

# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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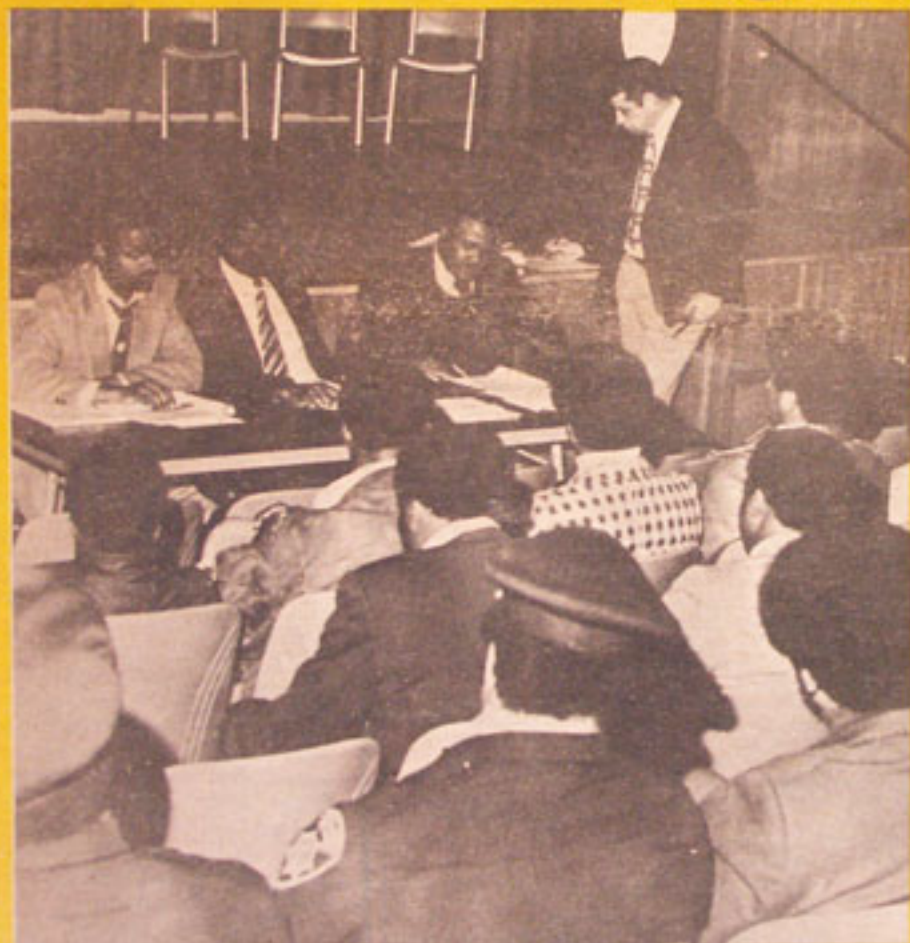
FEBRUARY 1, 1975

25¢



# OAKLAND BLACK POLICE BLAST DEPT. RACISM

SEE PAGE 3.



Scene as more than 50 Black Officers Assoc. members and community leaders confronted Oakland Police Chief GEORGE HART (standing front), at police headquarters auditorium, with charges of racism throughout the department. Seated at the table are (left to right) ALPHONSO GALLOWAY and LEOVA RAINEY, NAACP Executive Director and President respectively and OBOA President RAYMOND CLARK, whose suspension for an alleged hair regulation violation sparked the confrontation.

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## Editorial

### HAVE THEY GOT A FILE ON YOU ?

This issue of THE BLACK PANTHER carries stories of illegal police spying and the accumulation of files on citizens in Houston, Texas and Baltimore, Maryland. In both cities shock has been expressed by local citizens upon discovering that many of those spied upon and on whom police files were kept were not "militants," "leftists" "or" "liberals", but "good, solid conservative types."

Their "mistake," it would appear in some cases, was to have actively opposed some measure that the power structure in these cities supported. For others there was some alleged contact with outspoken militants or police-designated, suspected leftist. For yet others there were allegations of "unacceptable" habits in relating to other human beings.

In both Houston and Baltimore, citizens have expressed particular resentment that such files have been kept and such information collected by police agencies despite the fact that the individuals spied upon and recorded have never had any run-ins with the police on anything more than a traffic violation.

In how many other cities of America are such files kept, does such police spying go on? Certainly, since it was going on in Washington, D.C., our nation's capital, sanctioned by the highest officers of the land and directed against senators, representatives and who knows who else, why not everywhere else?

The excuse for police and intelligence agency surveillance and files on American citizens continues to be "guarding the national security." But, what does opposition to utility rate increases in Baltimore have to do with the national security?

We warned long ago that such practices used against us and other militant organizations in the alleged name of national security, if allowed to continue unchecked would lead to their being used against the whole people. We did so because we knew their real purpose was to silence all protest against injustice and inequality, and that the excuse of "national security" was a cover. □



"We'll get to the bottom of this business in a few months."

## An Appeal To Our Readers

(Editor's Note: The following letter from Mr. Paul Dubnar of Seattle, Washington, represents one person's response to the fund-raising appeal which has appeared recently in this space. We thank Mr. Dubnar.)

Dear Sir,

The need of the Panther paper for financial support is understandable and should be supported. As mentioned, most of the Panther newspaper readers — both Black and others — are not in the upper classes of finance and some are financially very poor. So, I have the following suggestion to make:

1. Regular and more conventional contributions of five dollars or more are all to the good and this kind of financial support should be accepted for as much as it can get.

2. However, this would of necessity miss a large number of Panther readers. Therefore, "a bird in the hand being worth ten in the bush", I would suggest that all those of us in very modest financial condition should give small amounts at a time — even what some capitalist outfits would call "ridiculously small" amounts — but repeat these small gifts as often as possible; of anything from dimes to dollars, or in between.

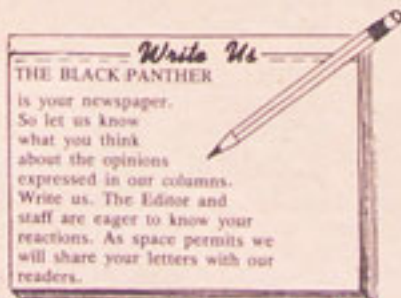
One such contribution would not mean much. But many, repeated many times, could mean very much.

I have read how in Vietnam thousands of little people with nothing but buckets and small shovels have in very quick time repaired extensive bomb damage against the Provisional Revolutionary Government and fighters. Therefore, I think it quite possible that many "ridiculously small" contributions by many unwealthy, well wishers, repeated in numbers could do a lot to help the Panther paper keep going.

So, in addition to my modest contribution to the Panther Breakfast Program and the American Federation for the Blind (I was temporarily blinded — among other things — in World War II), I intend henceforth to send a quarter with each of my communications to the Panther news, and, for one reason or another, I intend to communicate often with this fine, people's newspaper.

And, if enough other little people do likewise and repeatedly it should make a difference...

Sincerely,  
Paul H. Dubnar  
Seattle, Wash.



SEE LETTERS, PAGE 22.

## COMMENT

### OPEN LETTER FROM U.S. FARM NEWS

The following open letter severely critical of the Ford administration is reprinted from U.S. Farm News, published by the U.S. Farmers Association, Des Moines, Iowa.

Dear Sir:

If you really want to end inflation and establish a stable society as every concerned citizen hopes and desires, you will have to bring under control the Military-Industrial-Financial Complex. Not only the size of the armed forces and annual military budget can and must be reduced at least 50%. The U.S. manufacturers of military weapons must be reduced even more.

The resources of our planet cannot afford this waste. The U.S. has already become a have-not nation in many essential items. And it should now be clear that the people of underdeveloped nations, rich in these natural resources, are not going to permit forever the "rich nations," such as the United States to exploit these resources. The U.S. government has spent, as is now known, hundreds of billions of taxpayers' dollars, bribing the feudal lords and special interest of these underdeveloped countries in an effort to betray their own people, for the unconscionable profits of the privileged few in the United States, such as the Rockefeller family.

Every Washington administration, including yours, since WW II has engaged in this obscene practice to the tune of almost two trillion dollars. The Truman administration started the international arms race, using the revived Cold War as a fig leaf to cover up this naked aggressive act as part of its global grab for power; Pax Americana.

Unfortunately, your loudly proclaimed "agreement" with Brezhnev did nothing to end the International Arms race. It merely provided an umbrella, reaching to the sky to assure its continuance. It has now become the greatest boondoggle of our government.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

## THE BLACK PANTHER

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YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATE: \$10.00.  
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## B.P.P. NEWSPAPER RACKS VANDALIZED

(Oakland, Calif.) — The circulation manager of THE BLACK PANTHER has charged that the repeated vandalism of numerous of the paper's Bay Area news racks is part of a "concerted effort by this city to stop our newspaper."

Brother Ellis White said that since October three racks have been completely destroyed and four others defaced, all in Oakland.

He angrily added that the window of one rack had a hole cut in it by a knife or some other sharp instrument, another had a Nazi swastika painted on it, and a third had jelly smeared over it.

"Not surprisingly, the sales of the rack with the swastika have picked up," Brother White noted.

He went on to say that the evidence shows that the vandalism is not occurring randomly but is being done systematically.

Two of the three racks which have been destroyed have been fixed, but four are still in need of repair. "Every time we pull a rack off the streets, it costs a good deal to put it back," Ellis said.

He linked the emerging campaign of Ms. Elaine Brown for Oakland City Council to the vandalism of the racks.

"The community is interested in Elaine's campaign, and paper sales are really picking up because THE BLACK PANTHER carries news information about Ms. Brown's campaign found no where else. The establishment knows Ms. Brown's popularity and is intent on undermining her campaign by attempting to deny

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

# OAKLAND BLACK POLICE BLAST DEPT. RACISM

## THREATEN FEDERAL PROBE IF HART UNRESPONSIVE

(Oakland, Calif.) — Oakland Police Chief George Hart was challenged Monday morning by the Oakland Black Officers Association and representatives of Oakland's Black community to immediately move to rid his department of racist practices against Black officers or face the threat of a U.S. Justice Department investigation and the danger of the total disintegration of the Oakland Police Department.

More than 50 persons, the vast majority members of the OBOA, showed up at a meeting with Hart at Police Headquarters at 9 a.m. demanded by the OBOA and the Oakland Chapter of the NAACP in protest against the suspension from the Department of OBOA President Raymond Clark for an alleged violation of the "hair regulation."

Among the community representatives present were Elaine Brown, well known community activist and candidate for Oakland City Council for the Third District, and Mrs. Dorothy Paynes, chairperson of Ms. Brown's campaign committee and long time community activist with a large variety of East Bay governmental and community groups.



Ms. ELAINE BROWN (far left) next to Mrs. DOROTHY PAYNES listening as Oakland NAACP Exec. Dir. ALPHONSO GALLOWAY speaks. Officer RAYMOND CLARK, OBOA President (right) and NAACP President LEOVA RAINEY (center) look on.

Originally slated to be held in a conference room on the 8th floor of the modern concrete and glass police headquarters building in downtown Oakland, the meeting was moved to the auditorium on the ground floor to accommodate the overflow all Black crowd of clearly angry and determined protestors.

In his initial statement, OBOA President Raymond Clark told Hart that his (Brother Clark's) suspension was "the spark that has ignited a time bomb within the Police structure" resulting from an increase in the incidence of racist practices within the Police Department under Hart's administration and "increased

Brother Clark, reading from a prepared statement, emphasized that the concerns of the OBOA were not solely or even primarily with conditions within the department, but with the increasing breakdown of relations between the Police Department and the Black community.

He warned Hart that if concrete action on "the long list of grievances repeatedly submitted to the department by the OBOA and repeatedly ignored by the department was not taken within a week, the Chicago office of a national Black police officers association, already contacted, was prepared to send its attorneys to Oakland to begin legal action leading to a U.S. Justice Department investigation of the Oakland Police Department's racist practices against Black officers and the resultant deteriorating relations between the Oakland Police Department and the Black community of Oakland.

### ALARMED

Mr. Leova Rainey, President of the Oakland Branch of the NAACP, and co-sponsor with Ray Clark of the meeting with Hart, told the Police Chief that the NAACP was alarmed at the increase in complaints against the Police Department from the Black community and charged they are a result of Hart's negative attitude toward that community.

Mr. Rainey pointed out that there is no police-community program in the department and that an "unpleasant rapport" exists between the police and the Black community. He called the hair regulations of the department "totally ludicrous," said they needed "modification" and should not be used for harassment.

Mr. Rainey pointed to the fact that the absence of Black

## FALLEN COMRADE FRED BENNETT Assassinated February, 1971



Secret FBI plans to "disrupt, destroy and discredit" the Black Panther Party were exposed recently. CIA spying and "dirty tricks," much carried out against the Black Panther Party, are now under investigation.

Comrade Fred Bennett, like many other fallen Black Panther Party comrades, was undoubtedly a victim of a secret plot to destroy the Party.

Having been the coordinator of the East Oakland Branch of the Black Panther Party, Comrade Fred was rendering invaluable service to the struggle against oppression when he disappeared. In April, 1971, the police, who had quietly held his body for two months, announced that they allegedly found pieces of the body in a mountainous region near Oakland, California.

The Black Panther Party demands investigation into the death of Fred Bennett and all the other Fallen Comrades of the Black Panther Party.



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!





# YOUTH INSTITUTE CARNIVAL — FUN! FUN! FUN!

PEOPLE OF ALL AGES ENJOY  
WIDE VARIETY OF  
ATTRACTIONS

(Oakland, Calif.) — FUN! FUN! FUN! best describes the Intercommunal Youth Institute's First Annual Community Carnival held at the model school last Sunday.

A carnival atmosphere was everywhere in the air as several hundred people of all ages packed the Community Learning Center to enjoy a wide variety of carnival attractions. The carnival signs were unmistakable: plenty of games, music, food and many little people excitedly milling about with cotton candy in their hands and on their faces, and helium-filled balloons trailing in the air.

Most of the action centered in the Learning Center's courtyard which was ringed with booths. In one area a crowd of turtle racing enthusiasts was placing mock bets. Midway through the race one turtle decided to turn around and go the other way, to someone's disappointment.



People watch as young sister pitches a ball in one of the many Carnival games.

One could win a variety of prizes such as hats, jewelry and toys for throwing a sandbag in the clown's mouth, getting the ball in the box or pitching the hat on the animal.

Two talented artists who painted excellent watercolor sketches and portraits remained busy throughout the day. You could even have a button made with your picture on it. Of course, mountains of good popcorn were sold.

Other attractions were underway in the classrooms surrounding the courtyard. A dart game with balloon targets occupied one room. Two hair braiders and cornrowers did a thriving business in another, and inexpensive, professional haircuts and cosmetics were available in others.

Many interesting objects were on sale cheap, including books, records, candles, plaques, designed T-shirts, original, creative jewelry with an African accent and Third World flavor by Malik, and jewelry made by the Institute's own students.

Outside one room signs read: "Dance Room — Enter At Your Own Risk." Inside people danced to brightly flashing strobe lights on glowing aluminum walls.

There was also a puppet show and I Ching readings in other rooms. Voter registration was also available and two new Oakland voting machines were on display.

Out back in the parking lot, young people danced to the live music of the popular, rock-soul group "Messiah."

Every now and then a bubble-blowing clown appeared and made children laugh, and sometimes cry.

## POPULAR FILM

The popular Paramount film, *The Legend of Nigger Charlie*, was shown in the auditorium.

The line in the cafeteria, where a large variety of homecooked food sold like wild, was always long. Dinners consisted of baked, barbecued or fried chicken with potato salad, peanuts, macaroni and cheese, rolls, carrot cake, buttery, mouthwatering potato pies, chocolate coconut cake and scrumptious fudge brownies.

Proceeds from the Carnival go to benefit the children of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, the model school for Black and poor children housed at the Community Learning Center, at 6118 East 14th Street in East Oakland. □



## "Until We're Free"

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

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## THIS WEEK IN



BLACK  
HISTORY

FEBRUARY, 1817

Frederick Douglass, the brilliant abolitionist leader and spokesperson for the human rights of Black people was born in Tuckahoe, Tuckahoe County, Maryland, February, 1817. In a legendary confrontation with his overseer, young Frederick defeated the man in battle and escaped from slavery in Baltimore in 1837. Hired by the White abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (with whom he broke in a disagreement over more militant tactics in 1851) as a Black antislavery speaker, Frederick Douglass braved grave dangers and was hailed for his eloquence and organizing ability. He once wrote:

*"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and never will..."*

Frederick Douglas died in Washington, D.C., on February 20, 1895.

JANUARY 31, 1865

On January 31, 1865, the U.S. Congress passed the 13th Amendment, which, when ratified, legally abolished slavery in America.

FEBRUARY 1, 1960

On February 1, 1960, five Black freshmen from North Carolina A. and T. sent shock waves throughout the South and the entire nation, when they sat down at the lucheonette in a five and dime store in Greensboro, North Carolina. The epoch of the sit-in movements was born — in 10 days, sit-ins took place in 15 Southern cities in five states.

## COMMUNITY MEETING

•OAKLAND BLACK POLICE PROTEST  
SUSPENSION OF BLACK OFFICERS  
ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT

•DEMAND END TO RACISM IN POLICE  
DEPT., IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH  
BLACK COMMUNITY

Thursday Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. Fellowship Hall  
Allen Temple Baptist Church  
8500 A Street - East Oakland



## OAKLAND BLACK POLICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3  
officers in several divisions of the department was evidence of a policy of racism within the department. He said there were no Black officers in the S.O.S. Division; no Black officers in the Crime Analysis Division; no Black officers in the Traffic Division and no Black officers in intelligence.

Ms. Elaine Brown said she was at the meeting to support this effort of the OBOA, "not just to improve the situation within the Police Department, but because I am keenly aware of the great need to improve the relationship between the police and the Black community."

She reminded Hart that she represents that part of the Oakland community that is defined as a high crime area, and that improved conditions and relations both within the department and with that community were essential and long past due.

Police Chief Hart, replying to the charges, said he was compelled to say: "I categorically reject these charges that I'm racist, that I'm not concerned for the Black community or that the Oakland Police Department has taken a racist bent under my administration."

He claimed that when he learned of Brother Clark's "emergency" suspension, he immediately reversed it, and that Brother Clark had not been on suspension for two days. He said he reversed the suspension "because the violation did not warrant emergency suspension." But, in reply to questions of what action he would take against the lieutenant that issued the suspension, he said he was "not critical of the Watch Commander for taking the action," and clearly implied he was not prepared to take any disciplinary action. □

## "JUST BLACKS"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

even up to now. He had done this knowing full well that kind of domestic espionage is in violation of the Constitutional rights of people, Brother Parren Mitchell said.

He added, "It's obvious that he has conducted a Watergate-CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) type operation against Black people and White social activists."

In their original story, Olesker and Nawrozki noted that the ISD "works directly with the FBI and the Army Counterintelligence Corps and at least some of the unit's top members have undergone training by the CIA." □

## THE CRUSADE FOR BLACK \$PORT\$

BY PAUL HOCH

*Does Black Sports magazine present a new and progressively superior outlook on athletics in America, or does it actually provide the same old false glories as its White-oriented competitors, only in a different color package?*

The following essay by Dr. Paul Hoch, professor of humanities at Dawson College in Montreal, Canada, examines this question, drawing a conclusion certain to displease "cultural nationalists" both Black and White.

Much justifiable anguish has continually been expressed over the "cultural colonization" of the Black community by the "White" culture of Madison Avenue and Hollywood and the Super Bowl. Indeed, this is said to reflect the subordination of Black producers, directors, publishers and performers to the "White" cultural apparatus generally.

In this way of looking at things, it is not the subordination of millions of Black consumers to the few millionaires that control the cultural apparatus that is deemed objectionable. It is mainly that the culprits are White. (Presumably all would be well if the head brainwashers were Black.)

In this cultural nationalist way of looking at things *Black Sports* is superior to *Sports Illustrated*, the Johnson rags such as *Ebony* are to be defended against *Time*, and virtuous Black film producers must be supported to do battle with MGM.

In this way of looking at things the color of the cultural control-

ers is assumed to be all-important. Their relations of dominance toward the cultural consumers becomes of no importance at all. Irrelevant also is the fact that both *Sports Illustrated* and *Black Sports* are dispensing a plastic "bread - n - circuses - for - the people" spectacle, glorifying the virtues of gridiron gladiator militarism, he-man machismo, the super-masculine menialism of the gladiator elite and the passive spectatorism of the masses of "fans" (the word is a shortened version of the original, "fanatics").

The net effect of both exercises in sports hero worship is to more firmly pacify the spectators, and accustom them to the role of passive consumers. Indeed, in many ways, since it gives them idols of their own color to pseudo-identify with, *Black Sports* is probably much more effective at this sort of pacification program than *Sports Illustrated*.

### IDENTITY

Yet *Black Sports* is supposed to be important to developing what is called a "Black identity." The trouble is that this identity revolves around not what Black people DO, but around what they CONSUME. It is the sort of identity in which most people are encouraged to regard themselves as passive consumers of products produced by elites (including Black elites) elsewhere, and by which they hope to vicariously achieve some sort of self-respect.

The Black cultural elite, of course, is not particularly interested in getting away from cultural elitism. Seeing most



UCLA player driving for a lay-up against North Carolina.

Black Americans basically as passive consumers of its products, from dashikis to baseball stars, it eschews (disregards) any sort of people's control over culture and instead continues to promote its own top-down consumerist view of the world.

The principal difference between *Sports Illustrated* and *Black Sports* lies in the packaging not the product: *Black Sports* comes in a black wrapper.

Perhaps this might be thought slightly unfair, since *Black Sports* does occasionally run some sort of article bearing on racism in sport and does occasionally call for Black sports owners. However, the fact is that the magazine never deals with the root causes of racism in sports, including the lack of control that the players (White and Black) have over their conditions of work.

The lack of athletes control, and the exploitation of the athletes, is certainly NOT dealt with by changing the color of the owner.

Indeed, it is not hard to see why the Black cultural elite is so in love with cultural nationalism: many of their writers would be unable to stomach the top-down elitist, plastic garbage they are asked to turn out if they did not at least have the consolation of saying that it was "Black."

But, in fact, it is "Black" only in the sense that it is aimed mainly at more efficiently exploiting the Black population.

It might better be called "Blacksploitation." □

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It does.



## CHINA ON AFRICA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Fearing no sacrifice and fighting indomitably on the battlefield, the people in the Portuguese territories adhered to principle and dared to struggle at the negotiation table. In its negotiations, Guinea-Bissau smashed the Portuguese and a "referendum" and defended the principle of national independence. The African people have come to realize, through their fight for national independence, that struggle can never be given up and people's armament can only be strengthened, not weakened even when victory is won.

Two months after Mozambican transitional government was formed last September, a handful of colonialists twice engineered revolts in an attempt to hinder Mozambican independence. The Mozambican people and its armed forces firmly suppressed these revolts in defense of the fruits of their victory.

In their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the African people realize full well that without political independence there can be no economic independence, and with out the latter a country's independence remains incomplete and insecure.

In the words of the current chairman of the Organization of African Unity: "The total liberation of Africa from imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism cannot be fully achieved without economic emancipation." During this year, more and more independent African countries are taking economic independence as their aim, and in their new awakening are forming a surging tide against the enemy.

Which path leads to economic independence? Is it by way of reliance on self-strength or on foreign countries, on the "aid" of the super-power in particular? The Algerian Head of State, President Houari Boumedienne, has given the answer: "We must first of all learn to rely on ourselves. ... We ourselves must take the responsibility for our own development."

TO BE CONTINUED

a voteless  
people are a  
hopeless people.

## Letters to the Editor

Dearest Comrades,

Greeting to you all from Okinawa. I'm a third world Brother doing G.I. organizing for PCS/MLO here in Asia. I'm sure you are aware of our publication, Omega Press, that we currently exchange with you.

However, there has been an increase of Black Brothers frequenting our center, more politically advanced than most Whites, to which, until my arrival on Okinawa, the project was geared. Now with the increased input we find ourselves needing more and more literature.

What I would like to find out is us being able to obtain THE BLACK PANTHER in bulk to be distributed to active duty G.I.s. If you could send me all the specifics, that is airmail rates for perhaps 50 copies sent directly to us in Okinawa. We could work out finances. Also books and pamphlets we could order from you. Anything would help as the situation over here is very isolated. Moreover, Blacks in the military are subject to worse treatment, harsher punishment than their White counterparts.

Amidst all the racism, the day to day oppression, the constant harassment, people still persist in obtaining knowledge. We need books, newspapers anything, so people can study; so that people can grow. Any advice you can give us concerning this would sure be appreciated.

I embrace you all in revolutionary love,

Phil Parker

Kin-son, Okinawa

(Editor's Note: Information is on the way — with revolutionary love!)

□ □ □

Sisters and Brothers, Greetings,

I am writing to you from a maximum security cell-block fitted with nothing but love and Blackness. I, along with Bro. Chaka T. Bailey, would like to say that your work with all the beautiful Black children in the Intercommunal Youth Institute shows nothing but unity and love for all Black people.

I just can't mention only one of your accomplishments, because you are involved in so many beautiful programs to satisfy the needs of the Black community. I have been writing you since last year, but I have recently found out that my mail along with the mail of Bro. Chaka T. had been torn up.

Recently it has been going out to some places, but they still are violating our rights. I must say "right on" to Sisters Elaine Brown and Ericka Huggins. They are truly two beautiful Black sisters who show much dedication and a proven commitment to better the cause of Black people. It is a wonderful thing to see Black children of all ages performing and demonstrating techniques and showing their different abilities.

I'm here in maximum security reading about all the things you all are doing and wonder if I ever will have a chance to show my concern in the same way — if I ever reach the outside...

We are being so mistreated back here, especially Bro. Chaka. I can see these racist pigs keeping us confined. My discharge date was seven months from now; Bro. Chaka's nine. On November 1 two pigs burned a Brother nearly to death. Later on a disturbance broke out in the mess hall between the races. I was given a charge of malicious wounding and received nine additional years. Bro. Chaka was sent to another maximum security facility and charged with a phony charge of supposedly stealing a pig's t.v.

We see that all over the country Blacks like ourselves who are interested in bettering our situation are being railroaded by these pigs. We keep struggling, no matter what they do...

Alonso Malik Hudgef  
Richmond, Virginia

□ □ □

Dear Editor,

Yesterday I received a letter from Rev. Bobby Hardwick. You have done three articles on his case. In it he tells me that certain officers at Georgia Diagnostic and Classification Center in Jackson, Georgia have threatened his life.

He says: "My life has been threatened by certain officers there at Jackson and I saw evidence of the same thing here (Richmond County Jail where he was being held prior to a hearing on his case). All of this came about because of my legal knowledge and assistance to my fellow incarcerated comrades who need help, but who are not gifted with the litigious skills that I have."

"Nevertheless, this recent threat came about because I helped save a comrade's life who these pigs wanted to electrocute for what the pigs say was murder of another pig, as he, the comrade, was being taken to prison."

"I took over his case and took some legal moves that saved him from the electric chair when his court appointed lawyer (who was an uncle tom) had sold him out to the pigs. I was told by informed sources that a contract was out on me at Jackson."

He also told me in this January 7 letter: "I want to make one thing completely clear to you and that is I would never take my own life under any circumstances. You are to know that irrespective of whatever the pigs say, I never under any circumstances would take my own life or that of another unless in defense of my own life or in the cause of liberation."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.  
Betsy Rogers  
Wrightsville Beach, No. Car.

## HOUSTON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

According to a former police chief Herman Short, who instructed the C.I.D. in work thwarting Black and progressive organizations, "C.I.D. worked around the clock, undercover covering what we considered radical-type meetings, taking numerous pictures, taking notes and keeping track of people coming and going."

Activities planned and implemented by the spy group included placing undercover agents in high schools and colleges to, "check militant activity" and the politically motivated attack against People's Party II, in 1970, which resulted in the death of Brother Carl Hampton, the organization's founder and leader.

Commenting on reactions to the unearthing of the files, Hofheinz stated that many politicians were "simply spied upon by the police department as they pursued votes in the community."

Noting that the intelligence operation was the result of ten years insensitivity to the civil liberties of the people of Houston, the mayor continued: "You can't single out a single person. You have got to blame the system."

The list of names on those files compiled by snooping into sex lives and illegal wiretapping, blocked from destruction by police and city officials in Judge Singleton's ruling, was handed over to him last week. The judge intends to use the list as evidence in further revelations into the Houston spy probe. □

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## STATE WITNESS IN ATTICA TRIAL SAYS HE LIED

(Buffalo, N.Y.) — Brother Charles H. Crowley, a former inmate at Attica State Prison, testified before a Wyoming County pretrial hearing here last week that under an atmosphere of intense terror he had lied to a state grand jury in order to save his life.

Brother Crowley had identified, during the grand jury investigation into the Attica rebellion, four of five Black men accused by prison officials of having murdered two White inmates during the 1971 mass protest.

The five men originally charged with murder are Herbert X. Blyden, Roger Champen, Bernard Strobe, Eric Thompson, and Frank (Big Black) Smith. Crowley identified all the accused except Brother Thompson.

A resident of Brooklyn, New York, Crowley, 44, stated he had been repeatedly beaten by prison guards for six days after being taken from the prison yard September 11.

Forty-two indictments charging 62 inmates and former inmates with alleged conspiracy in the rebellion have been handed down.

The purpose of the pretrial hearing is to determine whether the state used proper procedures in selecting and preparing its witnesses for trial.



Troops barring newsmen during the 1971 Attica rebellion in which 43 inmates and guards were killed in a total military onslaught.

According to the report of the New York State Special Commission on Attica, the two White inmates, Barry Schwartz and Kenneth Hess, were killed because of statements they made to television reporters without the authority of the inmate representative committee. The two men were allegedly taken from the prison yard by inmate security guards whereupon they were stripped and killed sometime during the rebellion.

On September 11, two days after the rebellion began Brother Crowley, who had been an inmate negotiator, had to be hospitalized because of an acute illness. Taken out of the prison yard to the hospital by guards, he was "interrogated" by at least seven "correction" officers (who he named). It was here that the terror began.

"They beat me for at least a half an hour," Brother Crowley said. "I was made to crawl around on the floor and shout 'White Power' and kiss their feet."

The beatings continued for two days. When the rebellion ended with the brutal reoccupation of the prison on Sept. 13, Crowley was again attacked by the guards, brutally sodomized with night sticks, and forced to identify the four Black men accused by prison authorities of the murder of Schwartz and Hess.

Brother Crowley told the court he was so frightened he would have testified against his own mother. "I gave an interview under an atmosphere of the most intense terror I have ever known. I gave an interview to save my life." □



Inmates JOHN HILL (LEFT) and CHARLES PARNASILICE recently indicted for the alleged killing of an Attica Prison Guard.

## ATTICA BROTHERS WIN LEGAL VICTORIES

### GAIN EXTRA CHALLENGES, 8 INDICTMENTS DROPPED, BAN STRIP SEARCHES

(Buffalo, N.Y.) — Three separate courtroom victories have highlighted the Attica Brothers trial proceedings recently, casting new light on the government's continuing persecution and harassment of the participants in the 1971 prison rebellion.

In the latest victory, last week, the N.Y. state Court of Appeals ruled to grant defense lawyers additional challenges of prospective jurors in the trial of Attica Brothers John Hill and Charles Parnasilice.

William Kunstler and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, lawyers for the pair, argued that the additional peremptory challenges were necessary because of "strong currents" against Hill and Parnasilice in the Buffalo area.

The peremptory challenges allow the defense 30 opportunities to reject potential jurors without stating reasons for doing so. The prosecution, in this first major Attica case, are allowed 20 such challenges.

In the other victories, on December 23, indictments were dismissed against eight Attica Brothers for "lack of sufficient evidence."

And, on December 20, Federal District Court Judge John Curtin ordered a temporary injunction barring guards at Erie County Jail from strip searching Big Black (Frank Smith), national director of the Attica Brothers Offense/Defense (ABO/D), when visiting his co-defendant in another case stemming from the September 9 to 13, 1971, prison take over.

Referring to the December 23 dismissals, made at the request of the prosecutor's office, Polly Eustice of the ABO/D said, "The

overwhelming thing is that they (the government) demonstrated that they simply don't have cases against the Brothers."

One of those whose charges were dropped, Omar Seku (Otis McGaughy), spent 24 months in solitary confinement after being indicted for kidnapping Attica guard Franklin Kline and stabbing inmate Ronald Lyons.

In their move for dismissal, the prosecution admitted that "McGaughy's timely intervention (during the rebellion) saved Kline from being injured." Kline himself told reporters, "Otis saved my life."

Ronald Lyons has told the prosecution that he was never stabbed.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## BILL WALTON VISITS LEARNING CENTER

Basketball star BILL WALTON, (center) with co-captains of Community Learning Center's Teen Basketball Team. After visiting the Center last week with his new advisor Charles Garry, and learning of its community service programs, Bill agreed to become a sponsor for the basketball team. See full details in next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.





## "CHA-CHA" JIMENEZ CAMPAIGN

DEMAND END TO  
ARSON, FUNDS  
FOR REPLACEMENT  
HOUSING

(Chicago, Ill.) — Jose "Cha-Cha" Jimenez, candidate for 48th ward Alderman here, has demanded that the city implement a program of witness protection and immunity so that the large developers who pay people to set fires will be prosecuted.

Because these fires are in low income areas, Mr. Jimenez has also demanded that funds from the \$43.8 million in 1974 Housing and Community Development Act money go to replace low income housing on these sites.

Speaking at a recent demonstration, Mr. Jimenez said, "The pattern of arson in this city has been centered around areas where large developers have money-making interests. For example, people in the community have known for two years that Bill Thompson, the Mayor's ex-son-in-law, has been buying up the land along Broadway and planning a massive middle and upper income development. The rash of fires, therefore, came as no surprise. A similar situation exists with William Strickland in



"Cha-Cha" Jimenez supporters take to the streets for their candidate.

the buildings along the new college site on Racine Street. These are only two examples.

"For the past few months my campaign legal team has been investigating arson throughout the ward. We attempted to ascertain why past arson investigations in this area have failed to produce successful prosecutions when knowledge of arson was widespread in the community. We have determined that the problem lies in witnesses' fear of testifying because of the threat of retaliation.

"Therefore, we demand that a full-scale, well publicized program be enacted jointly by the city and the state attorney's office to provide witness protection and immunity in arson cases. Witness protection would be afforded the many people who have evidence of arson and

immunity could be granted to get at those who pay others to burn buildings.

"The real task we face is the creation of stable communities. When a low income building is burned, families are put out on the street — often with no money to find a new place and usually having lost everything they owned. We are moved from one unstable community to another.

"We demand that a portion of the 43.8 million dollars and future funding provided in the federal 1974 Housing & Community Development Act be spent to replace the low income housing destroyed on burned out sites. The families who have been pushed from one community to another have a right, finally, to be able to stay and live in a stable community." □

EYES ON  
CITY HALL

## PORT REJECTS JOB PLAN

Commissioners at the Port of Oakland last week rejected attempts to help ease this city's skyrocketing unemployment problem because the jobs, they said, paid too much. By a 3-3 vote which meant rejection (Tom Berkley, the commission's only Black member, was absent), the Port commissioners sent back to the City Council plans to employ 36 heads of households under the emergency, federally-funded "jobs-for-the-unemployed" program. The commissioners said that the proposed \$700 a month (\$8,400 a year) salary for construction and draftsmen aides was too much — although none of the salaries would come from the Port's own \$90 million annual business turnover — and suggested instead a salary of \$531 a month (\$6,372 a year). According to *Oakland Tribune* reporter Bill Eaton, the commissioners "grumbled" about the possibility of hiring more workers.

## NO TENANTS FUNDS

Oakland Housing Authority Commissioners have withheld funding the \$13,596 annual budget for the Oakland Housing Tenants Organization. Although the commissioners at first agreed to fund the tenants union, they later rescinded their decision for "bookkeeping problems" thus denying local public housing residents a voice in their own affairs. The commission also discussed terminating an agreement with the tenants group to operate laundry facilities in the projects. The "bookkeeping problems" line is a common ploy frequently used by city agencies and staff to discredit local public service programs.

## BAN FIRE ALARMS?

Concern over false fire alarms may spell the elimination of all street boxes in the near future, judging by the complacency of a majority of the members of the Oakland City Council last week. A report on the false alarm situation made before the Council by Oakland Fire Chief Steven Menietti was, in fact, endorsed by Councilman Eng who off-handedly suggested that most people report fires by telephone, anyway.

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RUCHELL  
MAGEE  
SENTENCED  
TO LIFE  
IMPRISONMENT

(San Jose, Calif.) — Brother Ruchell Magee, a former codefendant with Angela Davis, was sentenced to life imprisonment on a charge of aggravated kidnapping; a charge his attorney stated Magee confessed to under stress in August.

The charge stemmed from the incident at the Marin County Courthouse, August 7, 1970, in which Brother Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas, and James McClain were gunned down by San Quentin guards. Judge Harold Haley was killed in the attack. Several court attendants and Magee were wounded.

As Brother Magee was being led out of the courtroom following the sentencing, he shouted:

"Angela Davis is a pig. Angela Davis is a snitch, a pig, a dirty stinking rat."

An appeal made to the full U.S. Supreme Court to withdraw the guilty plea and schedule a new trial was rejected.





Rep. PARREN MITCHELL was among those spied upon by the Baltimore police.

## CHARGE THAT DOSSIERS KEPT "JUST ON BLACKS" BACKFIRES IN BALTIMORE

(Baltimore, Md.) — In an attempt to appease racist passions here, a statement by Baltimore Police Commissioner Donald Pomerleau on secret dossiers which were kept on "just the Blacks," backfired as it was revealed the dossiers included many White citizens.

In a copyrighted news story which appeared in December 23 *Baltimore News American*, reporters Michael Olesker and Joe Nawrozki told of surveillance into the lives of clergymen, antiwar and women's liberation activists, labor unions and reporters since 1966.

A subsequent article in the *Washington Post* quoted a police spokesperson as saying that the Inspectional Services Division (ISD), set up in 1966 and responsible for the surveillance, closed down its political surveillance operations in 1973. However, Olesker and Nawrozki discovered the ISD maintains its spying operation.

### INFILTRATED

Further investigation has shown ISD spied on hospital workers, teachers, sanitation strikers, and infiltrated the strike committees.

The unit also spied on school board members and has kept a series of files on an environmental group that opposed a nuclear power plant at Calvert Cliffs. The ISD even kept files on a consumers' group that protested electrical rate increases.

However, the bulk of the disclosures have been of Blacks, particularly those active in various levels of politics or community service.

Brother Parren Mitchell, U.S. Representative for Maryland and his brother Brother Clarence Mitchell, state senator, have files kept on them. Parren Mitchell's campaign committee was infiltrated.

Infiltrators attended debates to determine links between Brother Parren Mitchell's campaign and progressive Black organizations. One undercover man, new at the time, attended a rally/debate only to increase his credibility with "elements of the Black Panther Party and the SOUL School (a Baltimore activist group)," according to the report.

Public furor over the disclosures prompted the city to initiate a grand jury investigation. But Governor Marvin Mandel, after receiving a report on the spy charges, said: "...there is no suggestion of anything wrong."

Upon learning of the existence of the files, Parren Mitchell demanded the resignation of Pomerleau. "I am convinced that he is continuing that operation

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

## PROBE MADE INTO HOUSTON POLICE FILES

(Houston, Texas) — In the wake of CIA domestic intelligence investigations the Houston Police Criminal Investigation Division was blasted recently for keeping secret dossiers on over 1,000 Houston citizens.

The CIA which has a history of illegal spying, infiltration and terror, kept files on individuals and organizations involved in political activity, particularly around human issues such as civil rights, and anti-war activity. Files were also kept on women's liberation groups and the Harris County Democratic Party, but none as noted by Police Chief C.M. Lynn on the 15 top narcotics dealers in the city.

According to Chief Lynn, among these named ranged from conservatives to Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz to Black liberal U.S. Representative Barbara Jordan. Hofheinz contends that Jordan and himself were the only political figures named on the list of files. However, the wide range of names and groups on the list conflict with this view.

A \$55 million class action suit filed against past and present police and city officials was filed by former school board member Gertrude Barnstone and attorney Larry Sauer who is the legal representative of the Houston Chapter of the Black Panther Party.



Members of the three person panel to purge Houston police spy files. (Left to right) SPURGEON E. BELL, A.A. WHITE, and OTIS H. KING.

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The suit asked the court to take custody of the files and seal them, a move that has recently been taken by federal District Judge John V. Singleton, Jr. in spite of objections by police officials.

The linking of their names to "Subversive" actions, according to the A.C.L.U., have made Barnstone, and Sauer subjects of ridicule and humiliation causing them to lose social status.

During World War II, the Criminal Investigation Division of the Houston Police Department began as a two member intelligence unit assisting military police personnel.

From this point, it continued to work actively in undercover police operations, until ordered disbanded by then Chief of Police Jack Heard in 1955. However, the group was reactivated in 1962, again as a two member organization. In 1964, the unit was increased to four, and later to the hard core security division trained in infiltration, espionage and terror.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22





Aerial view San Quentin Prison, Tamal, Calif.

## GUARD DRUG RING AT SAN QUENTIN UNCOVERED

(San Quentin, Calif.) — Prison officials reported break-up of a drug smuggling ring set up by guards working in San Quentin mailroom should convince skeptics that contrary to the authorities' false propaganda it is the prison personnel who introduce dangerous drugs inside prisons and not the visitors of inmates.

One San Quentin guard, Gary Vern Elston, was arrested last week for investigation of possessing cocaine for sale. Another guard has been suspended but not charged because, said prison information officer Bill Nyberg, "we weren't able to catch him at it."

The drug smuggling operation may have involved three other guards and a woman clerk, all of whom have been questioned about drug use and the smuggling operation and put on leave without pay.

### COCAINE

Elston was arrested when officers found a substance believed to be cocaine in his apartment. The second guard "was trafficking but we can't prove it," Nyberg said and added that the guard was suspended and probably would be fired.

Prison officials began investigating the drug ring two months ago after receiving tips from inmates and other guards, according to the San Quentin information officer.

Prison officials claim that absurdly stringent visiting regulations at San Quentin and other prisons were established to prevent visitors from smuggling things to inmates. This argument has been opposed by many groups, individuals and families and friends of prisoners who seek only to visit their loved ones behind bars.

The discovery of the drug smuggling operation set up by profiteering guards seriously

weakens the authorities' contention that visitors smuggle drugs into inmates. The ridiculously strict visiting regulations should be relaxed and all prison personnel should be thoroughly investigated by an outside body for criminal activity such as trafficking drugs. The guilty should be fired and prosecuted.

Drug trafficking has been common inside San Quentin in recent years, contributing to tensions and violence — all instigated by guards. □

## B.P.P. NEWSPAPER RACKS VANDALIZED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

to the community news and information about it," Ellis explained.

THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper racks were first placed in Oakland and San Francisco last April and cost from \$75 to \$85 each.

The city recently announced a "beautification" program and informed Brother White that THE BLACK PANTHER rack on the west side of 14th Street at Broadway in downtown Oakland didn't meet the "beauty" qualifications of the city.

In the future, Brother White was informed, all new racks will have to be placed on concrete pedestals which will cost from \$85 to \$100 in rental charges.

Brother White feels that this beautification campaign and the city's arbitrary specifications for news racks is the city's attempt to destroy small community newspapers.

"We must unite and demand some decision-making power about these racks," he said. □

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## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### FOOD RIOT TRAINING

(Los Angeles, Calif.) — With depression deepening, the Los Angeles Police Department is training its 7,200-officer force in crowd control in anticipation of the break out of massive "food riots." Commander Frank Brittell said that, "What really focused attention on it was the state of the economy. Frankly I'm afraid of food riots and I don't know how that would go down." More than 500 supervisors have already gone through the program and plan for drills at each station house.

### KILLER COP INSANE

(Brooklyn, N.Y.) — Frank P. Bosco, the White cop who was cleared last month by a Brooklyn grand jury of criminal negligence in the cold-blooded murder of 14-year-old Brother Claude Reese, Jr., was granted a "psychiatric discharge" and a pension by the police department last week. Three psychiatrists recommended Bosco's retirement, indicating in the medical report that he was suffering from a "severe mental illness."

### KLAN SUPPORT

(Charleston, W. Va.) — After several members of the Ku Klux Klan, including Imperial Wizard James R. Venable of Stone Mountain, Georgia, appeared at rallies and pledged to support the drive against new textbooks in Kanawha County schools, the Charleston Branch of the NAACP held a news conference stating, "The national leader of the Klan has endeavored to inject the poison of racial bigotry and hatred among the peoples of Kanawha County to such a magnitude that has not been so vividly manifested in recent years."

### COLLEGE RACISM

(Washington, D.C.) — The Justice Department charged last week that the students and faculties of Mississippi's 25 state colleges and universities were illegally racially segregated. The Department asked the court to prohibit state officials from continuing to operate a racially dual system of higher education and to order them to develop and implement a plan to desegregate the system.





Published public school expenditures will insure school children, such as the ones above, a better education.

## OAKLAND SCHOOL GROUPS WIN AUDIT DISCLOSURE

(Oakland, Calif.) — A Superior Court judge here recently ordered officials of the Oakland Unified School District to publicly divulge the results of an audit of the city's compensatory education program, thus releasing information said to confirm widespread violations of the program's guidelines.

The ruling, made by Contra Costa County Superior Court Judge Robert Cooney, is a major victory for local community groups here, who have persisted in charging that the Oakland Unified School District misused the federal funds at the expense of this city's school children.

Plaintiffs in the winning lawsuit were: Sylvester Grisby, chairperson of the District Advisory Committee (DAC) for the compensatory education program here; Charlie Chaney of the School Advisory Committees (SAC) at Highland elementary and Elmhurst junior high schools; Nita de Berry and Oscar Wright of Golden Gate elementary schools (SAC); the Education Finance and Government Reform Project (EFRP); and the Project's attorney, Ernest Aubrey.

Named as defendants were: Wilson Riles, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; three other state education officials; and Andrew J. Viscovich, Oakland's associate superintendent for educational development and services.

The suit asked the court to declare the audit a public record. It charged that Riles instructed the state department and local officials not to release the results of the inquiry.

During the last several months, the state has been conducting an

investigation ("Program Review and Improvement" audit) of the compensatory education programs in the Oakland school district. This investigation was ordered by the State Board of Education following charges that the school district had been operating compensatory programs with federal funds in a manner violating the provisions

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## BLACK MAN "KILLED" AT TERRE HAUTE PRISON INMATES CITE MEDICAL NEGLECT BY GUARDS AND STAFF

(Terre Haute, Ind.) — On January 6, William Lowe died in the hospital within the Federal Penitentiary located at Terre Haute, Indiana, reports the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization in a press release last week. William Lowe would have been around today had his illness been properly attended to.

Three days preceding his death, Lowe tried to be admitted to the prison hospital; this was on the evening of January 3, a

Friday. He was refused. On Saturday, January 4, six prisoners living in Lowe's housing unit protested vehemently with the guard on duty to call the hospital and demand Lowe be admitted. The guard finally consented; but the guard in the hospital said no one would be admitted to the hospital unless he was on his "death-bed."

Later that day, Lowe was admitted to the hospital. His case was diagnosed as pneumonia by the medical training assistant



Black inmates of Oklahoma State prison demonstrate their determination to continue the struggle against inhumane prison conditions.

### DELLUMS' CORNER

## INTRODUCES BILL TO CURB C.I.A.

Citing an urgent need to eliminate the "interventionist" role of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Bay Area Representative Ron Dellums of the Eighth Congressional District has introduced legislation in Congress to sharply limit the activities of America's ultra-secret spy group.

The legislation would strengthen Congressional oversight of the CIA; insure civilian control and disallow "covert actions" which are directed toward efforts to overthrow foreign governments and military and paramilitary operations or assassinations.

The CIA has been accused of and documented to have intervened and meddled in the internal affairs of Cuba, Vietnam, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras as well as other countries around the globe.

Introducing his bill, Congressman Dellums said:

"When these illegal and ill-conceived activities come to light, as some of them have recently, they only serve to present this nation to the world and to our own people as a country not really committed to those precepts so self-righteously paraded in the international marketplace as moral justification for our continued world-wide use of power."

A member of the House Armed Services Committee, Dellums says he feels that appropriate committees in Congress should immediately set up "real" oversight and control mechanisms which would provide sufficient security to foreign intelligence gathering of the CIA, but prevent the agency from acting contrary to law.

A strong critic of the CIA, Dellums proposal would, of course, ban domestic intelligence spying.

(MTA)—there is no doctor at the prison from 4:00 p.m. Friday to 8:00 a.m. Monday, nor is there any competent medical staff.

Sunday evening, Lowe's vital signs were irregular and his strength was waning. He was experiencing an extreme relapse. The MTA administered Lowe a barbiturate to relax his nerves. Subsequently, Lowe died.

Even though his condition was diagnosed as pneumonia early enough in the week where his life could have been saved with proper medical care, there was never any attempt to have him taken to a hospital in the community; and the hospital staff knew that the prison hospital lacked adequate facilities to deal with Lowe's illness.

The following day, Monday, more than 800 prisoners participated in a peaceful work stoppage. Basically, the prisoners protested for two reasons:

1) To form the Prisoner's Council, a liaison group comprised of prisoners to air grievances with prison officials;

2) For better medical treatment — a doctor seven days a week during the day, and a competent medical staff at night; free and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20



# C.I.A. PROBE DISAPPEARS FROM FRONT PAGES

(Washington, D.C.) — Suddenly, with the Senate Democratic Caucus' overwhelming vote last week to set up a bipartisan Congressional select committee to investigate charges of CIA and FBI violations of U.S. citizens' rights, the issue has disappeared from front pages around the country.

The very favorable vote, 45 to 7, was unexpected, despite the fact that it reflects the popular concern throughout the country with the extent of reported violations of the civil and legal rights of American citizens, as well as gross and criminal interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Senator Frank Church of Idaho is reported to have responded to the vote with: "What happened today was a kind of revolution."

Revolution or not, the Democratic Caucus put itself on record as demanding a full scale probe into the charges, a probe similar to that which was responsible for uncovering at least some of the horrors of "Watergate," and putting the American people on guard against threats to our most basic Constitutional rights.

## RESISTANCE

The Democratic Caucus decision wisely opened up the question of the highly questionable role of the FBI in opposition to popular resistance to the Vietnam war, the civil rights movement and a host of other people's movements, organizations and actions. So now both houses of Congress are planning investigations into FBI activities.

These inquiries arose out of a Washington Post report quoting two top-level aides of the FBI who spoke of files being kept on the personal lives of members of Congress. Later, Clarence M. Kelley, director of the FBI, admitted that the bureau keeps files on members of Congress, but denied any wrong doing.

Kelley emphasized in his statement what the present policy of the bureau is on spying on Congressman. But, as was noted in some news reports, he very carefully avoided referring to what the past practice had been. A spokesman later explained that he would answer further questions before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee this week.

When in years past the Black Panther Party and other militant and progressive people's movements warned that CIA, FBI spying and disruptive interference practiced against us with the excuse of protecting national security, would lead to wholesale, spying on and interference with all American citizens, we were ignored. This latest FBI admission of the gathering of information on Congressmen once again confirms the late Malcolm X's prophecy of "the chickens coming home to roost."

The Black Panther Party's nearly nine years of experience with CIA, FBI, and police violations of the Constitutional rights



GOOD MORNING, ROCKY. THE CIA HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN DOMESTIC SPYING. YOUR ASSIGNMENT, SHOULD YOU DECIDE TO ACCEPT IT, IS TO FIND THE EXTENT OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT! IF FOR ANY REASON YOU FAIL IN THIS ASSIGNMENT, I WILL DISAVOW ANY KNOWLEDGE OF YOU IN '76! THIS TAPE WILL SELF-DESTRUCT IN FIVE SECONDS.

of its members and friends convinced us long ago of the much broader goals of such fascist measures. Consequently, the Party was among the first to raise its voice in demand for a

full, public Congressional investigation into the charges first contained in the original New York Times story, and the entire realm of alleged intelligence activity by U.S. agencies.

Moves can be expected on the Senate floor to prevent the decision by the Democratic Caucus from being adopted. This is one reason for the silence of the media: Let the furor die down and there will be less public pressure for concrete and meaningful action. This will be an important test of the sincerity and determination of the new alleged "liberal" Democratic majority in the Congress.

Meanwhile, the so-called "blue-ribbon" investigating commission set up by President Ford continues to hear testimony which attempts to minimize the extent of these Constitutional violations and ridicule charges of fundamental threats to democracy represented in the police state practices. This whitewash attempt can only be defeated if the Congress acts with conscience and conviction.

## C.I.A., I.R.S. SPYING LINKED

(Washington, D.C.) — Documents compiled by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights detail evidence that over 10,000 Americans investigated by the Central Intelligence Agency were also spied on by the Internal Revenue Service.

The work of one secret IRS "Special Services Staff" included the computerizing of lists of alleged "radicals" from the Justice Department in 1969 and 1971. The lists were part of an overall federal effort taken against Black and progressive organizations, including, and in some cases, specifically, mounted against the Black Panther Party.

## SUPPORT THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON is an independent citizens' group made up of a cross-section of attorneys, clergy, students, political activists, and other concerned citizens. The Committee, which was formed in August, 1974, is pressing for a full investigation into the intensifying pattern of attacks by police and federal authorities against Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. For further information contact THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON, c/o Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621, or call (415) 562-5261.

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# A CITIZENS' PEACE FORCE BY HUEY P. NEWTON

In the conclusion of "A Citizen's Peace Force," Brother Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, continues his discussion of the law and order industry personified in the fascist Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). He also discusses right-wing efforts for the development of a National Police Force, and citizen mobilization around such "crime" issues as the death penalty, and "crime prevention."

## CONCLUSION

While the electronic lid is being screwed down tight on the ghettos of the poor, in the frightened White middle-class suburbs and urban strongholds, the "Basic Car Plan" will be put into effect.

The "Basic Car Plan" is an ominous political experiment whose laboratory is California. Under the regime of an activist right-wing governor and attorney general, local police forces in metropolitan California cities have begun to organize reactionary activity in White neighborhoods.

## TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

WRITINGS OF  
Huey P. Newton



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A VINTAGE BOOK

Using local schools, the police are holding regular meetings that involve entire families, both children and adults. Under the guise of "crime prevention" and "community relations," fear and rage is provoked and organized.

The flag ship of this movement has been the campaign to collect signatures in order to put a proposition restoring the death penalty on the (1972) ballot. This campaign was waged through every state law enforcement institution from the office of the attorney general down to the precinct station-house. Meetings advertised as providing information on how to protect property (complete with scouting activities conducted by "Policeman Bill and Policewoman Mary") were, in fact, used to promote the death penalty, attack the peace and human rights movement, and, in general, ideologize for repression. Both children and adults have been actively recruited for undercover surveillance.

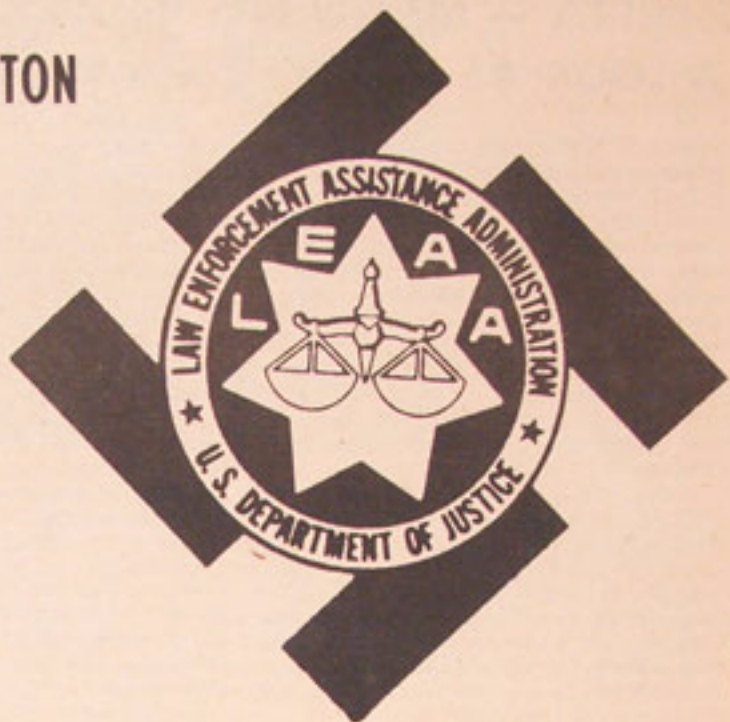
## SIGNAL FLASHED

When the signal is flashed, as it has been, from the White House itself down to the station-house, that "law and order" is to be the response to the rising cry for economic and social justice, then it is past time for the idea of a Citizen's Peace Force, armed with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, to be pitted against the idea of the Police-Industrial Complex.

What follows the war in Indo-China? The "war against crime." The Military-Industrial-University Complex is already being re-tooled not for peace but for "social control." Liberal "thinkers" at places like the Rand Corporation are working on domestic "conflict scenarios," just as a decade ago they "gamed" out the script for "counterinsurgency" in Vietnam.

A Citizens' Peace Force would, of course, save vast sums of money depending, as it would, upon local, community-based methods of person to person problem solving. The democratic dynamism, flowing from citizen responsibility and decision making, would galvanize every level of popular institutional involvement.

And, as in the equally charged issue of education, where the easily exploited tactic of "busing" begs the entire problem,



Despite the scales of justice in its symbol, the LEAA functions in a manner similar to Nazi fascism.

citizen control would allow each ethnic group to conform to traditional, cultural and politically evolving mores, morals and values.

Citizens' Peace Control looks beyond failed liberal measures and slogans like "quota system" and "citizen review board," and beyond such reactionary tactics as "law and order" and the "Basic Car Plan."

Peace Force, in this new model, would not be a euphemism for police force as it is now. The Peace force could more economically handle the work now assigned to agencies like VISTA, and handle the problems with an incalculably better chance of success than the present neocolonial bureaucratic apparatus known as the War on Poverty.

That apparatus is, in effect, conducting a war on the poor (since the fantasy of the American ruling ideology is that the poor cause poverty rather than the reverse).

The Peace Force would be cross-trained to respond to the variety of emergencies that constitute every day life in the poverty community. The comparison to a home guard is valid when one considers that the rat crisis alone is enough to occupy cadres year round, to say nothing of the need for universal inoculation for Sickle Cell Anemia, or voter registration, etc.

Finally, the danger in a "professional" nationalized police force is the same as that of a volunteer army. In both we find an elitist, racist, proto-fascist orientation and esprit.

Uneducated, unemployed, authoritarian people are attracted to the green machine or the domestic blue machine, there to be integrated into the organized violence of the state's human and technological weaponry. That is, of course, why the Nixon administration is pressing for just such a military, one that will not question the search and destroy orders from the Pentagon or inform the public about a My Lai, Kent State or a conspiracy to exterminate the Black Panther Party or the Brown Berets.

In 1792, founding father Thomas Paine said:

"Whatever the apparent cause of any riots may be, the real one is always want of happiness. It shows that something is wrong in the system of government that injures the felicity by which society is to be preserved."

America cannot have social redress in a structure of organized electronic and "legal" repression. A Citizens' Peace Force would provide a human environment for community experiment, growth, identity and responsibility, and, finally, an awareness of what role each must play as the Human Rights Revolution drives toward its climax. □



# CHINA — MOLDING SERVANTS OF HUMANKIND

## A LOOK AT THE 4th NATIONAL CONGRESS

BY DAVID DU BOIS

All the "China experts" are now busy preparing and publishing what they claim are analyses and interpretations of the results of the recently concluded Fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. Many of these "experts" have never been inside People's China. Others are strongly opposed to China's declared intention to build a Communist society. Almost all attempt to measure events in People's China with U.S. or Western yardsticks.

Here are some facts that have generally been ignored in U.S. press reports about the Congress.

### FIRST SESSION

What the China national news agency, *Hsinhua*, described as the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress was held from January 13 to 17, at the Great Hall of the People in Peking. Before the opening of the Congress, preliminary meetings were held from January 5 to 11, in which the delegates discussed the main documents of the Congress and other preparatory work.

Of a total of 2,885 delegates elected to the Congress, 2,864 attended. Seventy-two per cent of the delegates were industrial workers, peasants or members of the People's Liberation Army of China. More than 22 per cent were women. All 54 minority nationalities of China were represented among the delegates.

Included among the delegates were returned overseas Chinese, elected representatives

from Hong Kong and Macao, delegates representing "patriotic democratic parties" and "revolutionary cadres, intellectuals and outstanding personages."

The Congress had a three-point agenda: 1. The revision of the constitution; 2. The report on the work of the government; and 3. The election and appointment of the leading personnel of the state.

The "experts" claim that the re-election of Chou En-Lai as Prime Minister of China and the election of Teng Hsiao-ping, a longtime colleague of Chou, as Deputy Prime Minister shows that what they call "the moderates" have won the struggle with "the militants" for leadership in China.

### MAO TSE-TUNG

These "experts" further claim that the failure of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to appear at the Congress indicates that his power is waning and that Chou En-lai is "taking over" leadership of the country.

These alleged experts are leading the American people and those responsible for formulating U.S. policy toward China down a dangerously incorrect path. They are attempting to delude the American people into believing that those rapidly dwindling forces inside China that oppose or disagree with the Communist Party's line of continuous revolution are winning. Nothing could be further from the truth.



Huge portrait of Mao Tse-tung looked down on delegates of the Fourth National Congress.

### CAMPAIGN CO-CHAIRPERSON

## ATTY. JOHN GEORGE: "ELAINE BROWN, VOICE OF THE POOR AND OPPRESSED"

(Oakland, Calif.) — "If Elaine Brown's elected to the Oakland City Council, it would be a great demonstration of the voice of the poor and oppressed," declared John George, member of the Executive Committee of the Committee to Elect Elaine Brown, in an interview with *THE BLACK PANTHER* last week.

"It wouldn't be any more rhetoric," said Mr. George, a prominent Black attorney. "She represents a change in the priorities we talk about. In her very person she says 'resources for the poor.'"

### THE POOR

Mr. George said he became involved in Ms. Brown's campaign because, "The major issue facing the country is what should be done about the conditions of the poor. We spent our lives talking about what we were going to do — she struggled out there. The City Council seat is merely an extension, a continuation of that same struggle."

"Elaine speaks for a constituency that something must be done for or otherwise we're just talking, and she's a good representative of that constituency. She's clever, sharp and a leader."

"It comes down to not a question so much of why did I get involved in her campaign — What else could I do? Thanks Elaine for helping me get involved with somebody who is doing something for the people."

Mr. George, 46, lives in Oakland with his wife and three children ages 14, 11 and six. He has been practicing law for 12 years. His clients are 99.9 per cent Black.

He is presently chairman of the executive committee of Congressman Ron Dellums' organization, vice-chairman of the Alameda County Democratic Central Committee, involved in the Democratic Club and vice-chairman of the West Oakland Community Development Corporation.

### MAJOR ISSUES

As regards the major issues in the campaign, Mr. George said that community development funds should go to the people for whom they were designated — the poor. These funds should be used to build middle income housing for low income people. It is also essential to see who will control the funds.

On education Mr. George said, "You can't have a great city without great schools. Elaine's involvement in alternative schools



Attorney JOHN GEORGE, Executive Com

shows that you can reach others besides the White and Black middle class. We need in the public schools an alternative to the middle class curriculum, which does nothing but frustrate and punish Black children. She can use the forum of the City Council to talk about education."

Mr. George also cited issues such as the status of women, better health care, food and jobs. "Elaine looks at creative ways of trying to create jobs," he said.



Much attention in U.S. reports of the Congress has been focused on the fact that it has been ten years since the last National Congress was held and that the just concluded Congress was postponed several times before it was finally held. They claim that these delays are the result of "in-fighting" between individuals in the leadership.

What they either do not know, refuse to admit or disbelieve is the fact that decisions that are put into effect in People's China are always the result of extensive research, examination, discussion and revision throughout the entire country before they are executed. This process takes place first within the Communist Party of China. It is then repeated throughout all levels of government and people's organizations, under the leadership of Communist Party representatives within government and people's organizations.

#### PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

Since nearly the whole 800 million people of China are organized in every conceivable type and form of "people's organizations," and since the territory of China covers nearly one-sixth of the Earth's surface, and since everyone is encouraged, indeed compelled, to fully and freely express themselves on issues under examination and discussion, this process takes a while and is constantly liable to extension. Delegates to the Congress are those elected by the people's organizations from every region of the country and all categories of the people, who made outstanding contributions to the long and always thorough examination, discussion and revision of all decisions placed before the Congress.



(Left to right) CHOU EN-LAI; TENG HSIAO-PING; and YEH CHIEN-YING. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party strives to combine centralism and democracy. The 4th National Congress was a prime example of the advancement toward this goal.

The assumption that Chairman Mao's failure to appear at the Congress indicates decline in his power is stupid. Chairman Mao does not hold a government position in China. The Congress is the highest legislative body of the government of China, in which Communist Party members participate. But it is not the Communist Party. Mao Tse-tung is Chairman of the Communist Party.

One of the goals of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius is to establish the absolute supremacy of the Communist Party of China as the guiding force in the country, while at the same time giving full reign and freedom to the people's organizations and the government, under the leadership of workers, peasants and the army, to carry out their tasks. I see Chairman Mao's

absence from the Fourth National People's Congress of China as concrete expression of that goal and an example to be followed in the future.

In addition, Chairman Mao is now 81 years old and obviously subject to the debilitating effects of age, constant overwork and the severe cold weather of Peking in January. □

(Next week's selection will return to Tachai Commune, describing the way the peasants of the village, using their own resources, turned hilly, rocky and gullied land into fertile fields and formerly poverty stricken Tachai village into a flourishing Production Brigade of the 20 Village Communes.)



tee person for ELAINE BROWN.

He also referred to the Port of Oakland which, he said has been dodging its responsibility to the city. Resources from the Port could provide support for social programs, he added.

"We have got to demonstrate in this campaign for City Council that nobody can run and hide from a true representative of the people."

Mr George's final message to the readers was "Get to Workin'." □

## E.O.C. SHOCKED AT DEATH OF FORMER EMPLOYEE



The following statement was released to the press by the Board of Directors for the Educational Opportunities Corporation (EOC) on Wednesday, January 22. It was issued in the wake of the death of Mrs. Betty Van Patter, 45, an employee for EOC, whose body was discovered last week floating in the San Francisco Bay. She had been missing since some time in December, 1974.

"The Board members and administrative staff of the Educational Opportunities Corporation were shocked to learn yesterday of the horrible discovery of the body of one of our employees, Mrs. Betty Van Patter. We were especially disturbed to hear of this tragedy in

the wake of the recent (October, 1974) death of another of our employees, Mr. Bruce Washington.

"Although Mrs. Van Patter had only been with us a short time, having come to us in September, 1974, from Ramparts magazine, we feel that her brutal death has affected us all.

"We know that the 110 children and teachers at our school, the hundreds of teens in our various teen programs, the hundreds of seniors, disabled people, women and other groups whom we serve feel the same regret and sorrow over this tragedy, and, like our Board of Directors and staff, look for a complete investigation into the circumstances surrounding Mrs. Van Patter's death."



MRS. BETTY VAN PATTEN



# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

#### 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

#### 2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

#### 3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

#### 4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

#### 5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

#### 6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

#### 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

#### 8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

#### 9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

#### 10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.





## Intercommunal News



President NYERERE and FRELIMO's SAMORA MACHEL arrive together at Mogadishu Airport, Tanzania for meeting of O.A.U.

### FRELIMO HEAD:

## "THE PEOPLE CAN CRUSH ANY AGGRESSOR"

(Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania) — "Our struggle showed once again that when united by the correct political line, when motivated by their fundamental interests, the people are able to crush any aggressor, however powerful he might be," Samora Moises Machel, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), told the delegate to the 24th session of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity here recently.

Samora Machel, soon to head the independent government of Mozambique, was speaking before the opening session of the Liberation Committee on January 8. The session was also addressed by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere.

Referring to the task facing the FRELIMO-led transitional government of Mozambique, Samora Machel said: "The transitional government has the glorious task of leading the country to independence on June 25, of dismantling the colonial state apparatus and extending to the whole country the people's democratic power, already in existence in the liberated zones."

He added: "Led by FRELIMO, creatively implementing the watchword 'Unity, Work and Vigilance,' our people have engaged themselves in a new and decisive battle."

Referring to the emergence to independence of the three former Portuguese territories in Africa, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, President Nyerere told the assembled delegates: "It is now clear both that the Africans will fight if that is the only way of gaining national independence, and that the Africans can continue fighting until the objective is

achieved. That is what the people of Guinea-Bissau, of Mozambique and of Angola have done. It is what the peoples of Rhodesia and Namibia (South West Africa) will do if necessary."

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## GUINEA PRESIDENT TOURE REAFFIRMS CONTROL OF RAW MATERIALS

(Conakry, Guinea) — Speaking before a special session of the legislative assembly here, President Sekou Toure strongly reaffirmed his country's ownership and control over its own raw materials, *Hsinhua* news agency reports.

"Raw materials in Guinea are the exclusive property of its sovereign people," President Toure said in his speech on the exploitation of mineral resources.

He added, "the Guinean people shall not submit to any power and must take necessary measures to safeguard their national interests..."

"Accordingly, only their government has the right to determine the value of various raw materials in the country."

## ARAB OIL STATES GIVE \$5 BILLION TO 3rd WORLD COUNTRIES

### FACTS CONTRADICT WESTERN PROPAGANDA

(New York, N.Y.) — The Arab oil exporting countries contributed more than \$5 billion to Third World developing countries last year, *The New York Times* reported last week, in the face of repeated propaganda attempts to blame the oil-rich countries for increasing hardships for developing countries resulting from higher oil prices.

Efforts of the oil producing countries to obtain a fairer share of the wealth created by their main natural resource through increased prices has repeatedly been blamed for large increases in fuel and fertilizer bills for developing countries. Thus Western propagandists try to pit the developing countries against

the oil producing countries and create unnatural divisions.

However, *The New York Times* (January 18, 1975) reports that the oil producing countries are allotting part of their wealth to the less well-off countries of the Third World "through development loans, investments and humanitarian aid."

The report states that Arab oil producers created a \$200 million fund to offset higher oil prices from which 15 African countries have so far received close to \$40 million in 10-year, interest-free loans. A \$20 million joint investment by Kuwait (a major oil producer) with Mauritania is designed to begin development of iron mines, recently nationalized by that west African country.

Libya has authorized an investment of up to \$100 million in Zaire for a copper mine development that could cost \$440 million. Egypt has been promised close to \$2 billion in financing from Arab oil countries and Iran, with \$400 million already committed to reconstruction of the Suez Canal.

### CONSTRUCTION

Construction has begun in Pakistan of a \$100 million fertilizer plant owned jointly by the Abu Dhabi national oil company and the West Pakistan Industrial Corporation. Iran and the United Arab Emirates have extended soft loans to Bangladesh to finance imports and to start construction of a \$250 million chemical fertilizer plant.

Saudi Arabia has given a \$100 million grant to Bangladesh for flood relief. Iran has agreed to invest heavily in developing iron ore mines in India, and Iraq has joined with India in joint ventures, including a large fertilizer plant.

Venezuela, the leading oil producer in Latin America, has set up a \$3 billion development fund, and has started with an \$80 million loan to six Central American countries to finance stocks of coffee. These countries depend on coffee and bananas for their income, and the idea behind the stockpiles is to prevent downward pressure on coffee prices.

When a severe earthquake struck Pakistan, killing 4,000 people and leveling numerous vil-

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## ARAB OIL STATES GIVE \$5 BILLION TO 3RD WORLD COUNTRIES

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

lages last month, Libya, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates announced they would give \$34 million for relief, far more than from any other source.

All the oil-producing countries listed above are members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). It was OPEC that developed the policy of joint demands by the oil-producing countries for increased oil revenue from the developed countries.

The *New York Times* says that the policy of generous assistance to developing countries "cannot yet be called an OPEC strategy, because there has been little coordination among the members." But, it points out that the question of OPEC relations with other developing countries is on the agenda of a meeting of oil,

finance and foreign-ministers of the oil-producing countries currently underway in Algeria.

In addition to the above listed publicly reported aid and assistance to developing countries from oil-producing countries, purchasing arrangements for oil and oil products beneficial to developing countries, but not made public, are being made.

As the oil producing countries increase their refining capacity so that they themselves can turn their raw (crude) oil into oil products such as gasoline, fuel and chemicals, and, as they increase their shipping and tanker facilities so they can ship their own oil and oil products and don't have to depend on refining and shipping facilities of developed countries, their direct relationships with other developing countries will grow. □

## OPEN LETTER FROM U.S. FARM NEWS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ernment, the greatest pay-off for the obscenely rich of all times. Your recent press conference, nationally broadcast, clearly showed your subservience to the military. You left the problem in the hands of the U.S. arms negotiators, solidly packed with high ranking Military Brass and Cold War Warriors. Not a single sincere person of peace is a member of this group, therefore nothing of value will come of these "negotiations" until men of peace replace men of plunder and war.

Mr. Nixon's Secretary of State and firm friend of Nelson Rockefeller, Henry A. Kissinger, is not a man of peace but of war. He is one of the chief architects, along with Gen. Maxwell Taylor, a close friend of the late Lyndon Johnson, of limited warfare, such as the monumental disaster of the illegal, immoral and genocidal war of naked and raw U.S. government aggression against the unfortunate peasant people of Indochina. And this utterly insane war by proxy continues, sir, under you. Kissinger is a disaster as Secretary of State. His so-called peace in Indochina was an outright fraud as every informed person knows. He apparently views himself as a modern Metetrnich in the spaceship age, when such even failed in the days of sailing ships.

Drop Kissinger and nominate an outstanding sincere man of peace for this most important cabinet position as I urged you to do when you first became President. You should also drop

everyone appointed to important positions by your immediate predecessor. This especially applies to odd balls such as Brown and Butz. The latter has not only an obscene manner as a funny boy, but is a disaster as Secretary of Agriculture.

You require, sir, a new team of outstanding people, regardless of party, even no party, to restore justice, order, sanity and stability to our country.

...These acts would assure internal unity and eliminate abject poverty so necessary to restore the people's confidence in our institution. The Road to Peace is peace itself.

Respectively yours,  
Hugh B. Hester  
Asheville, N.C.



Oil producing countries have contributed vast sums toward ending world starvation.

## FRELIMO HEAD

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

President Nyerere added: "The people of Rhodesia, and the whole of Africa, . . . demand independence on the basis of majority rule for Zimbabwe. No other basis is acceptable. The Rhodesian people, with full backing of free Africa have rejected once and for all the idea of independence on the basis of minority rule."

He concluded: "The Liberation Committee of the OAU has not finished its task. Colonialism and racialism have not yet been defeated in Africa. The free states of our continent cannot relax their efforts now, just when the past support for the liberation movement has brought forth its first fruits. I hope that at this meeting, the Liberation Committee will consider the strategy for the further advance to freedom in Africa, and will make its plans and dispositions accordingly." □

## AFRICA IN FOCUS



### ZAMBIA

The Zambian government recently decided to charge the Zambian national wholesale corporation with direct responsibility for the distribution of daily necessities, *Hsinhua* reports. The decision was announced by Zambian Minister of Commerce Rajah Kunda. Under the decision, the National Wholesale Corporation will supply all retail companies and private businesses with the essential commodities including soap, edible oil, meal, flour and salt. The Minister said that the measure is aimed at stamping out artificial shortage and unfair distribution of these essential commodities.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The armed struggle in "the Republic of South Africa" will be intensified in the coming year, said a statement published January 1 in the *Tanzanian Daily News* by the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). The message said that 1974 would go down in history as a year in which the resistance movement reached great heights and that 1975 would bring more intense armed struggle "in accordance with a nationally-integrated plan of action."

### SUDAN

The first Sudanese National Festival for Literature and Art was held in Khartoum from January 15 to 18. At the festival there were poem and short story writing competitions, an exhibition and a seminar on the orientation of Sudanese literature and art. Chairman of the Festival, Professor Abdullah Hamid Amin, told newsmen that the aim of the Festival was to foster and develop Sudanese national culture, eliminate the direct or indirect influence of old and new colonialism and to enable Sudan's literature and art to serve the cause of national development and the anti-imperialist struggle of the Third World people.



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## CHINA HAILS AFRICAN PEOPLE'S VICTORIES

### "FIERCE ATTACKS ON IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM"

Rarely do we have an opportunity to read what the People's Republic of China says about Africa without distortions and phony interpretations. For this reason **THE BLACK PANTHER** is reprinting in its entirety the official, end-of-year statement issued on December 21, 1974, by People's China Mission to the United Nations, entitled: "Excellent Situation of Africa — Fighting in Unity."

#### PART I

In the past year, the great African people have won brilliant victories in their fierce attacks on different aspects of imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism and hegemonism (one nation power over others), thus contributing significantly to the cause of fighting unity in the Third World.

The good tidings of victories won in the past year by the African people in their struggle

Inspired by the victories won by the people in the Portuguese territories, the national liberation armed struggles and mass movements of the southern African people are gathering strength. In the past year the guerrilla fighters in Zimbabwe continuously launched fresh attacks to deal heavy blows at the White racist Smith regime. The Namibian guerrillas intensified their struggle, inflicting greater casualties on the South African colonialist troops.

The Azanian people's mass movement and strikes against the reactionary South African authorities are surging forward with unprecedented vigor. The successful development of the African national liberation movements has thrown into panic the White racist regimes entrenched in southern Africa.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## 4 BLACK MINERS KILLED IN PROTESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(Johannesburg, South Africa) — Four Blacks have been killed and more than 30 injured in a week of demonstrations by about 12,000 striking African workers at the world's largest gold mines, Vaal Reefs.

Police have used tear gas and guns to put down the demonstrations, touched off by an agreement between the Anglo-American Corporation, operator of the mines, and the government of Lesotho, an "independent" enclave in South Africa, that 60 per cent of the money earned by Lesotho nationals in South African mines must be kept in Lesotho bank accounts.

The mines are located near Klerksdorp, about 150 miles southwest of Johannesburg. The demonstrations spread to the British-American coal mines west of Johannesburg, where 500 workers at the Blesbok and New Largo mines who also objected to the Lesotho government plan refused to go to work. Two Lesotho officials who tried to explain the plan to the miners were reportedly stoned.

As a result of the strike, which began January 6, about 6,000 of the immigrants recruited from Lesotho to work in the mines, returned to their country. The Gold Producers Committee of the South African Chamber of Mines held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg on January 9 to discuss the massive exodus of Black mineworkers.



South African mine workers read a Johannesburg newspaper.

Strikes, protests and fighting have gripped South African gold mines for nearly 18 months and the multimillion dollar gold industry now faces a serious shortage of workers. Black miners fed up with police violence, low wages, hazardous working conditions and apartheid are leaving South Africa mine shafts and company towns in increasing numbers.

A spokesman for the Chamber of Mines said, on January 9, that the Black work force had fallen by about 25 per cent, with only 301,430 Blacks now working in the mines compared to a normal figure of 377,000.

Under the agreement between the government of Lesotho and the Vaal Reefs mine, owned by Harry "the gold king" Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation, 60 per cent of the miners wages are to be withheld in Lesotho bank accounts and paid when the miners serve out their contracts and return home.


The Lesotho government is reportedly considering scrapping the agreement. □



Guerrilla fighters camouflage themselves before setting out on a combat assignment somewhere in Southern Africa.

for national liberation have spread far and wide. Through their protracted armed struggle, the Portuguese regime was forced to extend de jure recognition to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and to the rights to independence of the Mozambican people last September.

In November, an agreement on the realization of independence in 1975 was reached between the Sao Tome and Principe Liberation Movement and Portugal. The valiant Guinea-Bissau people are at present consolidating their newly-won victory. Today, the transitional government led by the Mozambique Liberation Front is in authority over its own land. And the Angolan people are strengthening unity and struggling for the realization of their national independence.



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## SENEGAL WINS IN WOMEN'S BASKETBALL

(Tunis, Tunisia) — The west African country of Senegal emerged victorious in the fifth African Women's Basketball Championship which concluded play here in early January.

The host country of Tunisia was runner-up in the nine-team tournament, with Egypt and Togo finishing third and fourth respectively. Other participating countries included: Algeria; Guinea; Mali; Nigeria; and the Central African Republic.

A closing ceremony was attended by an enthusiastic crowd of over 7,000 spectators, in which the leading members of basketball organizations in Africa and the team leaders and diplomatic representatives of the participating countries took part. □



PRESIDENT OF U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY INTERVIEWED

## "EMERGENCE OF 3rd WORLD NO MYTH"

One of the highlights of the recently concluded 29th Annual Session of the United Nations General Assembly was the almost unanimous condemnation of the White-minority ruled government of the Republic of South Africa for its continued adherence to the policy of strict racial segregation known as apartheid. In part 3 of the following press interview with Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Algerian diplomat who served as president of the 29th session comments on the unprecedented General Assembly censure of South Africa and the methods employed to publicly castigate the regime before the eyes of the world.

### PART 3

**QUESTION:** I should like to ask you two related questions. Why did you let South Africa vote on the resolution referring the question of the status of South Africa to the Security Council, seeing that later on you ruled that South Africa could not participate?

And, in view of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of South Africa a day or so ago that South Africa was thinking about quitting the United Nations because of what he described as resolutions that were very distasteful to South Africa, would you be glad to see South Africa quit the United Nations?

**BOUTEFLIKA:** Could I give myself a moment in which I might act before you here as a citizen of Africa and say that Africa is the last continent still experiencing the throes of colonialism, apartheid and racial segregation? There are already 42 African states that are members of the United Nations. Next year there will be 45, and perhaps even more — I repeat, perhaps even more. In other words, one third of the United Nations.

The Africans came to this organization convinced that the lofty ideals contained in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were not a kind of soporific designed to anesthetize their suffering, nor a kind of placebo for their deep wounds.

Yet year after year they have tried to explain and convince rather than to force anyone's hand. They have faith in the United Nations, and I would say that they have even more faith in the Security Council and its wisdom, indeed, the responsibil-

ities borne by the Security Council are such that they could not be exercised without true wisdom.

The Africans had complete latitude with the countries supporting them in their demarches (changes of policy) — the other countries of the Third World, the socialist world and some countries of Western Europe; one need merely look at the results of the votes to have the General Assembly take a decision, and it was indeed possible.

Why was it possible? Because in the final analysis it is always tedious to read texts which invoke the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. That is nevertheless one of the most exciting texts that one can read. I do not know how many among you have had the intellectual curiosity to read it, but I think it should be read and thought about.

The Africans referred their problem to the Security Council. There, contrary to all expectations, the Security Council, instead of having recourse to this or that Chapter providing for sanctions — sanctions, moreover, which had been conceived for Rhodesia — met with a triple veto.

### PROBLEM

In other words, we found ourselves in a situation, where, on the one hand, practically a unanimous sentiment within the General Assembly brought up a problem and, on the other side, there was a triple veto which divided the entire international community. They said to the international community, "What you are raising is a false problem," or else they were saying, "We are strong enough to dissuade you from taking any decision."

The situation became very sensitive and delicate. The action of the General Assembly complements that of the Security Council, just as the action of the Security Council should usually complement the action of the General Assembly — and I emphasize "should usually complement the action of the General Assembly."

Indeed, in this specific case, it was exactly as if the Security Council were a government which was going to embark on a policy that ran counter to the desires of the overwhelming majority in the



General Assembly President  
ABDELAZIZ BOUTEFLIKA.

Parliament. The problem had to be re-examined.

And I think that to re-examine the problem it is necessary to read all the statements. I can remember in particular the statement of an African representative who, in reply to another representative from Latin America who was demanding expulsion pure and simple by the General Assembly, said: "We Africans do not want this. We have thought about that, and we do not wish to take a discourteous attitude with regard to the prerogatives of the Security Council."

### DIVIDED

The problem would one day have to be brought back to the General Assembly, and it was returned to the General Assembly when the report of the Security Council came before it for consideration.

It is specifically stated in one of the rules of procedure that, on the condition that it can obtain a certain majority, the General Assembly can suspend a given state. This is also stated in the Charter. That opinion could perhaps be contested by some lawyers. But this year the situation was quite different from that of any other year.

First of all, there is a Credentials Committee, and for the first time in United Nations history that Committee rejected the credentials of the South African delegation. A vote was taken on the conclusion of the Credentials Committee and, by an overwhelming majority, the General Assembly confirmed that conclusion.

Then, the question had to be re-examined in the light of the consideration of the report of the Security Council, which was still seized of the question of South Africa, and with good cause. And I would like to draw attention to the number, the variety and the quality of the arguments presented by the representatives who spoke before I handed down a ruling.

TO BE CONTINUED

## WORLD SCOPE



### INDIA

The Indian government has barred Israel and South Africa from participating in the 33rd world table tennis championships scheduled to be held in Calcutta next month. The move accompanies a recent decision to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to open an office in New Delhi and is consistent with India's refusal to compete against South Africa in the Davis Cup finals last year because of opposition to the latter country's policy of apartheid.

### PANAMA

The longtime exploitation of the Panamanian people and their banana production by the United Brands Company will be brought to an end within three years according to an agreement reached on January 10 between the Panamanian government and the U.S.-owned multinational firm. Under the agreement, the Panamanian government will purchase all the property owned by Chiriqui Land Company, United Brands' subsidiary here and, as of January 1, the government will claim without compensation all Chiriqui land not used for banana production. In addition, Chiriqui must report to the Panamanian government all plans, activities and decisions related to banana production, and the government retains the right to reject any policies that run counter to its interest.

### UNITED NATIONS

According to a report released last week by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), unless adequate measures are immediately adopted, the countries of the Sahelian zone in Africa presently recovering from the effects of a six-year drought, can expect a return of extreme drought and starvation within a generation. The UNDP report says the most important measures to be taken are: water control; proper management of crop farming and grazing areas; and the development of better systems of transportation and communications. It added that an integrated approach to these measures was imperative.



## ENTERTAINMENT

# "GODFATHER II": UNITY AND SURVIVAL IN RACIST AMERICA



FREDO CORLEONE's (left) betrayal of his brother, MICHAEL (right) was a key point in *Godfather II*. Although it "broke his heart," Michael had to do something to ensure the "family's" survival.

## BOXED REBELLION

Barred . . . caged in  
with familiar sounds  
of premeditated/future  
contemplations  
past relations/experiencing/  
feeling  
the radiations . . . from the very  
essence  
of  
listening to/watching  
the strained expressions  
of  
sadness/gladness . . . suffering/  
hate  
PAIN.  
Invigorated by the power to  
contain/maintain/to rebel  
resist/unsmiling/expressionless  
refusing to be mentally  
captivated  
by  
a single, 8 x 5 1/2 inch pale/lifeless  
dull colored, green steel/white  
white/coldwater RUNNING  
toilet/zink/cement bottomed/  
remote  
controlled-systematical minded-  
racist  
CARETAKER  
to an uncaring/hatred infested  
dark hue complexioned-  
unpiercable/  
revolutionary conscious/brother  
. . . ready to take arms/  
against the creator/executioner  
of the oppressive/genocidal cloak  
of existence.  
One single Black/brother . . .  
ready  
to stand/tall/thin/armed  
only with the sound mind/  
determination/dedication to/and  
for  
the struggle . . . to DIE  
. . . for the cause.

Larry T. Carr  
Maryland Pen.

REGISTER

TO

VOTE

Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather, Part II* is a penetrating examination of a desperate ethnic survival technique made necessary and possible by a racist society in which money is the measure of power and success.

*Godfather II* gives the human substance to *Godfather I*. The two are probably the most honest representations in any art form in nearly four decades of the devastating effects of a hypocritical, money-mad, capitalist society on the victims of that society.

The ethnic survival theme (which most reviewers have ignored or belittled) was set forth in the opening scenes of *Godfather II*. The phony Tahoe "community" participation in the celebration of the confirmation of Michael Corleone's oldest son, was set in sharp contrast to the genuine concern and close family feeling when we see the Corleone family together there.

Quickly thereafter follows the confrontation between the blatantly racist senator and Michael Corleone. In the brilliantly executed flashbacks detailing Michael's father, Vito Corleone's exposure to the murder of his mother, his immigrant days in America and his reluctant, almost accidental but inevitable rise to power as the Don we are shown the hardships and indignities of

the crowded, rundown ghetto, the struggle for survival with dignity and the ever present bloodsucker creatures of the explosive system.

It is the unity imposed on the community by the common conditions of oppression, and a common culture, religion and language, in a foreign and hostile surrounding that brings into being the Corleone "family." It is a unit of the larger "family" — the entire oppressed and desperate community of "Little Italy." The Corleone family was unique only in that it had Vito Corleone at its head.

*Godfather II* makes clear that Vito Corleone, once having chosen his path for "family" survival, had no choice but to continue up that path. He was that kind of man. He did not

create the conditions of his leadership, nor did he set the requirements.

Other forces — envious, greedy, reckless, power hungry — were at play. The forces were "legitimate" corporations, corrupt and corruptable politicians as well as gangsters. They were all treated equally by the Corleones because the experience of the struggle for survival had taught them that the three were one.

Michael, like his father before, having made the choice, was compelled to carry on. But, one by one, we see those whom he trusted, whom he had counted on, whom he loved, turn against him or betray him. His desperate thrust outside the family, to tie in with the mobster Hyman Roth and thus save "the family" fails with tragic consequence.

Michael was working to go "legitimate." But where did his operation end and legitimacy begin? What is legitimacy in an exploitive, capitalist society?

Al Pacino is fine as Michael Corleone. Robert De Niro, who plays the young Vito Corleone (Marlon Brando's role as the Don in *Godfather I*) was totally convincing as the emerging Don. Lee Strasberg's Hyman Roth (reportedly patterned after the life of Meyer Lansky) was also totally believable and masterful.

But, major credit goes to the screenplay itself, written jointly by Coppola and the original author of the novel *The Godfather*, Mario Puzo, and the direction by Coppola. *Godfather II* was compelling drama, rich in significance, honest and sensitive. It has a special message for oppressed ethnic minorities in America.

DGD

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## TERRE HAUTE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

timely access to the hospital for all prisoners, including those prisoners working in the prison factory; and use of community hospitals for those prisoners whose illnesses necessitate such facilities—or up-date the hospital inside the prison, replace obsolete equipment and expand its facilities so it can adequately provide full medical attention for the 1400 men imprisoned here.

In October of 1972, prisoners here were promised (by then-warden Noah Alldredge) better medical treatment as a result of a work stoppage then. This "concession" has been wholly ignored by prison officials here.

Currently, there is a flu epidemic inside the penitentiary. The "medication" being

administered is a combination of cold capsules, cough syrup and throat lozenges. Prisoners need a temperature of 102 degrees to be excused from work; and there have been reports of prisoners with temperatures exceeding 102 that were refused admittance to the hospital. On January 13, a man in the factory passed out with a temperature of 103—he was immediately taken downtown to a hospital (only because there is still a lot of tension in the prison).

The situation is tight. There have been 31 prisoners locked up in segregation or transferred as a result of the peaceful protest. More lock-ups and transfers are impending—all of which will be an attempt by prison officials to suppress the rage—and the facts—of Lowe's death.

A full investigation of Lowe's death, the lock-ups and the hospital's facilities is required. All concerned persons should contact your local movement organizations and work together towards opening an investigation. Letters of protest should go to congresspeople, the warden here (Warden Benson, Box 33, Terre Haute, Indiana 47808) and the director of the Bureau of Prisons (Norman Carlson, H.O.L.C. Building, 101 Indiana Ave., NW, Washington, D.C.). Push for a full-scale investigation — before the next man dies! □

## ATTICA BROTHERS WIN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Defendant Ronald Coyne, also accused of the Kline kidnapping, "was not ... anywhere in the vicinity of Franklin Kline," the prosecution said.

Charges were also dropped against Akil Al-Jundi (Herbert Scott Deane), Jusmeallah (Wilber Johnson), Rico Wright, Babu Baba Bahtunji (Milton Jones) and Fish Samaki (Raymond Sumpter).

The harassment of Big Black is a prime example of the continued vindictiveness of prison authorities.

Since November 2, when he was falsely arrested on a marijuana charge, Big Black was told he would have to submit to a degrading strip search in order to enter Erie County Jail. Refusing to submit, Big Black had been denied entry until the December 20 ruling.

(A strip search entails disrobing completely in the presence of a prison guard, who then visually or with his hands inspects the person's mouth, ears, anus and genital areas.)

Still unresolved in the federal suit filed by Big Black and his co-defendant Shango Bahati Kwana, is a claim of \$15,000 in damages for the month and a half Big Black was unable to enter the jail.

The original all-White grand jury which investigated the Attica rebellion and resulting police massacre returned 42 indictments that charged 62 inmates with 1,400 separate felony counts. □

## OAKLAND SCHOOL VICTORY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Local parents had lodged complaints with the State Board that there had been mismanagement of funds, failure to accord parents opportunity to participate in planning, implementing or evaluating Title I programs and refusal by the school district to provide parents information necessary for their participation in Title I activities.

As a result of these charges, the State Board ordered the investigation and approved a Title I grant for Oakland, limited to one-half year rather than, as usual, for a full school year. In February, the State Board, on the basis of the reports sought in the lawsuit, will consider whether to continue funding Title I programs in Oakland.

Plaintiffs in the suit desire to have the reports before the Board meets in order to be able to urge the Board to compel the school district to rectify the violations discovered by the audit team.

The plaintiffs have been informed that the audit reports substantiate the charges of mismanagement of Title I programs and widespread violations of parental participation and dissemination of information requirements.

The audit team reportedly uncovered violations in the following areas: supplanting of funds (using federal money to provide services which should be provided by state and local financing); failure to provide comparable educational services in all schools; maintenance of effort (decreasing services below levels provided in prior years); inadequate record-keeping; tracking of students; no procedure for prompt response to citizen complaints; no parent involvement in evaluation of programs; failure to take advantage of all sources of federal funding.

The lawsuit was filed because local residents feel that information about school programs and what school district staff generally are doing, contribute significantly to discussion of issues vital to public education and ultimately to advancement of the quality of education for all. □

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