new punch by relating the starting time for the fight (3:00 a.m.) Zaire time) to the happenings of the Black communities in the U.S. at that same time.

"3:00 a.m. is the time the bars are all letting out in the ghettos. That's when the brothers start arguing about their women and who shot the dice last. That's when they start throwing them ghetto punches."

There's more to what Brother Muhammad Ali says than meets the eye. It comes through a bit clearer when you add his comments about Foreman being a "dirty" fighter.

"There will be no dirty fighting in Zaire," Ali told the newsmen. "They are my brothers down there. There will be no George Foremans waving little flags; just people yelling, 'Ali! Ali! Ali!'"

Muhammad Ali was signifying. He was recalling George Foreman's pro-American speeches and his shuffle at the 1968 Olympics waving a small American flag.

The message is clear: that no matter how awesome, how powerful, Foreman's hitting strength may appear, it certainly can't be more powerful than the power of the people, the power of the Black community.

When Muhammad Ali lands a "ghetto whopper" upside Foreman's head in Zaire, he will be presenting George Foreman with a stinging criticism from the "brothers" in Black communities all over the world. □

"SPORTS AND THE AMERICAN EMPIRE"

SPORTS MUST BE HUMANIZED

This week, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the final and concluding excerpt from "Sports and the American Empire," written by Mark Naison, an instructor at the Afro-American Institute at Fordham University in New York. We thank Brother Naison for permitting us to reprint his insightful and thought-provoking analysis, which originally appeared in Radical America (1972). As he sums up in this concluding excerpt: "The rebellion in the sports world must be accompanied by a struggle to transform the most significant institutional centers of American life if it is to humanize this aspect of our culture."

CONCLUSION

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.

This regulation, with its analogues to slavery, was challenged in the courts by Curt Flood, formerly a star outfielder with the St. Louis Cardinals, and was recently (June, 1972) upheld by the Supreme Court. But it has been challenged more effectively in practice by professional basketball players who have "jumped" from one basketball league to another in violation of their contracts in order to gain high salaries or more satisfactory living or playing conditions.

Yet another "test" of this regulation has been made by the brilliant young pitcher Vida Blue, who sat out much of last season rather than play at the salary which his team's owner was offering.

In these highly-publicized cases, Black athletes have taken the lead. Owners, fans, and journalists have attacked them for lack of loyalty to their teams and contempt for the traditions of the game, but such criticism has not stopped Flood, Blue, Earl Monroe (who refused to play in Baltimore), Charley Scott, Spen-

cer Haywood, and others from forcing owners to bid against one another for their services.

The growing commercialism of sports, as well as its dangers, have removed such "romanticism" as the leagues try to project from the minds of the players and have reduced motivations on all levels to the calculation of maximum financial advantage. Star players are increasingly using their bargaining power to force teams to give them a share of the club's profits and to help set them up in business with loans and investments.

The Black athletes have been most aggressive in this respect because they have learned from experience that they are least likely to be "taken care of" by their sports or by private industry when their playing careers are over. Their actions, even when "selfishly" motivated, have helped to strip the aura of sanctity from the sports world and have shown an often unwilling public its true character. It is an excellent example of how capitalism can help dig its own grave through the extension of its own most cherished values. The increasing "economic chaos" in commercial sports has been paralleled by the beginnings of a political and cultural critique of the sports establishment's values and goals.

In the last ten years, several leading sports figures have taken "unpopular" political stances, and a few have begun to question the function that sports are made to serve in American society.

Beginning with Muhammad Ali, Black athletes have been increasingly outspoken about racism in sports and society and have refused to accept the traditional dictum that "politics" be kept out of the playing field or the sports interview. Black athletes in pro and college ranks give clenched-fist salutes when introduced; use the Black handshake in center jumps and other rituals; have pressed steadily for representation of Blacks in coaching, announcing, cheerleading, and sports administration; and have generally challenged the illusion that loyalty to the team and sport comes before race, politics, or personal interest.



Black athletes have long looked out for their own economic interests.

An increasing number of White athletes have also taken political or cultural stances, announcing their opposition to the war, their commitment to new life styles, and their doubts about the brutality or the political uses of athletics. These actions, however, have not qualitatively changed the character of commercial sports. The sports industry, like the American Empire as a whole, manages to stumble through its opposition with its violence, its brutality, its grim will to prevail yet unchecked. As long as the social relations of contemporary capitalism generate a need for violent outlets and a vicarious experience of mastery in American men, the corporations will be glad to finance the sports industry and mold it in their own image.

The rebellion in the sports world must be accompanied by a struggle to transform the most significant institutional centers of American life if it is to humanize this aspect of our culture.

A radical transformation of sports must be linked to a larger effort to bring people's control of production and communication and develop satisfying proximate relations in the family, the community, and the workplace.

The vicarious, abstract stimulation provided by the sports industry will lose much of its appeal when people are involved in struggle and creative activity. □

**REGISTER
TO VOTE**

3,000 RALLY FOR JUSTICE FOR TYRONE GUYTON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

Attorney Dan Seigel brought an angry hush over the crowd when he announced that contrary to what was previously believed Tyrone Guyton was not killed as he ran from the scene of the police chase. Rather, new facts recently brought to light indicate that Tyrone was shot twice in the back after tripping and falling, not while he was running.

In his capacity as the family's attorney, Mr. Seigel went on to tell the crowd that on Wednesday, May 15, he filed a suit in federal court in San Francisco charging local D.A. Lowell Jensen; the Alameda County Grand Jury; the Mayor, members of the City Council and the Police Chief of Emeryville; as well as the three police murderers with willful and deliberate negligence of duty.

The class action suit, filed on behalf of the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, Mrs. Shepherd and the class "consisting of parents of Black children in Alameda County" demands that the murdering policemen be prosecuted.

When Brother Bobby Seale took the podium, he explained to the excited audience that in order to consolidate the results of the successful rally, community control of the police, through legislative action, was a must.

Justice for Tyrone Guyton will only be achieved, Bobby told the cheering crowd, when 2,000 to 3,000 Black and poor people go down to the City Council and demand people's control. Otherwise, Bobby said, even if the policemen are prosecuted, two other "racist, fascist" policemen will replace them.

As the late afternoon sun began to set, the crowd stood spellbound as Mrs. Mattie Shepherd repeated her firm belief that "the case is not closed."

"We are in this struggle together," Mrs. Shepherd said, "because I believe in unity there is strength...This is beautiful, today is a very beautiful day for me, because by showing up today, you all showed that you cared."

The sight of this lone Black mother, not simply grieving over the loss of her son but saying with assurance "Victory will come," left an unforgettable imprint on everyone present, and provided new impetus to make her words come true. □

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Peace, Power, Greetings.

I am a Black prisoner who would like to have his confused would-be-Revolutionary-mind set aright. I have been in jail now for 47 months on a zip-15 (0-15) year bit. Since I've been here I've tried to understand my exact function as a young (22) Black man.

I've read Mao, Marx, Lenin, Engles, William James and many other political and socialist materials, including Fanon's "Wretched of the Earth." I've sat down and rapped with such heavy brothers that the reality of what I have gleamed dazed me for days.

Now, I feel as though all I've learned, all I've taken is far more than I can ever return to the cause. Physical confrontations mean nothing. I mean, I feel as though mentally I've set up a block which stops anything constructive from leaving my mouth.

I can read, I can write, but my conversation on political subjects is verbally "0." Can you advise me on how to overcome this problem? Thank you. I await your reply.

In the struggle,
Eugene Demal Martin
Beacon, New York

(Editor's note: A letter is on the way!)

□□□□

TO: THE AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURE GROUP AT SUSANVILLE PRISON

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Our life supporting organ, THE BLACK PANTHER, has reached the Comrades here at Vacaville Prison Medical Camp. We were astonished but not dismayed to read on the front page of April 20, 1974, edition regarding our beloved brother—"Huey P. Newton on S.L.A. Hit List," coupled with your threatening communique, your organization—the Afro-American Culture Group (Susanville Prison), your organization demanding brother Huey Newton and David Du Bois (Editor-in-Chief) "confirm or deny" previous statements renouncing incorrect tactics used by the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army.

Do you know the persuasive powers which sustains a Revolutionary Vanguard Party, which happens to be The Black Panther Party? It is the (steel) might and The Power of the People!!! It is a United Community!!! We are one with our community, and we are moving, we are moving on a mass level, all levels...not all in separate directions—but firmly under the guidance, discipline and principled leadership of the Vanguard Black Panther Party.

Individuals simply cannot act in the true interest of the People without a head, cannot serve as true People's advocates without Democratic Centralism. It is the only way to deal effectively with the Amerikan ordeal. The People's Vanguard Party must make its presence felt throughout various levels of our overall movement.

Your words serve up a ring of your own ego and selfish interests rather than the building of a united progressive movement. You abandon community altogether with your intimidations and threats hurled at the only Vanguard Party in existence. Your low and stunted epithets toward Huey P. Newton, in particular, should be corrected.

For, as a matter of fact, Chairman Mao also said, "Our principle is that the gun does not command the Party, but the Party commands the gun."

Lawrence Roberts A-81647
Vacaville, Calif.

□□□□

Companeras y Comaneros,

We wish to thank you for the article printed in THE BLACK PANTHER, Sat., April 20, 1974. We the Young Lords Organization have been struggling some time now over the issue of self-determination. The issue, as we see it, is one of self-determination for latinos, while at the same time unity with other minorities and poor people. We realize that all of our problems are very much the same because they base themselves on economics. A good example of this is the suit we have against the Chicago Tribune. The Tribune has had a history of racism. Not only because it is the conservative paper, but also because looking at its history, it was the paper who set the mood for the city, previous to the raid where Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered.

What we as latinos see as the issue in priority for us is Urban Renewal, (a fancy name for the urban removal of latinos and other poor people). Our community also has other related problems such as drugs, police harassment, no jobs, etc. But we feel that before we can effectively deal with these problems we must first stabilize our communities, and build a base. We have been using the ward and precinct structure to do this and also as a basis for organizing.

I hope we can be in contact with each other, as this kind of support is very necessary. Again, I want to thank you for the article you printed on us, and I remain yours in the struggle.

Que Viva el Pueblo!
Angela Lind
Communications Secretary
Young Lords Organization
Chicago, Ill.

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

spread new ideas along with new methods of production.

NEWTON: But when we create a spirit of oneness, it won't be oppressive.

E. ERIKSON: That is, I think, what Marx meant way back when he spoke of an overcoming of history itself, an idea probably related to that of the withering away of the state.

NEWTON: I think that you understand reactionary and revolutionary intercommunalism very well. You put it in somewhat different words, but I can agree with almost everything you say.

Just before I went to Yale, I told the class at our Intercommunal Institute that I did not know how I was going to fare there because your writings had taken the wind out of my argument. I had thought at first that I would just be dealing with another psychoanalyst, but after I read some of your things I found it difficult to treat you as an adversary. But at the same time, I felt that I could not just go there and agree with you because of my own situation in the Party.

So you see the dilemma I was in. And I felt a little robbed, too, because I had worked very hard to put my ideas together, and here someone else had already laid a number of them out. That is somewhat frustrating, you know.

K. ERIKSON: This may be the time for me to pursue my favorite question again, the one with which we began this morning. The way Huey hacked through the forest to arrive at the idea of communalism is very different from the way Pop hacked through the forest to arrive at the idea of identity, even if the two products look a lot alike. Now Pop said a word or two about the circumstances that could help explain why he was the person to write about identity and the identity crisis. So, Huey, why do you suppose you were the person to come up with the idea of intercommunalism? Would it be fair to ask you how you made your way through that forest?

NEWTON: Personally, I am not sure I know.

E. ERIKSON: Why do you think you invented intercommunalism?

NEWTON: Well, I didn't invent it. I discovered it, focused upon it.

TO BE CONTINUED

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

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

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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.

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(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.

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

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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

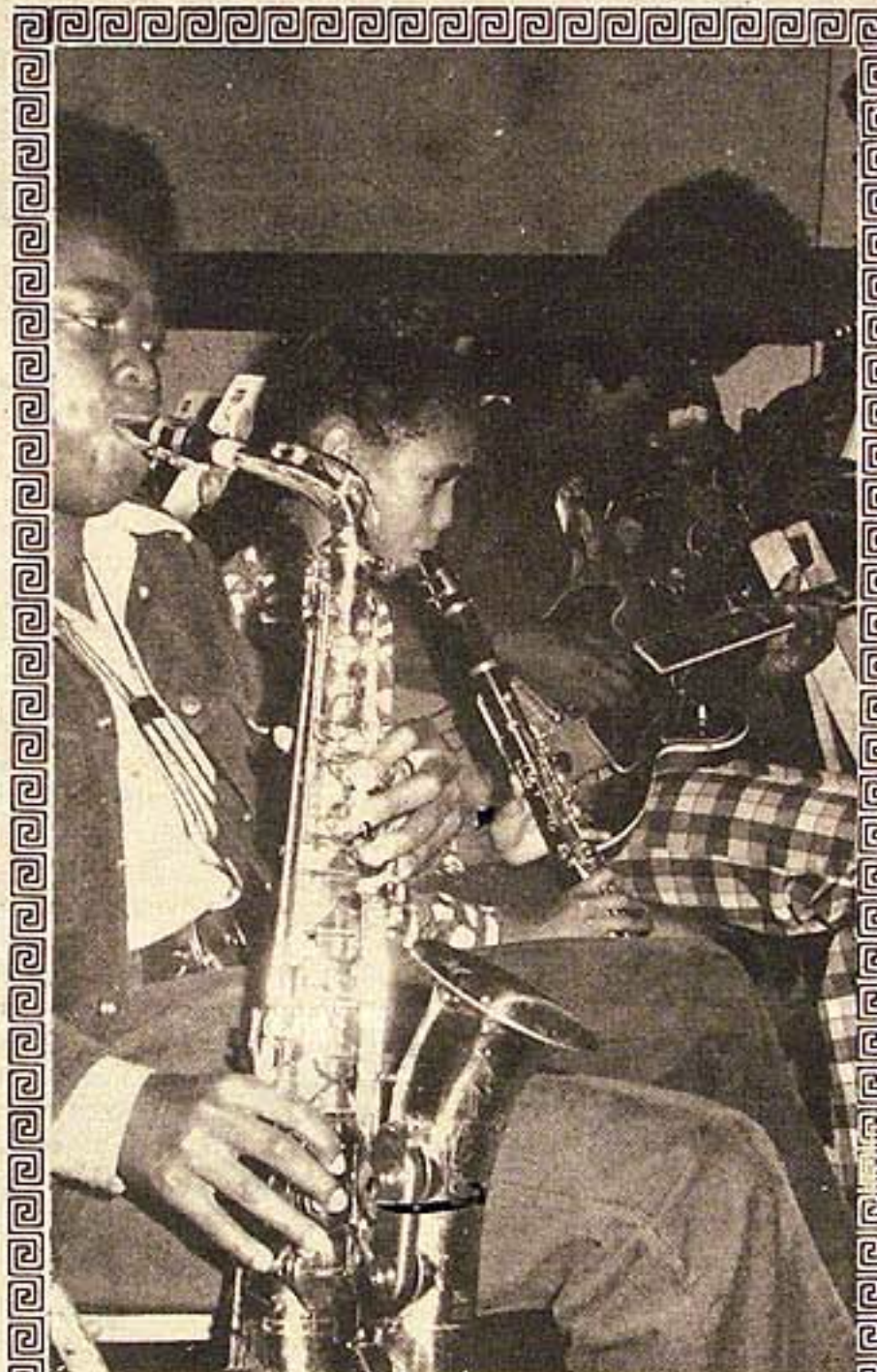
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

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



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OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

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

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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.

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

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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



Left to right: CHARLES MOFFETT, noted jazz musician, Intercommunal Youth Band conductor and Learning Center Music Program director; RALPH McCALL, talented Bay Area singer; and BILL MOORE, University of California professor and expert on the life of Malcolm X. (See story, page 4.)

"MALCOLM X DAY CELEBRATION"

AT THE SON OF MAN TEMPLE

MAY 19, 1974

PHOTOGRAPHY ROOM



Left to right: ED KELLEY of the Oakland Sound Company; ERICKA HUGGINS, Intercommunal Youth Institute director, and ELAINE BROWN. (See page 4.)